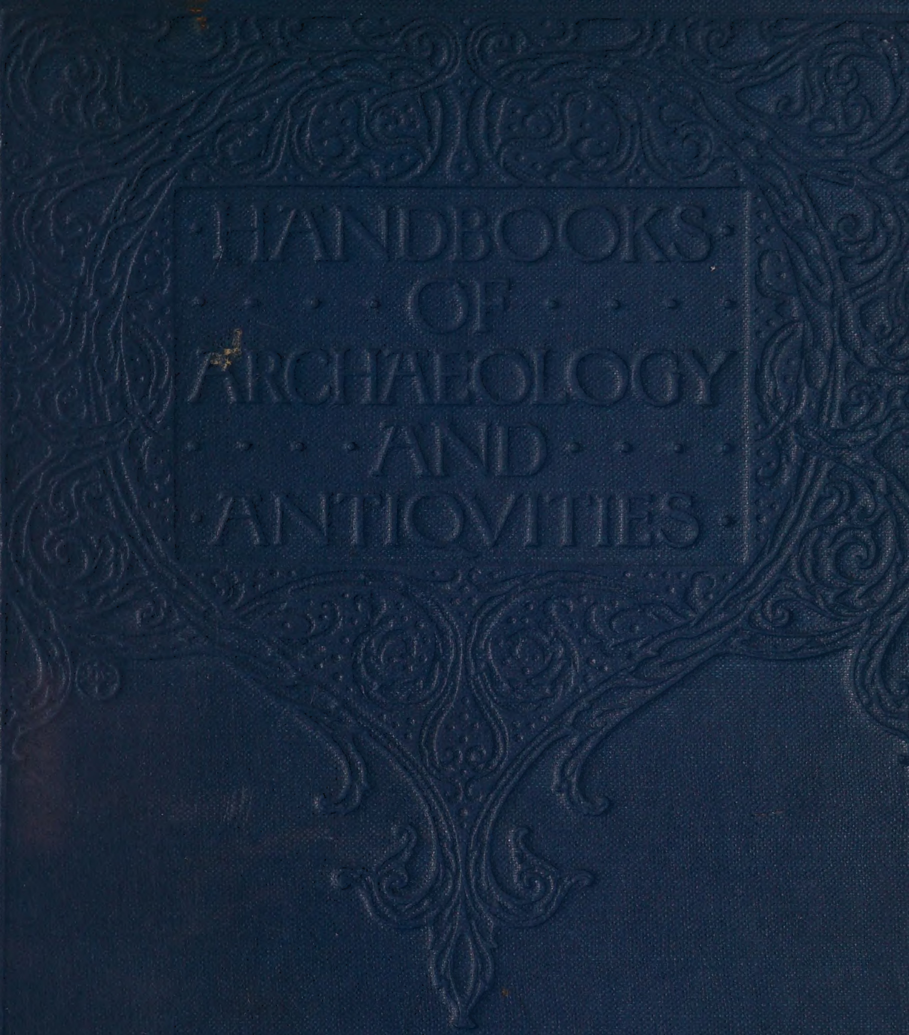

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A HANDBOOK

OF

GREEK SCULPTURE

BY

ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER, Litt.D.

LATE FELLOW OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND FORMERLY DIRECTOR OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT ATHENS; YATES PROFESSOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION

In the revised edition of this handbook, issued in 1905, only minor alterations and additions were introduced into the text, and most of the new matter was relegated to an appendix. Such a course was in many ways obviously convenient; but it was probably somewhat confusing to the student, who found certain statues or reliefs placed together at the end of the book merely owing to the accident of their recent discovery. This arrangement may have made it difficult to see them in due perspective, and to realise their proper place in the development of Greek sculpture. And, moreover, it seemed inconsistent to distribute the sculptures found at Olympia over various periods and sections, while those found at Delphi, which were no more homogeneous and had less claim to represent any local school, were kept together. For these reasons it has seemed desirable to distribute all the new matter into its proper place, thus restoring the handbook to its original scheme of a consecutive history. With the additional illustrations now provided, I trust that it may once more fulfil its function of giving a general outline of our present knowledge of Greek sculpture.

The time also seems opportune for a new edition. The twenty years since the handbook was written have been rich in discovery, partly from systematic excavations like those of Crete, Delphi, and Pergamon, partly from such fortunate accidents as the finding of a wreck full of Greek statues off

Cerigotto. There have also been many illuminating studies of sculptures previously known, sometimes, as in the case of Aegina, supplemented by new evidence. We must probably look forward, for a time at least, to some interruption in the progress of discovery and investigation. But there is all the more reason for us to study and appreciate the sculpture which expresses for all time the Greek ideals of beauty, of proportion, and of sanity. It is a relief to turn to them, alike as a standard and as an inspiration, amidst the bewildering distractions of modern art and of modern life.

University College, London
March 1915.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

ALTHOUGH there are several histories of Greek sculpture, the need of a handbook on a smaller scale and of a somewhat different scope is, I believe, generally felt. What is wanted is a general outline of our present knowledge of Greek sculpture, distinguishing as clearly as possible the different schools and periods, and giving typical instances to show the development of each. Accordingly, I have not in the present work made any attempt at a complete or exhaustive treatment of the subject, but have selected from the great accumulation of available examples only such as seem most useful in illustration. I have in particular attempted to confine myself to such facts or theories as have already met with general acceptance among archaeologists, or such as seem to rest upon evidence that cannot easily be shaken by new discoveries or future controversy. This principle has precluded the discussion of many interesting problems that are still under dispute; but in the case of questions which, though undecided, are of too vital issue for the history of sculpture to be altogether ignored, I have endeavoured to state as briefly as possible the different tenable views, and to base no further inferences upon the acceptance of any of them. In this way the student will be provided with a framework into which he can easily fit all the knowledge that he may acquire from subsequent reading or observation; and at the same time he will not find that he has anything to unlearn when he becomes acquainted with more facts or newer theories.

Were the writer of such a book as this to cite all the authorities who have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the work he has produced, his preface and notes would be a mere patchwork of references and quotations. I have endeavoured as far as possible to give my own impressions directly, as derived both from literary authorities and from the monuments themselves, and have tried as a general rule to avoid direct quotation from modern writers. Wherever I have consciously borrowed an original view propounded by a predecessor, and not yet adopted as common property, I have made an acknowledgment in the text or in a note; but a reference of this sort may have been accidentally omitted in some instances where its insertion would have been just or courteous, and I can only trust that in such a case those who have most right to complain will also be most disposed to leniency by their own experience of the difficulties of a task that must partake to a great extent of the nature of a compilation.

But a more general acknowledgment is due at once to such works as Professor von Brunn's *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* and his *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, Professor Overbeck's *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, Mr. A. S. Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, Mrs. Mitchell's *History of Ancient Sculpture*, and M. Collignon's *Histoire de la sculpture grecque.* Any one who now writes on Greek sculpture must owe to some or all of these the foundation of his knowledge. If I do not constantly refer to them, it is only because their accessibility and their systematic treatment of the subject make it easy for the student to consult them upon any matter which he wishes to follow out in more detail than is allowed by the scope of a handbook. The catalogues of the various museums in which the remains of Greek sculpture are now preserved also offer invaluable assistance to the student for reference, as well as for use in the galleries—an assistance which must be acknowledged by all who write upon the subject; above all must be mentioned Wolters' edition of Friederich's *Bausteine*, the catalogue of the splendid collection of casts at Berlin.

Those who are acquainted with the results of recent excavation will notice one conspicuous omission in the attempt to bring this book up to the level of our present knowledge of Greek sculpture. The valuable discoveries of the French at Delphi have not been included. The reason for this omission is partly that without illustrations it would be impossible to give any adequate notion of so remarkable a series of sculptures, and partly that, pending the publication of the Delphic discoveries by those to whom they are due, it would be rash to include them in a handbook like this. The reliefs of the Treasury of the Athenians and of the Treasury of the Siphnians will doubtless take their place in due time among the cardinal monuments of Greek sculpture; but especially in the latter case the problems to be solved are so difficult and so complicated that agreement about them is hardly to be expected until they have become more widely known and have been more thoroughly discussed. It has therefore seemed wiser to exclude them altogether from the present volume; perhaps it may be possible to repair the omission before the whole work is complete.

Finally, I have the pleasant duty of thanking many friends for their help and advice at various stages in the writing of this handbook; Mr. Richard Norton has made many useful criticisms of the earlier portion, and I wish especially to thank my brother, Professor Percy Gardner of Oxford, not only for reading the proofs and making many suggestions which either have been incorporated in the text or have led to its modification, but also for his help and encouragement throughout the work.

October 1895.

PREFACE TO PART II. OF THE FIRST EDITION

In addition to the authorities quoted in the preface issued with the first part of this handbook, one other calls for especial notice here. This, it need hardly be said, is Professor Furtwängler's *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, or, in its English version by Miss Eugénie Sellers, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture.* I had occasion to quote this work more than once in Part I.; but, from the nature of the subject, it has been far more frequently in my hands while I was writing Part II., and I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Furtwängler's wonderful knowledge and observation in many instances where I have not felt able to embody his conclusions in the text of a handbook for students.

In dealing with the later portion of the history of sculpture, I have endeavoured to follow the same principles as in the earlier portion, and consequently I am again precluded from the discussion of many interesting problems as to which I do not feel justified in expressing a dogmatic opinion, while I have not space to give, even in summary, the arguments on each side.

I regret that I am unable to fulfil my conditional promise of an appendix on the discoveries of the French excavators at Delphi, no official publication having as yet been issued.

It is only fair both to M. Collignon and to myself to state that I had not the advantage of seeing the second volume of his *Histoire de la sculpture grecque* before the proof-sheets of this volume were out of my hands.

Arrangements have been made by the Teachers' Guild for placing at the disposal of its members a series of lantern-slides to illustrate the history of sculpture; these slides have been prepared from the material that has been used for the illustrations of this handbook, and they are numbered to correspond. They may be seen at the Educational Museum of the Guild, 74 Gower Street, London, W.C., where inquiries may be addressed to the Hon. Curators.

The present volume contains a full index, compiled by Mrs. Ernest Gardner, to both parts of the handbook.

My brother, Professor Percy Gardner of Oxford, has again read the proof-sheets, and I have to thank him for many valuable corrections and suggestions.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,
November 1896.

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B.D.	Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der griechischen und römische Skulptur*, Munich.
C.I.G.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Boeckh).
C.I.A.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.*
I.G.A.	*Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae* (Roehl).
Loewy	Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer.*
Ann. Inst.	*Annali dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica*, Rome.
Mon. Inst.	*Monumenti Inediti dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica*, Rome.
A.Z.	*Archäologische Zeitung*, Berlin.
Mittheil. Ath.	*Mittheilungen des k. deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Athens.
Mittheil. Rom.	*Mittheilungen des k. deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Rome.
Jahrb.	*Jahrbuch des k. deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin.
B.C.H.	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Athens.
J.H.S.	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London.
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B.S.A.	*Annual of the British School at Athens.*
B.S.R.	*Papers of the British School at Rome.*

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INTRODUCTION

(*a*) *Sources of our Knowledge—Literature and Monuments*

THE sources from which we derive our knowledge of Greek sculpture and of its history fall naturally into two classes: one of these is *literary*, and may be sought in the writings that have been preserved to us from classical times; the other is *monumental*, and is to be found in extant works of sculpture. For the first we must go to libraries, for the second to museums. An intelligent combination of the two, and a correct appreciation of their varying relations, is a necessary foundation for any scientific study of the history of Greek sculpture. And each class is still further complicated in itself by the indirect nature of the evidence with which we have to deal, and the difficulty of ascertaining the exact relation between the information we possess and the ultimate fact which it is our desire to ascertain.

1. *Literary Sources.*[1]—These we may divide into (*a*) *direct*, and (*b*) *indirect*.

(*a*) *Direct* literary sources for the history of sculpture in Greece may be divided into three classes, according as they consist of *theoretical*, *historical*, or *descriptive* works.[2]

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[1] These are collected in Overbeck's invaluable *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen.* I assume this to be in the hands of the student throughout, and so do not refer to it in each particular instance. See also H. Stuart Jones's *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture, Selections*, which contains the most important passages, with a translation and commentary.

[2] See Urlichs, *Über griechische Kunstschriftsteller*; Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*; Furtwängler, *Die Quellen des Plinius für die Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, etc. H. Stuart Jones, in the preface to the work above mentioned, gives a clear summary of the results of recent investigation.

Theoretical works upon the principles of sculpture were written by several of the most distinguished artists of antiquity; but none of these have been preserved to us, and therefore they can hardly rank as direct sources of information. Yet they cannot be entirely ignored even in this aspect; for later compilers have recorded many opinions or statements, often without acknowledgment, which we can trace with more or less certainty to these lost treatises. The first of them was a work by Polyclitus, who, as we are told, taught the proportions of the body, and embodied them in a statue to which, as to his treatise also, he gave the name of "the Canon." Euphranor, who was a sculptor as well as a painter, wrote also upon colouring and proportion. But in the Hellenistic age such treatises became, as we might have expected, much commoner. In sculpture, as in literature, the age of criticism succeeded the age of production. The School of Lysippus, with its academic tendency to the study of the methods and works of earlier masters, would naturally require theoretical and historical treatises on art; and Xenocrates (c. 300 B.C.) appears to have done something to fulfil the need. The Pergamene School also supplied in Antigonus of Carystus (c. 200 B.C.) an artist who wrote about art. These two are cited by Pliny as authorities; and very probably their works commonly served as a basis for the treatises of later writers.

Duris of Samos (c. 300 B.C.) is the first writer whom we know to have written a definitely *historical* treatise, concerning artists, not art. He was a pupil of Theophrastus, and through him many of the personal anecdotes preserved to us about artists have been traced to the Peripatetic philosophers. Pasiteles, who lived in Rome in the first century before our era, and is the most typical example in ancient times of an academic sculptor, wrote five volumes about the most famous works of art in the world; and his work most probably formed a critical and historical treatise which was valuable to later compilers. His contemporary, Varro, the most learned of antiquaries, wrote about art as well as other matters. But of all these authorities we possess little, if any, certain remains; for the facts which they recorded we are dependent almost entirely upon Pliny, who in books xxxiv.-xxxvi. of his *Natural History* gives an account of the history of sculpture in various materials, as well as of painting. His work is not an original treatise, but professedly a compilation from various earlier writers—most of them those that have just been enumerated.[1]

Descriptive treatises are not to be rigidly distinguished from those just referred to; in several cases it might be difficult to classify a particular book under either head exclusively. The work of Polemo (c. 200 B.C.)—also lost—consisted of a description of the dedications that filled all the temples of Greece, and probably served as a mine for the compilers of the *Anthology*, itself a store of information as to works of sculpture. Heliodorus wrote a description of the offerings set up in the Acropolis at Athens, and other writers described the artistic treasures of Delphi. Some of the information supplied by these two authors may perhaps also be contained in the *Description of Greece* written by Pausanias, who travelled in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, while all the shrines of Greece still contained almost intact their innumerable treasures of art. The work of Pausanias is the guide-book of the period; its literary and critical merit is but small, yet its value to us is very great—as great as would be that of Murray's or Baedeker's guide-books to the art student of the future, were all records and collections now extant to be destroyed and scattered, with the exception of a few damaged and isolated remnants of which even the identity had to be rediscovered. The very large proportion of Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* taken up by quotations from Pausanias would alone suffice to show the importance of his work—indeed, were he and Pliny excluded, a scanty pamphlet would contain all that remained of our literary authorities for the history of sculpture.

Among others who wrote works directly and intentionally descriptive of works of art must be mentioned Callistratus (c. 160 B.C.) and the Philostrati (c. 237 and 250 A.D.), who wrote, as rhetorical exercises, descriptions of imaginary collections of sculpture and painting; but from the nature of their work they are of little value, except to illustrate what we know from other sources.

A very different position must be assigned to Lucian, who is undoubtedly the most trustworthy art-critic of antiquity. Unfortunately his references to works of art are mostly only incidental. But he was brought up as a sculptor, and retained his knowledge and critical faculty, although he preferred literature to sculpture as a pursuit. His judgments therefore offer us a far safer clue to the true nature of any work than the ignorant compilations upon which we are usually dependent. Incidental notices by other critics, such as Quintilian, are also useful, though they perhaps belong rather to the second class of literary authorities; and Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and others, give us a good deal of information about sculpture and sculptors.

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[1] See Pliny, bk. i., list of authorities for bks. xxxiv.-xxxvi. Jex Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art.*

(*b*) *Indirect* references to sculptors and to works of art occur throughout classical literature from Homer down. It would not be profitable to classify these references, which naturally show very great variety. In the case of a people like the Greeks, in whose life so important a place was taken by sculpture, the poet, the historian, and the philosopher were sure to speak frequently of works of art, whether for their own sake or in illustration of other matters. Conscious and direct criticism belongs of course rather to the age of decadence; but without a familiarity with Greek literature, we should not be in a position to form correct judgments as to Greek sculpture either in detail or in its more general aspects.

2. *Monumental Sources.*—The first division of these is in some respects intermediate between literature and monuments—the *inscriptions* which belong to works of sculpture.[1] The most valuable of these are the artists' signatures, which, however, were almost always in earlier times inscribed upon the separate basis, not upon any part of the statue itself; and therefore the cases are very rare in which we possess the actual work and the signature preserved together. But the list of artists' names which we derive from inscriptions is useful for comparison with that which we derive from books; and we find that for the fifth and fourth centuries before our era the two for the most part coincide, though in earlier or later times a large number of the sculptors whose names we find in inscriptions are otherwise unknown to us.[2] Other inscriptions connected with works of art are commoner—especially such as

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[1] These have been collected by Hirschfeld, *Tituli Statuariorum Sculptorumque*, and later and more completely by Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*. The introduction of this last book should be consulted for information as to these inscriptions and their character, which cannot be treated here.

[2] See Note on § 20 below.

record the purpose or circumstances of the dedication or erection of any statue. These are invaluable as supplying very often a certain date for works of sculpture, whether the actual statue they refer to has been preserved or not.

Another class of evidence which, though monumental, must yet be classed as external, is that offered by coins, gems, and other minor works of art. These often show us reproductions of well-known works of sculpture, which can sometimes be identified with more or less certainty; thus they enable us either to identify a statue actually preserved, or to learn to some extent the character of one which has been lost. The evidence of coins is particularly valuable in this respect, since the accuracy with which their place and period can be determined often gives certainty to an identification which would otherwise be purely conjectural.

But the monumental evidence for the history of Greek sculpture lies chiefly in the statues and reliefs actually preserved, whether in modern museums and collections or still remaining on the ancient building which they were originally designed to decorate; and some general account of these, and of their relation to the history of sculpture, is necessary for a proper appreciation of their value.

It is difficult for us now to realise the extraordinary artistic wealth which decorated all the shrines of Greece in ancient times. The first desire of the Greeks, as soon as they were capable of producing works of independent sculpture, was to honour their gods by all kinds of statues, dedicated in every temple and precinct. By the time of the Persian Wars these statues must have become very numerous, as we may see from the fragments that were buried after the sack of such a site as the Acropolis at Athens, and have been recovered by recent excavations. The accumulation must have gradually become greater and greater until all Greece had become that vast museum which it appears to be in the description of Pausanias. Every local shrine had statues to show such as would now be among the choicest treasures of any great museum; while great centres of worship, like Olympia or Delphi or the Acropolis at Athens, each possessed such a vast population of statues as would suffice to stock all the museums of Europe many times over with masterpieces more perfect than any that have survived to the present day. The fate of this vast accumulation of treasures is not easy to trace; all did not go the same way; but we may briefly notice some of the more common methods by which they were scattered and destroyed. Pausanias already gives one indication, by mentioning the gaps left in many places by the depredations of Roman Emperors. Ever since the sack of Corinth, in 146 B.C., Greece had been ransacked for statues to decorate the buildings of Rome, but such were its riches that it was long before this process could make any appreciable difference; at the foundation of Constantinople, again, Rome and Greece alike were plundered to decorate the new capital. The gathering together of the finest masterpieces in Rome and Constantinople was a danger to their existence, but their destruction has still to be explained. The credit of this is commonly given to barbarian invaders; but the ignorant greed of the degenerate natives was probably responsible for even more wanton destruction, whether in the scattered shrines of Greece or in the great centres of civilisation. When bronze and marble had become more precious in themselves than the art that had found in them the means of perpetuating its noblest ideals, the fate of sculpture was sealed. Bronze, not to speak of more precious metals, was ruthlessly melted down; and even marble was burnt to produce mortar—the lime-kilns upon every classical site record the fate of the statues that once peopled it. Under these circumstances what we have to explain is not how most works of sculpture were destroyed, but how any survived. Some few have always remained above ground and visible, and have owed their preservation to some exceptional circumstance—probably to their dedication to some new religious use before the sanctity of the old had failed to protect them: thus the Parthenon long preserved its sculptural decoration by serving first as a church, and afterwards as a mosque; and other buildings have had a similar fate. It appears, too, that some statues now venerated as Christian saints began their existence as deities of a different religion. So, again, the bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome is said to owe its preservation to a fortunate mistake, having been supposed to represent the Christian saint and emperor Constantine. But such cases as this are exceptional. Almost all the statues that fill our museums have at some time been buried, whether by accident or of set purpose, and brought to light again either by chance or by systematic excavation. Thus the Venus of

Melos is said to have been found in a subterranean grotto where she must have been hidden by some ancient worshipper to save her from destruction. For the most part, however, statues were buried by chance amidst the ruins of the buildings in which they once had stood; it is difficult for us to realise the extent to which this took place, so as to fill the soil of Greece and Italy with statues and other works of art. The burial of antiquities, by gradual neglect as well as by violent destruction, is always a puzzle to the excavator, but it undoubtedly took place. The soil of every ancient site is now many feet higher than in early times; and in the accumulated débris the valuable as well as the useless has often been buried. This fact appears most clearly in a dead flat like the Delta of Egypt, where every old inhabited site is marked by a mound varying in height according to the length of the period during which it was occupied. Sometimes, too, the sea or rivers have yielded up treasures once cast into their beds. In particular, the Tiber has given up lately some magnificent bronzes, and it is still believed to contain not only the golden candlestick of Jerusalem, but also many masterpieces of Greek and Roman sculpture.

So far we have been concerned with the way in which statues came to be lost or to be preserved, and how they reached the places in which they were found. Their history subsequent to their discovery is not of so much importance to our present purpose. If the rule now enforced in almost all countries where Greek antiquities are to be discovered had been observed in earlier times, there would have been little more to say. The exportation of antiquities is now either entirely prohibited, or allowed only within strict limits and in the case of articles of secondary importance,[1] so that all statues recently discovered either remain in the place where they were found, or have been carried, at farthest, to the central museum of the country; and in all cases it is easy to ascertain their *provenance.* These regulations are, however, of comparatively recent growth; and the sculpture which we have to study is to be found, not only in Greece and Italy, but scattered throughout the museums of Europe.

Until the end of the eighteenth century, when Stuart's drawings of Attic monuments were published, the sculpture that remained in Greece itself was but little known; and it was not until the nineteenth century that any considerable series of monuments came to be exported from Greece. Before this period the great majority of the extant works of sculpture had been found upon Italian soil, for the most part under circumstances which yielded but little external evidence to help their identification. Many of them are either works of inferior interest, such as were turned out in great numbers to satisfy a commercial demand, or copies of statues, well known perhaps in ancient times, but difficult for us now to recognise. Even such as are originals of Greek workmanship had probably been transported in ancient times from the place where they were originally set up; and thus in almost all cases we are reduced to internal evidence in any attempt to identify them. In most cases such identification, however ingenious, cannot rise beyond the region of probable conjecture, unless the exact description of an ancient writer, or the close resemblance of the reproduction on a coin or other small work of art, enables us to be sure that we have before us the original from which it was derived.

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[1] In the case of sculpture this law can usually be enforced. It is obviously far more difficult to prevent the clandestine export of smaller antiquities.

It is otherwise with the works found upon Greek soil. The notices in ancient writers, and, above all, the complete and exact description of Pausanias, have made it possible in many cases to identify with certainty works which have been found by the excavator on the spot where we know them to have stood in ancient times. This is most often the case with the sculpture that adorned a temple, as at Olympia, Athens, and Aegina; or the statues that stood within it, like the group made by Damophon at Lycosura; but single dedications, like the Hermes of Praxiteles, have been identified in the same way, and some statues, preserved with their bases like the Victory of Paeonius, are identified by the yet more satisfactory evidence of an inscription.

The statues found in Italy have undergone many vicissitudes; they have passed from one collection to another, until many of them have found a permanent home in some museum. Several museums possess also great series of works which are paramount in the study of a particular period or school. Thus the British Museum possesses the Elgin marbles from Athens, the Phigalian frieze, the sculptures from Ephesus, and from the Mausoleum; Munich has the Aegina pediments, and Berlin the sculpture from the great altar at Pergamum; Naples shows an unrivalled collection of bronzes from Pompeii and Herculaneum; and Athens, Olympia, and Delphi contain the rich products of recent excavation. Site after site is still yielding new material for our study, and the progress of artistic criticism sometimes adds a new identification among what is already known. But the great series which are already in our museums must always form the foundation upon which the history of Greek sculpture is based.

We have followed the course of events by which some portion of the vast wealth of statuary, which once filled all the shrines of ancient Greece, has come to be preserved in the museums of modern Europe. We are thus in a better position for rightly appreciating the relation of extant works to the history of sculpture in Greece; it is clear, for instance, that a bronze work is, from the intrinsic value of the material of which it is composed, far less likely than a marble work to survive the vicissitudes which all alike have undergone. Thus we are prepared for the very great preponderance of sculpture in marble which we find in all modern museums, and shall not be led to infer that there was a similar preponderance of marble over bronze in ancient Greece.

If we possessed all the ancient works that have come to light exactly in the state in which they first emerged from the ground, we could now at once proceed to their classification; but unfortunately this is not the case. We have another process to reckon with first, that of restoration. Until within quite recent years, the first thing to be done, upon the discovery of any portion of an ancient statue which seemed considerable enough to be worth preserving at all, was to hand it over to a restorer. Many excellent sculptors, from Michael Angelo to Thorwaldsen, have undertaken this work. But though the result may in many cases be of high artistic value, from the point of view of the student of art history the process is in all cases equally disastrous. Had the restorer been content with restoring the missing parts, however erroneous were the impression produced on the untrained observer, it would still have been possible for the student to distinguish carefully what was new from what was old, and to use the latter only for his purposes. But restoration unfortunately did not content itself with this; the modern sculptor has in almost all cases worked over the whole surface of the old marble to make it uniform in style and appearance with his own additions, and thus has often entirely destroyed the surface modelling of the original.[1] It is to the lasting glory of Canova that he probably saved the Elgin marbles from a fate like this, by not only refusing to restore them himself, but also protesting against any restoration of such works; and this excellent example has gradually prevailed, so that no ancient work would now be restored in any first-rate museum. To restore a cast, or even the original in plaster, without cutting away its fractures, is of course harmless and often useful, and this plan is sometimes adopted. The student must then, in dealing with any work discovered before the nineteenth century, first discover how much of the statue is ancient; and then, if possible, allow for the surface working to which even that ancient portion has been subjected, before he proceeds to quote it for any scientific purpose.

Assuming this to be done, we must next proceed to classify extant works according to their relation to the history of ancient sculpture. From this point of view we may divide all works of sculpture into three classes—(1) *originals*, (2) *copies*, (3) *imitations*.

(1) *Originals* may be defined as works which were actually made by the hand or under the immediate direction of the sculptor to whom they are to be assigned. But in this very definition is implied a distinction which must not be ignored. It is clear that we can only judge of a sculptor's work at its best from an independent work of art, made in and for itself in his studio; from such a statue alone is it possible to appreciate the excellence of his technique, and in such alone can we see the direct expression of his idea and the authentic product of his genius. Works like these are of the rarest, as we might expect. The Hermes of Praxiteles is the best example which we possess of an original statue direct from the hand of one of the great masters of antiquity. It is possible that there may be other instances in some of our museums, but in no other case is the evidence so convincing; and a word of warning is needed against many rash identifications of this sort that have been made with more or less

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[1] Thorwaldsen, in the case of the Aegina marbles, had the surface of the restored portions worked over to make them uniform with the ancient parts, even in the appearance of corrosion, etc.—a proceeding equally confusing to the student, though of course not equally reprehensible.

probability. There are, however, many other works which, without having any so direct personal connection with a known sculptor, have yet a claim to be called original. Foremost among these are architectural sculptures, or other more or less decorative works designed upon so large a scale that it was clearly impossible for the sculptor to execute them entirely with his own hand: a good instance is supplied by the heads from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which, as we are told, was the work of Scopas; and the sculptures from the Parthenon, which were at least a part of the works executed under the supervision of Phidias, although we have no direct evidence that he was personally responsible even for their design. Then again we possess numerous works which certainly, or almost certainly, were produced at the time when the style and type they represent were originated or were prevalent in art, although the individual sculptor who made them may be unknown to us, and may even have been of no note among his contemporaries. Such works are certainly to be regarded as originals; they were actually made by the school, and at the time to which we must assign them in any classification; and thus in many ways they afford us more trustworthy evidence as to style than later copies of well-known works of the same school or period. At the same time they show us how far the excellence of the masters had penetrated among their pupils and followers, and even among the artisans and handicraftsmen of their time. The Attic tombstones afford good examples of this kind. We have no reason to suppose that any of the extant specimens were executed by sculptors of eminence, yet they afford us a very clear notion of the general efficiency of the art of sculpture in Athens at the time when they were made; and in them we are at least free from any danger of anachronism of style or subject such as a later copy may always have introduced into an earlier design.

(2) *Copies* must evidently be used with the greatest circumspection as evidence for the history of art. In dealing with them we have two distinct elements to discriminate and to estimate—the work of the original artist and the work of the copyist. And it is not until we have carefully eliminated all that has been introduced by the later copyist, that we are in a position to make use of what is left as evidence for the art of the sculptor to whom the original is to be assigned. This fact

must be insisted on, because copies form the great majority of the statues preserved in almost all European museums—especially those of Italy; upon them our knowledge of the works of most of the best known artists of antiquity is based; and although in more recent years the discovery of many original works in Greece and elsewhere has greatly altered the methods and results of criticism, especially for the earlier periods, we shall probably always have to supplement from copies the evidence which may be acquired from more trustworthy sources. Copies may vary very greatly in their distance from the original from which they are derived; from a replica, perhaps produced in the master's studio by his own pupils, to a late Roman copy, made to meet the commercial demand of a public which had no true knowledge or appreciation of art. The two extremes—especially the former—are far less common than the almost infinite variety of intermediate examples. And even in later times there doubtless were some amateurs who knew good work from bad, and encouraged faithful and intelligent copying. But we may take it as a general rule that a Greek artist of good period, even if he set himself deliberately to copy an earlier original, cared more for the spirit and style of the whole than for accuracy of detail; even if he reproduced it under the same conditions, he always allowed himself a certain amount of freedom—he reproduced the type rather than the individual statue. And if the conditions were changed—if he transferred the type from bronze to marble, or from sculpture in the round to relief—more still, if he had a given field, as upon a coin, to which he must adapt it—then he entirely recast the type to suit its new material or surroundings; he produced rather such a work as the original artist would have made, with the new conditions prescribed for him, than a copy, in the narrower sense of the word, of the extant and completed work. We must then, in the case of any copy of good Greek period, make allowance for such modifications as the copyist is likely to have introduced from artistic or other considerations; above all, we must never rely upon it for accessories in which he is likely to have asserted his freedom, though we may often give him credit for having preserved for us some touches of the inspiration of the original sculptor.

With the later and more mechanical copies produced for the Roman market the case is entirely different. Those who made them were working for patrons who would have cared but little for the best features which we noticed in the work of the earlier Greek copyist, but who, on the other hand, were likely to insist on accuracy of details and accessories, in which alone the less educated among them would be able to see the resemblance to the original. For such details and accessories, therefore, we may be pretty safe in following the indications of later copies even when they are at variance with earlier reproductions of the same original. But we shall look in vain to the later copies if we wish to appreciate the beauty of the original, or to understand the feelings which it inspired in appreciative observers. Who, if he imagined he could learn anything of the Athena Parthenos of Phidias (beyond the mere arrangement of her pose and attributes) from the copy known as the Varvakeion Statuette,[1] would not find ridiculous and extravagant the laudatory and even reverent expressions with which Phidias' statue is referred to by all ancient authorities? From such a copy we may borrow the accessories in attempting to realise in our imagination the great original; but for all except accessories we must rather go back to the remains of contemporary Attic sculpture.

(3) *Imitations* are to be distinguished from copies, inasmuch as they are works in which a later artist tries to imitate and reproduce the general character and type of some earlier artist or school, rather than to copy some individual statue. The distinction is not always easy to make, if the imitation be a good one, and if the original be lost. But the imitator usually betrays himself by an excess of conventionality or mannerism which he naturally finds easier to adopt than the more subtle characteristics of the earlier art or the ideas that inspire it. The simplest examples occur in the case of what are commonly called archaistic works in the narrower sense—statues or reliefs which reproduce and exaggerate the stiff conventional style of archaic works. It is hard to say when this practice of imitation began—probably as soon as art was sufficiently advanced for a difference to be perceptible between the style of the time and the greater stiffness of an earlier period. But in earlier times it was almost entirely confined to hieratic or decorative works. Religious conservatism would naturally oppose all innovations; and hence certain forms would be retained as the only fitting and acceptable ones for presentation or dedication to a god.

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[1] See below, § 34.

And the Greeks were fully aware of the necessity of a more or less conventional treatment for decorative work; in such cases too great a truth to nature would often be painful, as in the instance of the giants who served as architectural supports in the temple of Zeus at Girgenti (Acragas); and especially in the case of reliefs with dancing figures, the archaistic treatment of accessories seems by its stiffness to bind them to the ground which else they would seem ready to leave.[1] Later on, the mere quaintness of conventional archaic forms seems to have been sought after for its own sake, as in the case of the neo-Attic reliefs[2] (which, however, were mostly decorative); and even statues were sometimes made upon this principle, though most of the apparent instances are probably rather to be regarded as copies of some archaic original than as imitative works. In most examples of these imitative archaistic statues or reliefs there is not much danger of deception to the trained eye; the artist almost always betrays his knowledge of the resources of a more advanced art in some portions of his work, and he exaggerates what he imagines to be archaic characteristics, such as the poise of the figures on tip-toe, the stiff zigzag folds of drapery, turning up at the ends in an unnatural manner, and the conventional treatment of the hair. In some cases he has been so successful that a doubt is possible whether the work is archaistic or truly archaic; but it is usually easy to see the difference between the production of a conventional and frigidly imitative art, and the honest striving of an early sculptor to do his utmost with the types and resources at his command, and to fill the stiff forms he has inherited with a greater truth to nature and a nearer approach to life.

There is another and a different class of imitative sculptures; of this the best known examples are associated with the name of Pasiteles,[3] a Greek artist who lived in Rome in the first century B.C. This artist and his scholars set themselves deliberately to study and imitate the style of early works, especially those of the athletic schools of the fifth century; and as a result of this study they produced statues which, in some cases, were not copies of any individual works of those schools, but generally reproduced the style and subjects of the earlier period. Such a tendency as this can only be found in an age of decadence, since it implies the artist's dissatisfaction with the art of his own day, and his feeling that the only hope of improvement is in an artificial return to a long-past stage of development. We may see the influence of this feeling in many other works, which we should hardly care to class as purely imitative; for instance, in the Venus of Melos;[1] but when, as in that case, the artist has rather sought inspiration from the ideals of an earlier age than merely tried to imitate its types or its details of technical execution, the result is of a nobler and more independent character. Every sculptor must, of course, learn from his predecessors; it is only when such study occupies itself with their mannerisms rather than with their style, their defects rather than their excellences, that it betrays the weakness which leads to imitative and archaistic productions.

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[1] See Brunn, *Das tektonische Princip in der griechischen Kunst.*

[2] See below, § 77.

[3] See below, § 79.

(*b*) *Materials and Processes of Greek Sculpture*[2]

The materials used by the Greeks for sculpture may be divided into four classes—

(1) *Wood* (ξύλον); this was often inlaid or gilded, and sometimes portions were inserted in marble (ἀκρόλιθοι) or the whole was covered with gold and ivory (χρυσελεφάντινα).

(2) *Stone or Marble* (λίθος).

(3) *Metal*, most frequently bronze (χαλκός); but silver and gold were sometimes used.

(4) *Terra-cotta* (πήλινα), and other artificial materials, such as porcelain or glazed ware (λίθινα χυτά, etc.).

We will first consider the use made by Greek sculptors of each of these materials, and the technical processes which he employed in working them; there are also two other questions which find here their most natural place—

(5) The application of colour to sculpture.

(6) The use of pointing from finished models.

(7) Frontality in early art; the "memory picture."

(1) *Wood.*—In a primitive stage of art wood seems the most obvious material, both from the ease with which it can be obtained and the facility with which it is worked. Unfortunately the climate of Greece is not such as to preserve so

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[1] See below, § 70.

[2] Throughout this section I am indebted to Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der bildenden Künste.*

perishable a material until the present time,[1] as it has been preserved in the early wooden statues from Egypt; and we are therefore left to gather our information as to Greek sculpture in wood either from literary notices, or from the traces left by the influence of wood-carving upon surviving sculpture in more durable substances.

The extent to which wood was used as a material for sculpture is testified by the numerous descriptions of early wooden statues which we meet in Pausanias and other writers.[2] But beyond the mere fact that the material was used, we learn very little from this literary notice. Even such meagre descriptions as we possess of a few of them can only be interpreted in the light of extant monuments. Ebony, cedar, and cypress, oak, olive, and other kinds of wood,[3] were used to make statues of the gods, often doubtless with appropriateness to the particular deity; in fact, to shape a statue was but a step in advance of the stage where the tree itself served as the symbol of the deity.

The notion that wood was the material most readily found and worked in early times is exemplified by the tale of the wooden[4] horse at Troy; though this imaginary structure cannot be taken seriously as an exception to the rule that there is no mention of sculpture in Homer.[5]

Pausanias' attribution of wooden statues extant in his time to Daedalus[6] tells us little more than that they were of the conventional archaic type. When we come to Dipoenus and Scyllis, his legendary pupils, but beyond doubt also historical artists, we have more definite information. They are said to have made a group in ebony, with portions in ivory; and their pupils worked in cedar, in cedar and gold, and in ivory and gold. Another famous specimen of early decorative art in wood, the chest of Cypselus, was carved in cedar, with insertions in gold and ivory, and its material seems to imply a connection with these "Daedalid" artists.[1] It seems an obvious inference from these facts that sculpture in wood developed in quite early times into a new technique, according to which the wood which supplied the basis of the form was wholly or partially concealed by more precious materials—especially by gold and ivory, which we find in the fifth century recognised as the most fitting materials for a great temple statue. It was probably a desire to imitate the variety of texture and material originally derived from inlaying work in wood which led to insertions of superior material for portions of a work, especially the nude parts of female figures, the face, hands, and feet. In this case the colour and texture of marble made it peculiarly appropriate. The rest of such "Acrolithic" statues was usually made of wood; but we also find examples, such as the later Selinus metopes, in which pieces of marble are inserted in a relief of inferior stone.

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[1] Pieces of wood, structural or decorative, have been preserved in exceptional cases; but no work of wooden sculpture.

[2] The word ξόανον seems to mean a *wooden* statue in Pausanias, but not always in other writers.

[3] Paus. viii. 17. 2.

[4] δουράτεος, *i.e.* made of planks and beams, like a ship; cf. δόρυ νήϊον, δούρατα πύργων, etc.

[5] See § 11.

[6] The very name of Daedalus probably implies cunning in decorative woodwork especially inlaying.

The nature of our evidence as to sculpture in wood is not such as to give us much information about the technique or processes that were used. As to these we are left to inferences from the character of the material and the tools applicable to it, and from such influence of wood technique as we may see preserved in more durable materials. Such evidence must be used with some caution; for example, the conventional application of the word "wooden" to whatever is stiff and lifeless in art, might easily lead one to attribute the style of many early works to the influence of wood technique. At the same time, it is clear that the ease with which wood may be made to split in the direction of the grain might well tend to produce a series of flat parallel surfaces such as we see, for example, in the Spartan tomb-reliefs.[2] The same influence has often been traced in the square shape which we commonly find in archaic statues; but this opinion, though partly true, has gained undue support owing to the notion that a beam of wood is naturally square, and therefore that a primitive statue made out of such a beam would tend to be square also. The Greeks had no such notion;[3] to them the round tree trunk was the simplest wooden form, and we see in a round statue like that from Samos (Fig. 11) its simplest modification.

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[1] So H. Stuart Jones, *J.H.S.*, 1894, p. 43.

[2] See § 22 (β).

[3] Cf. Plutarch, *Apophth. Lac. Agesilaus*, θεασάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκίαν τετραγώνοις ὠροφωμένην δοκοῖς, ἠρώτησε τὸν κεκτημένον εἰ τετράγωνα παρ' αὐτοῖς φύεται ξύλα. φαμένου δὲ οὔ, ἀλλὰ στρογγύλα, τί οὖν, εἶπεν, εἰ στρογγύλα ἦν τετράγωνα ἐτελεῖτε; See also *J.H.S.*, 1890, p. 133; the words στρογγύλα and τετράγωνα are transferred in the MSS. See also (7) below, p. 35.

In the case of the great gold and ivory statues, which were, as we have seen, originally a development from sculpture in wood, the technique and construction were extremely complicated. Probably, in small examples, the whole was made in solid wood, as in primitive times, and merely plated on the surface with ivory and gold. But in colossal works such a process was impracticable. In the first place a strong and complete skeleton of wooden or metal bars was necessary; and it had to be carefully constructed so as to give support wherever it was required, either by the members of the statue itself or by the attributes they carried. Over these must have been fixed a framework of wood to support the plates of gold and ivory which formed the visible surface. In order to mould or bend these plates into the requisite shape, a full-sized model in clay or plaster was necessary, and we have indications that such models existed: at Olympia, the workshop of Phidias was the same size as the cella of the temple in which his statue of Zeus was to be erected; and at Megara, where the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war prevented Theocosmus from finishing his gold and ivory statue of Zeus, all but the head was made of clay and plaster—doubtless the very model prepared by the artist to work from. And behind the same temple lay the half-finished wooden framework which had been intended to carry the gold and ivory plates.

(2) *Stone or Marble* (λίθος).—This is by far the commonest material in all modern museums, though it probably was not so common as bronze in ancient times, at least for works of the highest order. But the comparatively indestructible character of marble, and its want of attraction to the plunderer in search of portable spoil, has led to its preservation in many cases where all other materials have disappeared; though marble also has afforded abundant plunder to local settlers, as is attested by the numerous lime-kilns found upon every ancient site where sculpture was to be found. But in spite of this, a vast quantity of sculpture in marble has survived, and it gives us the most full and varied information. For marble was essentially the material of all work in Greece. It was used by some of the greatest sculptors for the masterpieces which they finished with their own hands; and it also served the copyist

to reproduce not only marble works, but others too which were originally executed in bronze, in gold and ivory, or in other materials. Such copies vary greatly both in their artistic value and in the fidelity with which they render either the general character of the original work or its technical details; but it is often possible to estimate these qualities pretty exactly, and to make use of them accordingly.

In early times various kinds of soft stone, which were easy to carve, were freely used in sculpture. But it must be remembered that these coarse and often unsightly materials were usually, if not always, covered with a coat of paint. Thus their texture was obscured, and at the same time any delicate modelling or high finish of the surface was superfluous. At first any local material that could be easily worked was considered suitable for sculpture. Thus in Cyprus the local coarse and soft limestone was freely used; at Naucratis, often alabaster; and at Athens, the local Piraeus stone, in the primitive sculptures. This was the *λίθος πώρινος* of the ancients, which was also extensively used for architecture. Many coarse and inferior local marbles were also used in early times, and continued to be used by local sculptors as well as builders. But when once the superiority of some of the exquisite marbles of Greece had been recognised, these came to be exclusively used for all works that had any pretension to artistic excellence.[1]

Almost from the beginning of sculpture in Greece the marble from the two neighbouring islands of Naxos and Paros came not only to be used by local sculptors, but to be exported even to the more distant parts of Greece. Thus statues in Naxian marble have been found in places as remote from Naxos and one another as Samos, Boeotia, and Actium, and that too with differences of style such as to show that the marble must have been exported in blocks, not in finished statues.[2] This Naxian marble is usually of coarser grain than Parian, but it is not always possible to distinguish the two, since there are quarries of coarser marble in Paros, and of finer in Naxos;[3] but this island marble can usually be distinguished from the fine-grained marbles of the Greek mainland, such as that of Pentelicus. In later times the Naxian marble fell into comparative disuse, but the Parian continued to be recognised as pre-eminently the sculptor's marble, especially that of rather finer grain, which comes from the deep quarries on Mount Marpessa; this was called lychnites, because, it is said, it had to be worked by artificial light. The quarries may still be seen, and some of them still supply marble for the use of sculptors. In Athens the bluish local marble from Hymettus was used for sculpture in early times; but almost all finer work was executed in imported marble from Paros. The quarries of Mt. Pentelicus were not worked until the fifth century; but from that time onward Pentelic marble was not only used in Athens for all sculpture and architecture, but also freely exported, and generally recognised as second only to Parian; but even an Attic artist like Praxiteles preferred Parian for his Hermes. The Pentelic marble is comparatively fine-grained, and contains a good deal of iron, to which is due the rich golden tint that it takes with the weather. The Pentelic quarries are still worked, though they now but rarely yield perfectly white blocks. Another marble much used in the Peloponnese comes from the quarries of Doliana, near Tegea;[1] it resembles Pentelic, but is of a grayish tinge and less pleasing texture. Another marble, very white and fine-grained, is found in Thessaly. It would be easy to add to this enumeration of the marbles most commonly used; but few others were of more than local celebrity. In Roman times, the marble of Luna, the modern Carrara, was extensively used, especially by Greek artists working in Italy; its dull white colour and too close texture form an unpleasant contrast to the transparent beauty of Greek marbles such as Parian and Pentelic. Indeed, one of the disadvantages under which modern sculpture labours is this inferior marble; and it must further be remembered that an ancient sculptor, even when working in Greek marble never regarded his statue as finished until he had treated its surface with some preparation which, if it did not give it a tint of colour, at least modified the intense whiteness which, especially under a southern sun, dazzles the eyes and makes them unable to appreciate delicacies of modelling. So far we have been concerned only with white marble, or nearly white. The elaborate combinations of different rich-coloured marbles, which are common in Roman times, do not concern us in dealing with Greek sculpture, except in so far as some of them may reproduce the effect of statues in gold and ivory or similar materials. A peculiar experiment is the use of a background of black Eleusinian stone for a relief in white marble, which we see on the Erechtheum.

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[1] For this whole subject see Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien.*

[2] Not so Sauer, *Mittheil. Ath.*, 1892, p. 37; but cf. Lepsius, *op. cit.* Nos. 58, 250, 373-374, etc. Besides, the arguments applied by Sauer to Naxian marble might just as well apply to Parian.

[3] Prof. Lepsius is almost always very cautious about distinguishing these two marbles, and is usually content with the term "Inselmarmor" to include both.

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[1] Used, *e.g.*, for the statues by Damophon at Lycosura, and for the Phigalian frieze.

As to the technique of Greek sculpture in marble we fortunately possess most valuable evidence in several unfinished statues, in various stages of working,[1] which are preserved in the National Museum at Athens. The earliest of these, which was found in a Naxian quarry, has merely been rough-hewn with a punch or pointed hammer. In this statue the squareness of shape is remarkable: a rule held horizontally across the front or back would touch the surface of the marble almost across the whole breadth; and there are traces of a similar surface at the sides, though the pieces cut out to outline the arms have to a great extent destroyed it. Such a shape implies that the primitive sculptor did just what a beginner would do now, if set to cut a figure free-hand out of a rectangular block; he has sketched a front and a side view in outline on the front and side of the block, and then cut them straight through.[2] A similar explanation is probably to be given for the square shape which we so often find in archaic works, though perhaps in some cases this shape is due merely to the fact that the sculptor had a rectangular block to work on, and either from artistic timidity or the influence of convention departed from the initial shape of the block as little as he could, consistently with his desire to render the appearance of the figure which he had in his mind. Unfinished statues of a later period show us various stages in the work, and in these we can see both the processes followed by the sculptor and the tools which he employed. It is clear, in the first place, that he must have worked free-hand—that is to say, whether he had a clay model before him or not, he did not reproduce such a model by any mechanical process of pointing, but cut straight into his block

[1] See *J.H.S.*, 1890, pp. 129-142.

[2] These two aspects are those that are most readily retained by the memory. See also (7) below, p. 35.

of marble, guiding himself mostly by the eye. At the same time he doubtless used some mechanical aids; for example, on one statue we see the drill-holes by which a rod was fixed vertically down the front of a statue to guide the sculptor's eye and hand. In the same unfinished statue we see how the figure is gradually cut out of the block; merely roughed out at first, while finer processes and more exact tools are used as the final surface is approached. Thus the whole figure is worked over again and again until there is but little left to come off. Then, on this last layer above the final surface, the outlines of muscles and other details are drawn in broad shallow grooves; thus the artist has their guidance in finishing the modelling of the final surface.

The marks of working on statues, unfinished or finished, give us a pretty complete notion of the tools used by the Greek sculptor. For the rougher work the tool most used was a sharp chipping instrument, either a punch used with a mallet or a pointed hammer. Then the round chisel was used, both in working away the surface where there was still a good deal to remove, and in drawing the shallow grooves that guided the modelling. The claw chisel was also a favourite tool for the parts approaching the final surface; the square or flat chisel[1] does not seem to have been much used except in finishing. Other finishing instruments, such as various kinds of files, could hardly be dispensed with; and sand too was doubtless used for smoothing and polishing. Some archaic statues show distinct traces of the use of the saw in cutting the deep vertical folds of drapery; in later times the drill was extensively used both for these and for the hair. The invention of the drill is attributed by Pausanias to Callimachus, who lived in the latter part of the fifth century; this is clearly impossible, drill marks being visible, for example, in the Aegina marbles;[2] but Callimachus, who was noted for the extreme delicacy and skill of his work, probably either improved the instrument or used it far more extensively than had before been usual in sculpture, especially for deep incision or undercutting. The "invention" of sculpture in marble is attributed by Pliny in one passage to the Chian family of Melas and his descendants, in another to the Cretan "Daedalid" artists,

[1] For an illustration of these tools, see *J.H.S.* art. cit. p. 137.

[2] Brunn, *Geschichte d. gr. Künstler*, i. 253.

Dipoenus and Scyllis. He is evidently repeating two rival and inconsistent traditions, derived from two different sources;[1] and there is no reason why we should attribute to either of them any more historical value than to the other. Such stories of "inventions" seldom mean more than that the artists in question were among the earliest in Greece to practise the craft attributed to them; and in the present case they practically add nothing to what we learn from other sources about the early history of sculpture in marble.

(3) *Metal.*—The use of bronze in early times was so universal that we should naturally expect it to be among the first materials employed for sculpture. Decorative bronze work, whether relief or inlaying (damascening), is often found among the remains of the Mycenaean period, and is familiar to Homer; and we shall see[2] how the early bronze reliefs give us the first specimens of true Hellenic art, preserving many of the types inherited from the Mycenaean period. We also find statuettes, of the rudest workmanship, made in bronze or lead from the most primitive times; but there is a great advance in the skill of working bronze which comes in about the same time as the rise of sculpture in Greece at the beginning of the sixth century. This fits in very well with the story that the art of bronze foundry was invented by Rhoecus and Theodorus of Samos, although, like all other stories of inventions, it must be received with great caution. In the present case it would imply that Rhoecus and Theodorus, who had probably learnt their craft in Egypt, either first introduced it into Greece or greatly improved the processes hitherto employed. However this may be, bronze from this time on was freely used both for statues and statuettes. Almost every great sculptor of antiquity worked sometimes in bronze, and many of them exclusively, especially those who preferred athletic subjects. Indeed, bronze was the material of the majority of the vast number of statues set up in the open air at all the great religious centres of Greece; but the ease with which the metal could be melted down has in almost all cases caused its destruction, so that in modern museums but few bronze statues survive, though a large number of bronze originals are preserved to us in marble copies.

In early decorative reliefs we find two kinds of bronze chiefly used—a harder and more brittle kind used mostly for ornamentation of the Geometric style, and a softer and more malleable used for the Argive and Corinthian reliefs and similar works. We hear of many varieties of bronze used in Greece in later times; the best known were the Corinthian, esteemed the finest of all, and the Delian and Aeginetan, preferred by Myron and Polyclitus respectively. These were probably varying mixtures of copper and tin, to which the Corinthian is said to have sometimes added gold and silver; but numerous analyses have failed to establish any particular proportions as characteristic of any place or school. The combination of copper and zinc, which we know as brass, seems not to have been used for sculpture until Roman times.

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[1] See § 19.

[2] § 9.

Before the introduction of foundry, plates or bars of bronze were merely beaten out into the shape required, and all ornaments or figures in relief were beaten up with a blunt instrument from behind (*repoussé*), and finished by the engraving of details with a sharp instrument in front. In primitive statuettes of the rudest workmanship it is often easy to distinguish the different bars which are bent or beaten into the required figure. We are told also of statues which were made of plates, beaten out into the required shape in pieces, and then riveted together; such a statue of Zeus, made by Clearchus of Rhegium, was shown at Sparta.

A good illustration of the early stages of bronze technique is offered by two images of Dionysus seen by Pausanias[1] at Thebes. The first of these was a log of wood that fell from heaven, plated with bronze, and probably resembling the Apollo of Amyclae, which, we are told, was a mere column of bronze with head, arms, and feet added. Beside this stood another statue of the god, cast in solid bronze. Such solid casting is very common in early statuettes; but for statues the waste of valuable material and the inconvenient weight must soon have led to the introduction of hollow casting. This may be performed by various methods, all of which were probably in use among the Greeks. The essential thing is to introduce a core into the inside of the mould, in such a way that the molten metal will not fill the mould entirely, as in solid casting, but only the interval between the mould and the core. If the coat of metal is to be at all thin, as it must be in fine casting, the core must correspond very nearly to the shape and size of the mould. This may be done by taking a mould from a finished clay model, making a cast from this in some fireproof material, and then scraping away all over the surface of the cast a thickness corresponding to the thickness of metal required. The cast being then placed within the mould, the metal poured into the interval between them will take the exact form of the original model. A mould and core of this nature can, however, be produced with the greatest ease and accuracy by the use of wax, in what is now known and practised as the *cire perdue* process. The method used in this process is to introduce a coat of wax between the core and the mould. The wax may be introduced by making a core of fireproof material corresponding exactly to the statue required, but falling within its final surface by the thickness which the bronze is to have; to this core the wax is applied all over to bring it up to the final surface, and then all detailed modelling of surface is added on the wax itself. Over this the mould is applied, first with fine sand laid on with a brush, afterwards with stronger and coarser material. The wax can then be melted out and the metal poured in to take its place. There is another and less simple way in which the wax can be inserted. First a clay model is made corresponding exactly to the required statue, and finished on the surface. Over this is placed the mould, by the same method as before. Then the mould is taken to pieces and the original clay model taken out. A coat of wax of the required thickness is then applied to the inside of the mould, and the rest is filled up with fireproof material to form the core. Then the wax is melted out and the metal poured in as before. This process seems to have been the one used by Polyclitus, to judge from his well-known saying, χαλεπώτατον τὸ ἔργον ὅταν ἐν ὄνυχι ὁ πηλός. He would have said ὁ κηρός if he had used the simpler *cire perdue* process. On the other hand, we have no positive evidence that he or the other sculptors of his time used wax at all, although we know that the use of wax in bronze foundry was practised at least by later Greek artists.

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[1] ix. 12. 4.

Technical details in this process—such as the insertion of bars to hold apart the core and the mould when the wax was withdrawn, the holes and channels for pouring the wax out and the bronze in, and the vent-holes for the escape of the air—must have been similar at all times. The core was usually, though not always,[1] extracted by being broken up and drawn out through holes left for the purpose.

It was common in Greece to cast a bronze statue in parts, which were afterwards welded together. Thus upon a fifth-century vase,[2] representing the interior of a bronze sculptor's workshop, we see an unfinished statue into which a workman is fixing one of the arms, while the head lies beside him on the ground. The same vase shows also the final process, subsequent to the casting; the surface is being polished by strigil-like instruments. Details also, especially in the treatment of the hair, were worked with a graver or other sharp tool; the eyes were usually inserted in different materials, and various details were often inlaid in silver or other metal. Indeed, so much depended on this finishing of the surface of the bronze itself, that it was necessary for a sculptor in bronze to be also a master of "caelatura"—that is to say, to know all the technical processes used for decorative work in metal.

Silver was also used occasionally as a material for sculpture, mostly for statuettes and for decorative work. It was especially preferred by some artists of Hellenistic time, such as Boethus.

The use of gold in gold and ivory sculpture has already been spoken of as a development of wood technique. Statues were also made entirely of gold, mostly as sumptuous dedications by the rich tyrants of early times. Such golden statues are usually especially distinguished by the name Sphyrelata, *beaten with the hammer*; the process was probably the same as that mentioned for early bronze works which were beaten out in plates by a similar process, and not cast. The most famous example was the colossal Zeus dedicated by the Cypselids of Corinth at Olympia. The partial or complete gilding of statues in inferior materials, not only bronze but also marble, was common enough at all times.

(4) *Terra-cotta, etc.*—Greek terra-cottas really form a subject by themselves, which cannot be included in such a work as this; but they cannot be altogether omitted, since they have in earlier times some influence on the formation of sculptural

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[1] In early bronzes the core is often left inside; see Furtwängler, *Olympia IV. Bronzen*, text, p. 9.

[2] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 506; also frontispiece to Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture.*

types, and in later times they fall under the influence of various artists or artistic tendencies, and so preserve sometimes what would otherwise have been altogether lost to us. At the same time, monumental sculpture in terra-cotta seems to have been very rare in Greece itself, though it was pretty common in Italy: many terra-cotta statues of life-size or larger have been found in Cyprus; and there are the remains of at least one on the Acropolis at Athens in very archaic style.

The great majority of Greek terra-cottas are either reliefs or small statuettes, and in almost all cases these are cast from a mould, though details and accessories were often added with the hand; in the case of statuettes it was usual to mould the front only, and either to leave the back plain or to model it roughly by hand. The great distinction between this use of moulds and what we find in the case of bronzes is that the moulds for terra-cottas were frequently used again and again, not once only—in fact, that the production of terra-cottas was regarded as a commercial handicraft rather than as an art. The head, the arms, and other parts, such as the wings of winged figures, were often moulded separately, and fixed into their place afterwards; and thus it was possible to produce considerable variety even in figures cast from the same mould. The painting, too, which was usually applied to terra-cottas leaves room for considerable variety.

Copies of statues by known artists are very rarely, but occasionally, found in terra-cotta. Thus there is in Athens a free copy of the Hermes of Praxiteles;[1] and a copy of the Diadumenus of Polyclitus, reproduced in the *Hellenic Journal*, Pl. lxi., is, if genuine, among the finest antique terra-cottas that have survived. The great number of terra-cotta figures found at Tanagra and elsewhere in Greece, though many of them of wonderful grace and beauty, do not give us much help in restoring the great works of art of the period to which they belong, mostly the fourth and third centuries B.C. Nor are the later and more florid works from Myrina and elsewhere in Asia Minor of more use for our present purpose.

Statuettes in glazed ware or faience are not very common, and are mostly made under foreign influence, chiefly Egyptian. Some of the finest specimens were probably made in Egypt itself. But even if these are of purely Greek work, they are not, any more than terra-cottas, of any great value as part of the monumental evidence as to the history of Greek sculpture.

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[1] 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1892, Pl. vii.

(5) *The Application of Colour to Sculpture.*[1]—There is little doubt that the intention of the primitive artist was to imitate his living models as nearly as possible in colour as well as in form; but it is the great merit of the early Greek sculptor to appreciate the difficulty of this attempt, and to limit his endeavours accordingly. Convention is the natural result of this artistic feeling—that is to say, the artist is led to select from the infinite variety of nature such set types of form and such schemes of colour as he feels himself able to deal with; it is this characteristic beyond all others that distinguishes the first promise of an artistic style from the crude attempts of the barbarian. Terra-cottas and sculptures in rough stone show us the early use of such a scheme of colours, more or less conventional in its application. The commonest arrangement, which we find continuing in terra-cotta through all periods, is to use white for the skin of women, and flesh colour varying from pink to reddish-brown for that of men; dark red for the hair and eyes, and red and white, as well as other simple colours, for the drapery and accessories. But there is no fixed rule about this: thus in the rough stone architectural sculptures on the Acropolis at Athens we see dark blue, probably used as a conventional substitute for black, applied to the beard and hair of men, and to the whole coat of a horse or a bull; and the eyes of the Typhon are green.

The introduction of marble probably had the greatest influence in the modification of this system. In some early marble works we still find the old system preserved of covering the whole surface with colour. But for the skin of female figures the white surface of the marble already offered the required colour without the addition of any further pigment; and when an opportunity had thus been given for appreciating the exquisite texture of the marble and the beauty with which it adapted itself to the rendering of the human skin, the result was inevitable. We accordingly find the plan of colouring the whole surface of a statue almost entirely given up in the best period; and although no fixed and general rules can be laid down as to the practice of Greek sculptors in this matter, the scanty hints given us by ancient authorities accord so well with the results of recent discovery that there cannot be much doubt as to the most usual proceedings.

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[1] See Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, art. "Pictura"; Baumeister, art. "Polychromie," where other references are given; M. Collignon, *La Polychromie dans la sculpture grecque.*

We must distinguish in the case of marble between two processes—the treatment of coloration of the whole surface, and the application of bands or points of colour to details, in such a way as to throw up and emphasise the effect of the whole. The first process, which was called by the Greeks γάνωσις, was applied, as we are told by Vitruvius, to the nude parts of statues; and we learn from the same authority that it required frequent renewal. We need not therefore be surprised to find that few if any traces of it are to be found upon extant statues, since either exposure to the air or burial in the earth would have destroyed them. We usually notice, however, on any statues that have been finely finished and well preserved, and have escaped the hand of the restorer, that there is a difference in the nature of the surface between the nude parts and the drapery, beyond what is due to the purely sculptural processes. This difference must be due to the γάνωσις. The means by which it was carried out are also told us by Vitruvius and Pliny. White Punic wax was mingled with a little oil and applied with a brush; then heat was applied to make it even and to cause it to sink in; after this the marble was rubbed over with a wax candle and polished with linen cloths. The effect of such a process would be to soften the white glare of the marble without in any way obscuring its texture. It is true that the descriptions of this process are of too late authority for us to accept them with certainty as applying to Greek sculpture of an earlier period. In Hellenistic and Roman times the custom of polishing the surface of marble was carried to a reprehensible extreme, so that in some cases the beautiful texture of the material is obscured, and it is made to resemble majolica in appearance; but there does not seem any reason for doubting that a similar process, though applied with more artistic moderation, was usual in earlier times.

The second process, the object of which was not to tone the surface of the marble itself, but to offer a contrast to it, and so to enhance the effect of its colour and texture, was called in Latin *circumlitio*; we can only conjecture the Greek term corresponding, but the methods employed by Greek artists, especially of early period, are now fairly well known to us. This is due to the discovery of the statues on the Acropolis, which preserve to a remarkable degree their original colouring; these are so numerous that it is possible to have confidence in the evidence they afford. Previously the examples of clear traces of colour upon free statues were so scanty, and belonged mostly to so late a period, that it was dangerous to draw inferences from them as to the regular practice of Greek sculpture. In the early marble statues on the Acropolis we find the large surfaces of the marble invariably left plain, while only borders or details are added, mostly in rich dark colours. Thus the hair is usually painted dark red; and red is also applied to the lips and the iris of the eye; the eyebrows, the outlines of the eyelids and the iris, and the whole of the pupil are painted with a dark pigment, almost black, thus reminding us of the statement of Plato, that in statues the most beautiful part of the human body, the eye, was usually painted black. The drapery also is left in its large masses in the natural colour of the marble. No garment is coloured all over, unless only a very small part of it shows, and thus it does not offer a broad mass of colour, but merely a patch which serves to contrast with the colour and texture of the marble displayed through the rest of the statue. A similar effect is produced by the borders of rich colour and design which we see on almost every garment, and by the ornaments scattered over their surface. The effect of this painted decoration is extremely rich and harmonious; the texture and colour of the marble are not obscured, but enhanced by contrast; and we have from these sculptures none of the unpleasant impression which is given, for example, by a coloured cast. The reason is not far to seek. In an object covered completely with an opaque coat of colour, the true surface is hidden, and there consequently arises a suspicion of an inferior material. Here the texture and quality of the marble are emphasised rather than obscured.

We have no reason to suppose that the rules as to colouring that we have observed in this instance were observed by Greek sculptors of all schools and periods. We have, indeed, direct evidence to the contrary. For example, in a statue of Aphrodite from Pompeii,[1] which leans on a draped idol of archaistic work, imitated from the type preserved in the Acropolis statues, the drapery of this archaistic figure is coloured all over, both the inner and the outer garment; and the drapery of the goddess herself is also coloured, though in paler and more delicate tints. In the archaistic figure the artist seems to have chosen purposely the primitive practice of colouring the whole surface, though we have seen it was soon given up in marble work. As to his own statue it is harder to speak; he may have been following a practice common in his time, of which other examples are preserved; it is indeed possible that it was not unknown at any period to give a wash of colour, tinting but not obscuring the surface of the marble even on the nude parts, before the process of polishing with wax. But the evidence that we possess tends to show that such colouring was unusual. In any case, we may be sure that the application of colour, if not always according to the rules we have observed, was always within strict artistic limits, and that there was no tendency in a Greek marble statue to resemble a wax-work image. That the process was not a purely mechanical one, but required the utmost artistic skill and taste, is sufficiently proved by the fact that the great painter Nicias did not consider it beneath him to undertake the *circumlitio*, the adding of details in colour, to the statues of Praxiteles; and that Praxiteles esteemed most highly such of his works as had the advantage of this painter's finishing touch.

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[1] Baumeister, *Denkm.* Pl. xlvii.; *A.Z.*, 1881, Pl. vii.

The gilding of statues was a more mechanical process, and required frequent renewing, as we learn from inscriptions and other evidence. Gilding was applied not only to bronze, but also to marble; thus we hear that the Eros of Thespiae, by Praxiteles, had gilt wings, though the taste that permitted this was impugned by some later critics; and in the case of the same artist's Hermes, the only remains of colour found at its discovery were some traces of red and gilding upon the sandal.

In relief work colour was more freely used than in sculpture in the round. In architectural friezes, for example, the whole relief was often regarded as a coloured member, contrasting with the white surfaces around, and therefore both drapery and flesh were sometimes coloured in their broad masses. The background was usually painted red or blue; details and accessories were very frequently added in colour only; indeed, in some cases the artist trusted quite as much to the colour as to the relief for the effect he wished to produce. This is especially the case with architectural sculpture. Greek architecture was assisted by painting in just the same way as Greek sculpture—that is to say, the broad masses and principal supporting members, such as the columns and the architrave, were left in the natural colour of the marble, while mouldings and other details were picked out in colour. To harmonise with the effect thus produced, we should expect the larger sculptural groups, pediments, etc., that ornament a building, to be left also without colour in their broad masses, and to have details added by painting; and this appears to have been usually the case.[1] The wall which formed a background to such groups was painted blue or red, just as the ground of a relief. In some early architectural reliefs, however, the background was left plain; and then the coloured figures stood out against this background, with much the same effect as we see on early vases.

A few passages in ancient authors seem at first sight to imply that some colouring process was applied also to sculpture in bronze. Thus we hear of the pale hue given by Silanion to his bronze statue of the dying Jocasta; and we hear in another instance of a reddish flush being imparted by an admixture of iron with the bronze. It is obvious that in a statue cast in one piece there can be no question of giving a local colour to some part by any such process. The stories in question may be due merely to a literal interpretation by later compilers of what was originally a purely rhetorical description, such as was not intended to imply any technical subtlety of execution, but merely to record the impression produced. But in other cases either a mixture of bronze of an appropriate colour may have been selected for the whole statue, or else some parts may have been cast separately and inserted. Such insertions, often in silver, gave much the same effect in a bronze statue as the painting of details on marble. In particular, the eyes were usually of inserted materials—a proceeding occasionally transferred also to marble. But any attempt to apply a pigment to the surface of a bronze statue seems out of the question. On the other hand, gilding either of the whole or of parts was very common.

(6) *The Use of Pointing from a Finished Model.*—In the case

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[1] It is attested, *e.g.*, in the case of the Aeginetan sculptures.

of bronze statues, if cast and not made by the primitive hammering process, a full-sized finished model, in some easily worked and perishable material, is an obvious necessity. And we have seen that in the case of gold and ivory works also a full-sized model seems to be technically indispensable. When we come to consider marble sculpture, the case is by no means so clear. The practice among modern sculptors is to prepare first a full-sized and finished model in clay; from this a cast is usually made in plaster or some other more durable material. On the cast a number of points are marked; these points are then transferred to the block of marble by a mechanical process of measurement, and are drilled in to the required depth. The superfluous marble is cut away until the points are reached, and then nothing remains to be done but to give the last finish to the surface of the marble. This last process ought of course to be the work of the sculptor's own hand, though it is now not infrequently left to skilled assistants; but the more mechanical work of pointing and chiselling away the bulk of the marble is generally done by trained workmen. It is clear that on a statue made by this process, if left unfinished, some trace of the measured points (called *puntelli*) is pretty sure to remain; and it is thus easy to ascertain whether they formed part of the method followed by ancient sculptors. And in fact we can see such *puntelli* upon several unfinished works of sculpture. But these mostly belong to Hellenistic or Roman times; and even on works of this later period they are not always to be seen,[1] while on earlier monuments they seem to be almost, if not entirely, unknown. If we turn to our literary authorities, all indications point in the same direction. Thus we are told that Pasiteles, who worked in Rome in the first century B.C., asserted modelling in clay to be the mother of all kinds of sculpture; and that he never made a statue without first preparing a model in clay. Such a specific statement in his case seems to imply that the practice was by no means universal. And Arcesilaus, whose clay models are said to have been sold at a higher rate than the finished works of other artists, was a contemporary of Pasiteles. Pliny says again that it was due to the invention or the example of Lysistratus, the brother of Lysippus, that the practice became so prevalent that no statue was made without the construction of a clay model.[1] We are therefore prepared to find that in unfinished statues of earlier date, not only is there no sign of *puntelli*, but the whole system of cutting is one that implies the absence of such mechanical help; the sculptor seems to be cutting his way down to his statue with a caution that would not be needed if the depth to which he was to cut in each place were already measured and marked out.

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[1] Not, *e.g.*, on the unfinished parts of the small frieze from Pergamus.

It does not of course follow because no mechanical system of pointing was used, that there was no clay model at all; this is a question on which we cannot expect to find much evidence, and different opinions may be held, according to various views as to the probability of the case. From the earliest time modelling in clay was customary, and a material so easy to work must always have been preferable for the first efforts of the learner. But in early times the number of sculptural types was so limited that there was really no need for the sculptor to make a model in clay before beginning to carve a statue in stone or marble. The type was fixed for him, and very possibly already before his eyes in a conventional model. Such variety as he might introduce in his work was rather in the study of detail than in the general conformation of the figure; and although he may often have made a sketch in clay of what he had observed in nature, there is no reason to suppose that he worked this into a full-sized and complete clay model before he began cutting into his block of marble. When we come to the period of artistic freedom, the conditions are altered; at such a time it seems obvious that a sculptor would embody his first conception of a work of art in a sketch in clay or wax,[2] but it does not follow that he made a finished and full-sized model in one of these materials before he attacked his marble, which he cut, as we have seen, more or less freehand. A full-sized clay or plaster model to work from is not in such a case indispensable, though doubtless the more cautious and studious among sculptors would usually prefer to have one. But we must remember that the confidence and freedom given to an ancient sculptor by the force of tradition, hereditary skill, and training, as well as by the constant observation of the living and moving human form in the palaestra and elsewhere, gave him a great advantage over the modern artist, who is mainly dependent on the study of posed models. And, moreover, the ease with which the finest marble could be obtained made it a far less serious loss if some few blocks were spoiled than is the case now, when fine blocks have to be procured from a distance and bought at fancy prices. There is nothing impossible in a sculptor's working without a full-sized model; Michael Angelo, for example, is recorded to have done so often. And although there probably was no set custom in the matter, and the practice of different artists varied according to their surroundings or their individual facility, it is likely that Greek sculptors of the finest period of art often dispensed with any such help. In later times, when genius and inspiration were less frequent, and art was more a matter of academic study, we find that the use of finished clay models became as universal as it is at the present day, and that their form was transferred to the marble by the same mechanical process that is now in use. The *puntelli*, however, seem, from their comparatively limited number, to have been rather a help to the sculptor in carving the marble in which his idea was to be finally embodied, than a purely mechanical means of producing a marble facsimile of the clay model that is too often, in our day, the final embodiment of the sculptor's own work.

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[1] xxxv. 153, "crevitque res in tantum ut nulla signa statuaeve sine argilla fierent." These words are clear enough, but they do not follow on what has just preceded, which refers to taking casts from statues. Either something is lost, or Pliny in compiling has omitted something from his authority.

[2] *Cf.* p. 405, models made by Timotheus.

(7) *Frontality in early art; the "memory picture."*[1]—We have already noticed the conventions and restrictions which were imposed upon the early artist by the material in which he worked. But, in addition to these technical conditions there are others, of a psychological nature, which affect not only the early art of Greece, but all primitive artistic efforts, including those of children at the present day. They are mainly due to the fact that the primitive artist does not, as a rule, draw or paint or model or carve from an object actually set before his eyes, but works mainly from memory; and this "memory picture," as it has been called, follows certain natural laws which may readily be observed, and which have been clearly stated by Prof. Loewy and others. So far as sculpture is concerned, the most important of these is that in visual memory

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[1] See Lange, *Darstellung des Menschen in der älteren griechischen Kunst*; Loewy, *The Rendering of Nature in Early Greek Art*; P. Gardner, *Principles of Greek Art*, p. 105.

the most typical and usually the broadest aspect of any object tends to be recorded; thus a wheel is thought of as round, not as seen from in front or behind or foreshortened; similarly a fly is thought of as seen from above, a quadruped from the side. And because a complicated object, for example a human or animal figure, is not easy to grasp in a single effort of memory, such an object comes to be compounded of a series of recollections of its various parts, each in its broadest or most characteristic aspect; and these parts are often merely juxtaposed, not combined together into an organic whole. Thus we often find in early figures the head either full-face or in profile, the upper part of the body full-face, and the legs, from the waist down, in profile; but at the joins of the different parts, the neck and waist, there is no proper transition from the one aspect to the other, but a mere half or quarter turn of the body, as if on a pivot (Figs. 27, 28). Another characteristic of the "memory picture" is that objects tend to be simplified and schematised into more or less regular geometrical forms; an example of this may be seen in the shape of the upper part of the body in such statues as Figs. 13 and 16, which are contained by sloping and intersecting planes. Most of these characteristics apply to early drawings and reliefs; but the same conditions hold for some early statues, which are designed from one aspect only, such as Fig. 14. In the case of sculpture in the round the same principles do not at first sight seem equally applicable; but the processes used in early stone sculpture[1] show how they could be applied. In designing the outline of a statue on the front and on the side of a rectangular block, the sculptor followed in each case much the same process as if he were designing a relief; and it follows that an early statue is not really designed in the round, but rather in the flat from two different aspects. But this result is not due merely to technical conditions, as is shown by the fact that a square section is to be found not only in stone statues, but also in early bronze figures, which must have been cast from models made in clay or wax. The governing conditions must therefore have existed in the mind of the artist, not only in the character of his material.

This conception of the figure under one or at most two aspects underlies another principle known as the law of frontality. Prof. Lange states this as follows, in relation to early statues, whether Greek, Egyptian, or Assyrian:[1] "Whatever position the statue may assume, it follows the rule that a line imagined as passing through the skull, nose, backbone, and navel, dividing the body into two symmetrical halves, is invariably straight, never bending to either side. Thus a figure may bend backward or forward—this does not affect the line—but no sideways bending is to be found in neck or body. The legs are not always symmetrically placed; a figure may, for example, advance one foot farther than the other, or kneel with one knee on the ground, the other raised, but nevertheless the position of the legs shows the same line of direction as the trunk and the head. The position of the arms shows greater diversity, yet it is strictly limited by the attitude of the rest of the figure." This phenomenon is evidently due to the unifaciality of aspect already referred to; all motion is confined to a plane at right angles to this one aspect. About the beginning of the fifth century B.C. in Greece we shall find the first signs of deviation from the rigid symmetry between the two sides and from the uniformity of direction here noticed. But it is not until much later, not indeed until the finest age of Greek sculpture is past, that it completely frees itself from these restrictions, and comes to be designed as well as executed "in the round."

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[1] See p. 21.

(c) *Sculpture: Decorative, Architectural, Free*

If the whole abundance of Greek sculpture were available for our study as it was in the days of Pausanias, it would not often be necessary for us to go beyond the bounds of free sculpture. But the circumstances which have preserved to us the scanty remnants that we still possess have enhanced the historical value of much that must be regarded, in a sense, as decorative work. Owing to their position in the building, and the material of which they were made, the sculptures that ornamented the pediment and frieze of a temple have in many cases survived, when all the statues that stood in the same temple or were dedicated in the surrounding precinct have been destroyed. And again, even if these more portable statues were removed and not destroyed, and so are preserved to our time, we frequently have no clue to guide us in seeking to ascertain when or where they were made; while the sculptural decoration of a temple is often recorded by historical evidence, or can be dated by the architectural forms of the building itself. We must, however, in making use of architectural or decorative sculpture as evidence for the history of art, remember the conditions prescribed by its surroundings, and allow for their influence upon the characteristics which we observe.

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[1] Trans. by P. Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 99.

In the earliest days of Greek sculpture there seems to have been little but rude, practically unsculptured, images of the gods, and decorative relief-work, mostly in metal or wood. It was from the dedications set up in temple precincts, or the monuments erected over graves, that free sculpture seems to have been developed; but the influence of the decorative work was also very great. By it many types were preserved, if not originated which afterwards came to be adopted into the repertoire of Greek sculpture; and it produced a skill in working metal, and even a study of nature in detail, which were of the greatest service to the advance of art. There is a whole series of these decorative works, beginning with the shields and other things described by Homer, and leading up to such compositions as the chest of Cypselus, the Amyclaean throne, and even the throne of Zeus at Olympia, with which we shall have to deal in turn.

The sculptural decoration of temples occupies an even more prominent place in the history of Greek art, and in some cases offers the most trustworthy evidence we possess as to some particular sculptor or school; the metopes of Selinus, the pediments from Aegina, the Elgin marbles from the Parthenon, the heads by Scopas from the temple at Tegea, may almost be said to offer the foundation on which much of the history of Greek sculpture has been reconstructed. With these also we must deal, each in its place. But here we may note the general conditions under which architectural sculpture was made, in order that we may not be obliged to return to them when speaking of each work as we come to it in the historical treatment of the subject.

It may be laid down as a general rule that sculptural decoration may not be applied to those parts of a building which are essential to its structure or stability. In the columns, for example, and the architrave that rests upon them, we see the fundamental forms of Greek architecture; and to weaken these in appearance by carving is clearly inappropriate. Yet we find exceptions even in this case. At Assos the architrave was sculptured, and at Ephesus the columns of the temple were decorated with bands of figures. In both these cases the anomaly is probably to be ascribed to a survival from the custom of covering wooden beams and supports with bronze casing, ornamented with repoussé work. A still more striking exception occurs when a sculptured figure is substituted for a column, as in some of the early treasuries at Delphi; in the case of the Caryatids at the Erechtheum the entablature to be carried is an exceptionally light one, and does not carry the weight of the building above it. On the other hand, sculpture may most appropriately be applied to fill the gaps between the supporting or carrying members. Statues may be placed between the columns; though in the case of temples this was usually inconvenient, as impeding the passage, it was probably done in the case of monuments such as the Nereid monument and the Mausoleum. Above the architrave, in the Doric order, the triglyphs seem to continue the supporting lines of the columns, and the spaces between them, the metopes, may be filled with sculpture; again, between the top of the horizontal entablature and the gable of the roof, the triangular field of the pediment seems to invite the ornament of a sculptural composition. And above the line of the roof, figures may be added which stand out against the sky.

In any temple there are, properly speaking, only two places where sculptural decoration is prescribed by the normal rules of the order, whether Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian. Sculpture is never an indispensable adjunct, but it may be applied either to the pediment or to the frieze. In addition to this, acroteria were usually placed on the three angles of each pediment. Sometimes these consisted of purely decorative vegetable or animal forms; frequently they were single figures, often of Victories, which showed up appropriately as floating figures against the sky; sometimes, as at Delos, they were complicated groups; but here also the subjects were chosen appropriately: the winged Boreas carrying off Orithyia, and the winged Eos carrying off Cephalus, were peculiarly adapted for such a position.

The pediment itself, with its elongated triangular field, has at all times offered the greatest difficulties to the sculptor, and has, partly through the pressure of those very difficulties, produced the greatest and most harmonious compositions. The varying height of the field—from the centre, which seems to require a colossal form to fill it, to the angles, where there is barely room for a reclining figure—requires the utmost ingenuity on the part of the artist if the whole is to be occupied by a single group, in which no great variety in the size of the various figures is admissible. And besides this, the massive architectural frame requires a similarly broad and massive treatment in the figures themselves; while the wish for contrast often makes quick and even violent motion seem necessary, if the monotony and repose of the surroundings are to be broken through at all.

The earliest pediments which we possess are those sculptured in rough stone on the Acropolis at Athens, which, as we shall see, are certainly to be regarded as a development of Ionic art. These are almost without exception scenes of combat, and the subjects chosen provide in every case an antagonist with a tail like that of a snake or a fish, to fill with its coils the angles of the pediments. In some cases the sculpture is in comparatively low relief, in others the figures are practically in the round, and are merely set against a background—a practice which prevails in later pediments, and which is almost necessitated by the strong projection of the architectural frame. In one of these pediments we meet with another device which was very widely adopted—the introduction of a chariot; the length of the car and the horses is an invaluable help in filling the long and narrowing field, and it also forms a most convenient separation between the middle group, in which the interest of the composition centres, and the subordinate figures at the sides, which may thus even be on a slightly smaller scale without attracting attention. When there are two chariots, balancing one another in the same pediment, as at Olympia and probably on the Parthenon, the advantage is still greater.

Combat scenes are the rule on most other early pediments: a gigantomachy was the subject of the earliest marble pediment at Athens, and of the pediment of the Megarian Treasury at Olympia; and the Aegina pediments are another familiar instance. Here we not only have the required motive for violent motion, but the various positions assumed by the combatants fit the field excellently; the kneeling bowmen are behind the standing figures, and the kneeling spearmen are grouped appropriately with those who lie wounded or dying in the corners. Other motives are employed in other pediments for the reclining figures which fill the corners; river gods, to whom such a posture is appropriate, appear in several cases, and the convenience of this application perhaps had some influence in fixing the type. Another, and still finer, device for filling the corners was used on the Parthenon, where the sun rising with his team from the sea at one end is balanced by the sinking moon at the other; at Delphi the setting of the sun was probably used as a similar device, with the rising moon as its counterpart.

With the peculiar artistic excellences or defects which appear in the composition of various extant pedimental groups we shall have to deal in each case separately; but there are some few general characteristics which may be noted here once for all. We have seen already that either rest and stability on the one hand, or violent motion on the other, is required by the massive architectural frame, according to two alternative principles: the artist either wished his figures to harmonise with the restful and quiet surroundings in which they were placed, or else he made them produce variety of effect by their contrast with the rigid lines by which they were contained. In many temples of the finest period we find a still further refinement; the quieter scene is usually assigned to the eastern pediment, which is on the front of the temple, while at the back, on the western pediment, we find a group in vigorous motion. This is especially the case in the temple at Olympia, where the antagonists about to enter the chariot race stand around Zeus the arbiter in a quiet, almost monotonously symmetrical, group on the eastern pediment, while the western is filled with the struggling groups and violent contortions of the fight of the Lapiths and Centaurs. So too at Delphi we are told that on the eastern pediment was Apollo with his choir of Muses; on the western Dionysus with his rout of Maenads. In the Parthenon the distinction, though more subtle, is still of a similar nature: the birth of Athena on the eastern pediment, her contest with Poseidon on the western. The notion appears to have been that, while the more violent or terrible manifestations of divine power were conspicuously recorded on the temple, the worshipper approaching and entering the shrine should rather be impressed with the quieter and more majestic aspect of the god, whose statue within usually expressed his benignity rather than the power of his wrath. But this rule about the pediments was not universally followed even after it had become customary. For example, the two pediments of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, designed by Scopas, had the hunt of the Calydonian boar in front, the combat of Achilles and Telephus at the back.

Apart from pedimental groups, as we have seen, the only proper place for sculpture on any building is the frieze. The architrave, which rests immediately on the columns, is too essentially a supporting member to bear a weakening of its apparent strength and massiveness by sculptural decoration, though the experiment of ornamenting it with bas-reliefs was tried on the temple of Assos. In the case of the frieze there is no such objection. In the Doric order the massive triglyphs, which rest on the architrave, offer ample support to the cornice above, and thus the metopes, or open spaces between them, offer most suitable fields for sculptural groups. The architectural frame in this case is even heavier than in the pediment, and so the same conditions we have already noticed apply here with still greater force. The square field practically limits the composition to groups of two or sometimes three figures; and scenes of combat, with their violent motion and angular composition of lines, offer the best contrast to the surrounding architecture. When a third figure is introduced, it is in most cases necessarily cramped, close against the margin of the metope. The favourite subjects for the metopes of a temple are naturally such as may easily be divided up into a number of separate scenes. Such subjects are the labours of Heracles and of Theseus, or the combats of gods with giants or of Greeks with Centaurs, which comply best with the necessary conditions, and therefore are most commonly employed. Occasionally we find instances where a single scene is divided between two or more metopes, as in the combat between Heracles and Geryon on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and on the Theseum; but such a treatment could only be made tolerable by accepted convention, and to this it never attained.

The normal place for the sculptured metopes on a Doric temple is on the outside of the temple—that is to say, above the columns of the peristyle; this is where we find them on the Parthenon and elsewhere. On the Theseum, only the metopes at the front or east face are sculptured, in addition to four at the east end of the sides. The rest of the metopes at the sides are plain, and were possibly ornamented by painting. But at Olympia the sculptured metopes are not above the columns of the peristyle, but above the columns of the pronaus and opisthodomus of the temple itself. Thus they were seen between the columns of the peristyle at the front and the back.

In the lighter Ionic entablature it is by no means the universal practice to interpose a decorated band between the architrave and the cornice; a sculptured frieze seems to have been absent from many of the chief Ionic buildings of Asia Minor. In the Nereid monument the architrave was itself sculptured. When there is a frieze, the support of the triglyphs is dispensed with, and the frieze appears as a continuous band of ornament above the triple architrave. The most suitable subjects for such a long narrow field are continuous scenes of combat or processions. The usual position for this frieze also is above the columns of the peristyle, on the outside of the temple; at Phigalia the frieze runs round above the internal Ionic columns, surrounding the central chamber of the temple, which, however, resembles an open court rather than a cella. We find a continuous Ionic frieze used also to add to the ornamentation of Doric temples, though not, of course, over the columns of the peristyle, where it would destroy the character of the order. The continuous frieze of the Parthenon is above the columns of the pronaus and opisthodomus of the temple itself, where we find the metopes at Olympia, and it is continued all round the walls of the cella, within the peristyle. For an advancing procession a peculiarly appropriate effect is thus gained; if it were seen by a spectator walking along the side of the building, and seeing successive portions of the frieze between the columns of the peristyle, the figures would seem to advance as he moved. Over the east end of the temple, where they would be seen from in front by the approaching worshipper, are placed the seated figures of the gods, who quietly await the approach of the procession: an arrangement similar in effect to that which we have noticed in the subjects of the pediments, but here even more subtle in its adaptation. In the Theseum, too, there is a continuous frieze above the antae and columns within the peristyle at the front and the back, where the Doric metopes are placed at Olympia. In the Theseum the subjects are scenes of combat, but on the east front, where the frieze runs not only between the antae, but also across the breadth of the peristyle at each side, there is a peculiar variety. Seated figures of divinities, as spectators of the scene, are introduced between the scenes of combat above the anta at each side, as if to continue the supporting member by a more quiet and stable group, the figures in violent action appearing only above the more open spaces in the structure.

Continuous bands of frieze were also applied sometimes to other parts of buildings; thus the Mausoleum had three such friezes, and according to the latest restoration none of these occupied the normal position in the entablature over the columns, though the exact position of the three is a matter of conjecture.

In later times panels of relief were frequently inserted in buildings, and in large vessels, in candelabra, etc., for a decorative purpose. The neo-Attic reliefs[1] were mostly designed for such use, and it was very common to adopt an affected archaistic style for such panels; the stiffness and conventionality of the figures was perhaps felt to bind them to their structural frame, and so to be more appropriate to such a purely decorative use than a free and naturalistic treatment. In fact, we only see in this case a more strict application of the principle which we have noticed in all decorative or architectural sculpture—that such sculpture must not be judged as if it existed for itself alone; but that we must make allowance for its relation to its surroundings, and regard it also as a part of a decorative whole.

(*d*) *Division of the Subject*

It will be convenient to divide the history of Greek art for the purpose of our present study into six periods, each to be considered in one of the six chapters contained in this book.

(1) Before 600 B.C. Early influences—Decorative art.
(2) 600 B.C. to 480 B.C. The rise of Greek sculpture.
(3) 480 B.C. to 400 B.C. The fifth century.
(4) 400 B.C. to 320 B.C. The fourth century.
(5) 320 B.C. to 100 B.C. The Hellenistic age.
(6) 100 B.C. to 300 A.D. The Graeco-Roman period.

In the first chapter we shall consider the influences prevalent in Greece and in the neighbouring countries during the period which immediately preceded the independent existence of Greek sculpture, and we shall observe the circumstances that surrounded its origin. We shall also seek for the germs which contained in themselves the possibility of so glorious a growth. We shall then proceed, in the second chapter, to see the earlier stages of development of Greek sculpture itself, from the rude and uncouth images which seem little better than the work of children or savages up to those last struggles with the technique of a difficult art that precede a perfect mastery over the material. This period fitly ends with the date of the battles of Salamis and Plataea; for we shall see how the Persian invasion and its repulse not only supplied fitting themes for the artist, but actually left an open field for the exercise of his art by destroying much of the work of his predecessors. The third chapter will deal with the age of highest attainment, when the sculptor, already competent to express his thought in bronze or in marble, or in yet richer materials, is also inspired by the noblest ideals—the age of Phidias and Polyclitus, when the Greek conception of the highest gods found its most perfect embodiment, and the form of man was rendered in its most perfect type. We shall then see, in the fourth chapter, how a greater delicacy and more refined beauty, with a skill in rendering various passions and moods, mark the period of Scopas and Praxiteles, while academic study and care of execution distinguish the school of Lysippus. The Hellenistic age, which owes its character to the conquests of Alexander, may be considered to begin with his death in 323 B.C., which is therefore approximately taken as the beginning of our fifth chapter, in which we shall trace the development of Greek sculpture in its new homes in the East. The sack of Corinth (146 B.C.) might perhaps be fitly taken as the beginning of the Graeco-Roman age, to which our sixth chapter is devoted; but perhaps the beginning of the first century B.C. is a more convenient limit, since it is reached, even in some cases a little transgressed, by the later developments of some of the Hellenistic schools. To fix a downward limit for the Graeco-Roman age is not easy; but perhaps some approximation to the date of the foundation of Constantinople, in 324 A.D., may be taken, for the Byzantine age is completely beyond the scope of the present work. So also, for that matter, are the monumental sculpture and portraiture which are especially

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[1] See § 77.

Roman in character; by Graeco-Roman work is meant that produced to meet the demand of the Roman market for Greek sculpture, while the taste was in fashion—or at least produced under the influences to which that demand had given rise.

It is clear that a continuous development such as is here traced might be followed both backwards and forwards in a more or less unbroken succession; but by limiting ourselves to Greek sculpture, we are precluded from pursuing our studies into a region identified with the history or attainments of earlier or later nations; on these we must touch only so far as they are indispensable to the illustration of that portion of the history of sculpture which is now before us.

CHAPTER I

EARLY INFLUENCES—DECORATIVE ART

§ 1. *Limits of the Subject.*—The necessity of studying the influences which surrounded the origin of Greek sculpture is closely bound up with the question how far Greek art is of independent origin, how far it is derived from earlier sources. Very different opinions may be, and have been, held upon this subject, and the truth, as usual, lies between the two extreme views. Brunn[1] has suggested an analogy which may help us to comprehend the matter aright. "The Greeks," he says, "borrowed the alphabet from the Phoenicians, yet they wrote with it, not Phoenician, but their own tongue. Even so they borrowed from their predecessors the alphabet of art, yet always, in art as in literature, spoke their own language." There is so much truth in the comparison that it is worth following a little more into detail. By the alphabet of art is meant that system of conventions which is essential to the translation of natural and living forms into marble or bronze. It is true that the system that must be adopted in sculpture is not so purely conventional as the alphabet, that the relation of art to nature is not in this case of the same arbitrary nature as the relation of alphabetic symbol to spoken sound; but at the same time, it is impossible to reproduce exactly in art the colours and forms of nature; nor even, if it were possible, would it be desirable, unless the object in view were a wax-work show. We have already noticed[2] that the early artist worked usually from memory, not from a model posed before him; and his memory would doubtless be influenced by representations which he had seen, made by artists of greater skill and experience than he himself possessed. The treatment of hair and eye, the rendering of various textures, even the position adopted for a statue or the composition of a group in primitive times, all partake more or less of the character of conventions; and although a sculptor of an advanced school may try merely to reproduce in a permanent material the effect which he sees in nature with his own eyes, he must always be, consciously or unconsciously, affected by the conventions adopted by his predecessors. But at a time when the art of sculpture is in its infancy, the difficulties that meet the artist at every turn must often compel him to imitate the conventions which he sees in earlier models, of whatever origin; although he must of course modify and supplement these by his own direct observation of nature until he acquires a style which justifies his claim to have founded a new and independent school of sculpture. Style—which may be defined, in the case of sculpture, as a system of translation by which living nature is reproduced in material and permanent form—must thus be due to an enlargement of convention, as well as to a selection from nature. And while it is in the latter that the true genius of an artist or of a nation shows itself, the former cannot be ignored; and therefore the sources whence the particular conventions were derived must be taken into account in the historical study of any artistic development. We need not then think it any derogation to Greek sculpture if we trace the foreign influences that surrounded it in its earliest years; in the use it made of those influences we shall see the promise of that free and perfect development that marks its prime. As F. A. Lange has well said,[1] "the true independence of Greek art lies in its perfection, not in its origin."

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[1] *Die Kunst bei Homer*, München, 1868.

[2] Introd. (*b*) 7.

We may admit that the alphabet of art was borrowed by the Greeks from their predecessors; but the statement that they used it to write their own language from the first still requires explanation. An illustration which is also suggested by Brunn himself will help us. Egyptian or Assyrian wall reliefs are like prose chronicles or inventories, often indeed with poetic or imaginative touches in detail, but intended rather to record facts or to supply testimony to the possessions and exploits of kings and men, than to embody an idea or to present an artistic picture of life or story. Even the space is clearly mapped out with this view, and we miss the symmetry and composition that distinguish the most primitive Greek works. On the other hand, in Greek sculpture from the first we find the presentation of scenes which are imaginary and typical rather than records of actual events, and we meet with an attempt to express conceptions and ideas of poetical nature; the artist's imagination is always exercised as well as the manual skill or keen observation of nature in which he may be rivalled by his predecessors. We shall see this tendency in the poetical description of a work of art by Homer, even before Greek sculpture existed; the subjects selected, their arrangement, composition, and conception already show the poetical choice of subject which we shall always find to be characteristic of Greek sculpture. Gods and heroes and mythical scenes may not have been the first subjects which it attempted, but they always offered its chief themes; and the devotion of art to the service of religion influenced, at least in earlier times, both the matter and the manner of its representations.

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[1] *Geschichte des Materialismus*, i. 127; quoted in Friederichs-Wolters, p. 12.

§ 2. *Egyptian Art.*—The art of Egypt could only have influenced the rising art of Greece at a very late period of its own development; but in order to appreciate its character at this period, some knowledge of its previous vicissitudes is necessary. The best times of Egyptian art, when nature was studied with extraordinary fidelity, and individual character was expressed with the greatest cleverness, go back to an age too remote for us even to realise, variously dated from about 5000 to about 3000 B.C. After a long period of comparatively uninterrupted development, the history of Egyptian art is rudely interrupted by the rule of the Hyksos or "shepherd kings"—Asiatic invaders who held Egypt for about five centuries, until they were expelled by a national rising in about 1600 B.C. These Hyksos, though they adopted many Egyptian customs, including that of setting up monuments of sculpture, seem to have been of barbarous taste, and to have debased the quality of the sculpture which they employed, while they imported into it mixed animal and other forms which are due to Asiatic symbolism. After their expulsion come the great dynasties of the Ramses and others under whom the Egyptian Empire attained its highest power and influence; under their rule the largest and most imposing monuments of Egyptian sculpture and architecture were erected, but their costly materials and colossal size could not compensate the loss of the freshness and originality which had distinguished the first bloom of Egyptian art. It was during the reigns of these kings that Egypt was repeatedly threatened by the Libyans, who, as we shall see, were helped by Greek allies who have left traces of their invasion and occupation of the country. After another period of anarchy and confusion comes a second national revival under Psammetichus I. (664-610 B.C.)—a prince who won the rule of Egypt by the help of Greek and Carian mercenaries. We have now actually reached the historical period in the relations between Egypt and Greece; and the later history of these relations, under Psammetichus and his successors, especially Amasis, belongs to the record of later Greek colonisation, and not to that of the primitive influences with which we are here concerned. The Egyptian art of the period of Psammetichus is that with which we have to deal in considering the influence of Egypt upon Greece just before the rise of Greek sculpture. This seventh-century work in Egypt is characterised by a fine and delicate style, which contrasts with the colossal monuments of the earlier national revival, and recalls in its treatment the models of the earliest and finest period before the Hyksos invasion. The elaborate and perfect technique of this later Egyptian art, its complete mastery of the subjects it chose to represent, and its system of conventions, surmounting or avoiding every difficulty that a sculptor has to meet, were the very characteristics most likely to impress and influence an art like that of Greece in its infancy; for it supplied the "alphabet" of art which the Greek as yet lacked; while its stereotyped forms and lack of new ideas to express were no drawbacks to one who was only embarrassed by the freshness and variety of his own ideas, but was at a loss for the means to express them.

§ 3. *Assyrian Art.*—The art of Assyria, like that of Egypt, could only have influenced Greece at a late period of its own history; but the case here is somewhat different. With the primitive sculpture of the early Babylonian Empire we are not now concerned, except to notice that from it was derived the sculpture of Assyria, already even in the earliest examples that we know showing the character of a highly developed rather than an archaic period. Thus we see even in the fine reliefs of Assurnazirpal from Nimrud, which date from the earlier part of the ninth century B.C., an exaggerated and conventional rendering of the muscles where visible, and an over-elaboration in the ornament of the drapery, which could hardly be expected in any style not in direct succession to some earlier development. From this time onward the sculpture of Assyria continued to develop in the direction of grace and delicacy of execution, and of a vivid and truthful representation, especially of animal forms, until the reign of Assurbanipal, the last of the great Assyrian kings, whose palace at Nineveh (Kouyounjik) has yielded to the British Museum the reliefs which, if not the finest artistically, are certainly the most striking and characteristic examples of Assyrian art; the magnificent rendering of lions, horses, and dogs in these reliefs has never been surpassed, if equalled, in any sculpture ancient or modern. And it is these very animal forms which were the greater part of the elements borrowed from Assyria by Greece. In this case, however, the means of transmission are not at first easy to see. There was never any direct communication between Assyria and Greece. And although Sargon extended his rule to Syria and Cyprus (721–704 B.C.), and Assurbanipal could reckon even Gyges, king of Lydia, among his tributaries, the explanation of Assyrian influence on Greek art is hardly to be found in political events. The importance of the Phoenicians as intermediaries in this case will be spoken of in the next section. But it must not be forgotten that it was the rich woven and embroidered robes of Assyrian workmanship that were probably of most importance in transmitting Oriental types to the west; and these stuffs may have travelled by many channels. Into them were woven the wild beasts and also the fantastic winged animals that were so extensively imitated; and the decorative forms that ornamented the borders or the field also offered many models that were reproduced in painting or in carving.

If we went beyond the nature of the types borrowed, and asked what was the character of the style which Egypt and Assyria respectively offered to the admiration and imitation of the yet untrained Greek artist, we might well be led into a lengthy discussion. But here it must suffice to quote the admirable paragraph of M. Perrot on this subject[1]:—"The Egyptian sculptor simplifies the forms of nature, and sums them up, as it were, in an abbreviated abstract; the Assyrian renders them more at length and in detail. The former seems to see the human body through a fine veil, which hides from his view all accidents of surface and all unessential features, so as to leave visible nothing but the main outlines and the general effect of the contour. On the other hand, the Assyrian sculptor appears to study nature through a magnifying glass; he emphasises the things that the Egyptian refines away; he observes and exaggerates." It is clear, then, that if the Greek sculptor was likely to learn from Egypt the fixed types and conventional treatment which would help him to surmount the first difficulties of expression, he would also profit by the close observation of nature which is seen in Assyrian works, though joined with exaggeration in the execution; and from Assyria also he borrowed a wealth of decorative forms which he transformed and transmitted in endless variety. How these influences came to reach him must be considered in subsequent paragraphs.

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[1] *Histoire de l'Art*, ii. p. 693.

§ 4. *Phoenician Art.*—The art of Phoenicia stands upon quite a different footing from that of Egypt and Assyria. It is important to Greece, not as a source, but as a channel of influence. We shall not have to distinguish the types or motives that were first invented by the Phoenicians, for in almost every case where Phoenician influence can be traced downward into Greek art, it is also possible to trace it back to an earlier origin; but none the less there can be no doubt that Phoenician traders and Phoenician settlements in the Aegean must have taught much of the "alphabet of art" to the Greeks, who borrowed from them also the alphabet of letters.

It is difficult to obtain any accurate or complete notion of the history and attainments of Phoenician art, because it is uncertain how much of the carved work and reliefs, in metal or ivory or other materials, which Phoenician ships carried to every port of the Mediterranean, was made by them, how much they merely handed on as traders. We find during the period of Phoenician sea power a curious mixed art of which the products are spread from Mesopotamia to Italy, but it is by no means certain where the centre of its production was; it may have been produced in several districts, including Phoenicia itself; but it is a remarkable fact that in spite of careful and scientific explorations, Phoenicia itself has yielded practically no examples of the art of its inhabitants, while every other site explored upon the Mediterranean coasts has yielded more or less rich treasures due to Phoenician transport. Many fine examples of metal work have been found in the Dictaean cave in Crete; Cyprus and Etruria, especially, have yielded bowls of bronze and silver with concentric zones of ornament in relief which certainly must have a common origin; and that origin can hardly be sought elsewhere than in Phoenicia. If so, they certainly are the masterpieces of Phoenician art as now known to us. But these finest specimens can hardly be dated earlier than the sixth century B.C.[1]; and therefore, although their period coincides with that of the rise of Greek sculpture, they are already far removed from the age of those earlier arts that we have so far considered; besides this, they belong to a time when direct Phoenician influence was no longer felt in Greece. It is not, however, probable that they differ essentially from earlier products of the same art, made during the centuries in which Phoenicians still had in their hands most of the commerce of the Levant; and the more scanty remnants of earlier periods seem to have the same character. All alike show strangely composite scenes, in which types borrowed from Egyptian or Assyrian art alternate or are mingled in confusion; the result has been well compared by M. Perrot to what is called in chemistry a mechanical compound—one in which the constituent elements do not combine to form a new substance, but remain easily distinguishable, and do not modify their essential nature. Whether there was an earlier, independent Phoenician art[2] or not is a comparatively indifferent matter to us at present; for it was certainly this composite style which belonged to the art of the Phoenicians who were known to Homer, and who continued to trade with Greece until the markets of the Aegean were closed to them by later political changes.

The exact nature and extent of Phoenician influence on Greece are not easy to ascertain; tradition agrees with other evidence to show that the Phoenicians were not content with trading from port to port, but actually established commercial settlements in the Aegean. The islands of Thera, Rhodes, and others, were certainly occupied by them in this way; the tale of Cadmus and the Phoenician colony he established in Thebes may perhaps be regarded as having some historical foundation; and there are distinct traces of Phoenician settlements at Corinth and else where on the Greek mainland. In the Homeric poems the visits of Phoenician traders are still common; and even if we regard this feature as a reminiscence of the days before the Dorian invasion, it is clear that Phoenician products are familiar to the audience of the poet. But the predominance of Greek colonists throughout the Aegean must soon after this have closed the markets of Greece to Phoenician ships; and in the time immediately before the rise of sculpture in Greece direct Phoenician influence cannot have been so strong as in the preceding centuries. On the other hand, the Greek colonists in Asia Minor came into contact with other races and kingdoms, which also derive their art more or less from Oriental models, and another channel was opened to those influences which had hitherto been mainly conveyed by the commerce of Phoenicia.

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[1] Helbig, *Das homerische Epos*, p. 67.

[2] So *ibid.* p. 28.

§ 5. *Asia Minor.*—We have seen how the Phoenicians, while they were still masters of the sea, carried the products and the types of Oriental art to Greece. But by the establishment of Greek colonies in the Aegean islands and upon the coasts of Asia Minor, this direct Phoenician influence was almost entirely excluded—and that too at a time when Greece was making its first steps towards the creation of an independent art. On the other hand, the change in the relations of Europe and Asia—begun by the Greek colonies, continued by the Persian wars, and concluded by the conquests of Alexander—must have had a great effect upon the Greeks at this early period of their development; and it brought them for the first time into direct contact with great dynasties and established civilisations, such as they might have heard rumours of before from the Phoenician traders, but could never have seen with their own eyes. Midas and Gyges, and even Croesus, seem in many ways little removed from the heroes of mythical romance; but we have the best possible evidence that they were historical kings who were known to the early colonists of Ionia; and recent explorations have even given us some notion of the civilisation and the art of the kingdoms over which they ruled.

The art of all these kingdoms can be traced now with more or less certainty to a common source, in the works of a people who have left no trace of their history in Greek tradition. To this people are to be attributed many primitive rock-cut sculptures which are found scattered throughout Asia Minor. The most famous of them all, the Niobe of Mount Sipylus, was in all probability originally intended as an image of the great mother goddess known to us as Cybele, whose worship was universal in all this region, though it may have been identified by the Greeks with the mother whose grief was frozen into stone. But the chief centre where monuments of this art have been found is Boghaz Kevi in Cappadocia, and reliefs with the same strange hieroglyphics have been found in the north of Syria; therefore the art is commonly spoken of as Syro-Cappadocian, and the people to whom it belonged has been identified with the Hittites of Scripture. It is not necessary here to dwell on their early empire, extending into Mesopotamia, or on their great wars with Egypt, at the head of a confederation of peoples from Asia Minor and the Levant, of which Egyptian records inform us; but these facts show the extent of their power, and make it clear that their influence is certainly one that has to be reckoned with, if only indirectly, in the case even of Greece. This Syro-Cappadocian art was itself derived from that of Babylonia and Assyria, though it flourished long before the time to which we must assign the masterpieces of Assyrian art which have been mentioned in the last section. From the Hittite conquerors, who have left their traces even on the west coast of Asia Minor, the less advanced kingdoms of Phrygia and Lydia seem to have derived the character and many of the motives of their art; and Phrygia and Lydia were the first foreign kingdoms with which the Greeks had intimate relations, both commercial and political, and doubtless also artistic, during the great period of their national development.

The Phrygians were a people in some degree akin to the Greeks; the sculptures with which they decorated their tombs are now, thanks mainly to the discoveries of Sir W. M. Ramsay, well known to us. These are of two kinds, at least in the early period which now concerns us—colossal groups of animals, usually a pair of lions, who stand facing one another as guardians over the door of the tomb, and elaborate geometrical designs, constructed upon a chess-board pattern as a basis, but with great variety of composition.[1] We might well doubt which of these two is the earlier; but apart from other evidence, that of inscriptions seems to make it clear that the geometrical decorations are the later. The best known of these is the famous tomb of Midas,[1] with its inscription in Phrygian language and in characters clearly derived from the alphabet of the Ionian Greeks; it therefore cannot be earlier than the seventh century B.C. To this period, and to the two centuries preceding, all the earlier works of Phrygian art must be assigned. Thus the series of lion tombs belongs to the ninth and eighth centuries before our era. In them we see a very vigorous and spirited treatment of the animal forms, but exaggerated and conventional in the rendering of muscles, as might be expected in an art derived from that of Assyria. The chief importance of this series in our present study lies in its strong resemblance to the lion-gate at Mycenae; and the geometrical tomb-fronts also show a style of ornament which is frequently found in the gold ornaments in the Mycenae tombs; these two facts together seem at first to be a striking confirmation of the tradition which traced to Phrygia the origin of the Pelopid dynasty of the Atridae, lords of Mycenae rich in gold. But the Mycenae treasures, as we shall see, belong to a time some four or five centuries earlier than the Phrygian tombs; and although it might be, and has been, contended that the lion-gate at Mycenae is later than the tombs, even then the difficulty is not removed, for Mr. Petrie has found in an Aegean settlement in Egypt, of about 1400 B.C., a lion of gilt wood which once formed part of a precisely similar composition.[2] We must then, without going farther into a difficult subject, acknowledge that Phrygian art shows a further development of types which were known to the Aegean peoples many centuries before. One Phrygian tomb has a relief,[3] representing two fully armed warriors attacking a monster like a gorgon, which has some resemblance to a work of archaic Greek sculpture; but it appears to be too early for a possibility of Greek influence, and the armour, which is like that of Greeks, is also such as the Carians are said to have invented. But in any case, this relief is unique in its kind, and seems to show a promise of development never fulfilled in Phrygia, which did not for a long time recover from the blow inflicted, before the middle of the seventh century, by a devastating inroad of the Cimmerians.

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[1] For Phrygian art see Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. v., and Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, passim; especially "A Study of Phrygian Art," *J.H.S.*, 1888-89.

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[1] M. Perrot denies that this is a tomb; he also places the geometrical tombs before those with the lions. But on both matters Ramsay's arguments seem the stronger. *J.H.S.*, 1889, pp. 147-189.

[2] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, Pl. viii. 20, p. 15, found with a scarab of Amen-hotep III., 18th dynasty.

[3] Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1888, p. 363; Perrot et Chipiez, v., Fig. 117.

The art of Lydia has not left us any monuments like those of Phrygia, but all indications tend to show that the civilisation and attainments at least of the ruling caste in Lydia were similar to those of Phrygia; and upon the earliest coins ever struck—for to the Lydians belongs almost certainly the credit of this great invention—the favourite types, and especially the lions' heads, seem to show a resemblance to Phrygian work. Alyattes and Croesus sent offerings to the shrines of Greece, and especially to Delphi; and Croesus contributed materially to the building of the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus. But here we are in the region of archaic Greek art, and must anticipate no further.

The art of Caria is hardly more known to us by representative monuments than that of Lydia; but Carian influence upon Greece has, whether rightly or wrongly, had a very considerable place assigned to it both by Greek tradition and by some modern archaeologists. Thucydides[1] tells us that the Carians in old times shared with the Phoenicians the occupation of the Aegean islands, and confirms his statement about the Carians by the fact that when Delos was cleared of graves the greater part belonged to Carians, as was shown by their arms and the method of burial. The contents of these graves were buried again on the neighbouring island of Rheneia, where they have recently been discovered. They do not confirm the statement of Thucydides as to their Carian origin, but seem rather to represent the art of the Aegean islands between the Mycenaean age and the sixth century. They are for this reason of considerable value to us, for they show that the same decorative motives persist in many cases from pre-Mycenaean times down to the sixth century, and ultimately come to be taken over by the fully developed art of Greece.

The most southerly of the peoples with whom the Greeks had to do in Asia Minor, the Lycians, developed an art which is much more nearly akin to that of Greece than those already mentioned: later it fell completely under Greek influence, so that from the sixth century downward Lycian monuments, like the Harpy tomb,[2] are commonly quoted as typical specimens of Greek sculpture; and we shall have to recur to them later to illustrate our subject But there are some few monuments which probably belong to a period earlier than the rise of Greek sculpture; and so far as they may appear to resemble archaic Greek works, this is not due to the influence of Greece upon Lycia, but to an independent development of similar types and resources. For the sake of completeness, one other Oriental art may be mentioned here—that of Persia. As might be expected, this shows distinct signs of Assyrian or Babylonian origin, though the beauty of its work in enamelled bricks gives it a character of its own. But so far as sculpture is concerned, by the time the fall of Croesus brought Persia and Greece into contact, Greece had far more to teach than to learn.

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[1] i. 8.

[2] See below, § 21 (*b*).

After this brief review of the artistic influences to which Greece was liable from outside, we must next turn to the lands inhabited by the Greeks themselves, and observe the civilisation and artistic attainments of those who inhabited the mainland and the islands before the time when Greek sculpture began its course of continuous development.

§ 6. *Early Population of Greece; Crete.*—We have now obtained some general notion of the artistic influences which surrounded the region where Greek art was later to arise. We have as yet seen nothing of Greece itself, or of the art which it produced in the primitive ages which really lie outside the scope of our study. But before we can rightly estimate the relation of this early art to the sculpture of historical Greece, it is necessary to consider briefly the nature of the early population of Greece, and of the changes it had undergone before the era with which we are especially concerned; we must in fact realise whether we have to deal with other foreign influences, predominant in the land that was later to be called Hellas, or with the ancestors and kinsmen of the Greeks themselves. For the artistic products of Crete and of Mycenae cannot be ignored in any discussion on the origin of Greek art; and those products, whatever theory we may adopt as to the men who made them, are certainly earlier than the Dorian immigration of about 1000 B.C.

It must be acknowledged that the people who inhabited Greek lands before the Dorian invasion had just as much title as their successors to the name of Greeks, although they did not call themselves Hellenes. In order to assign to their true owners all the great prehistoric remains in Greece, there is no need to go back, as many have both in ancient and modern times, to any earlier people, whether called Pelasgians or any other name of varying local application. The Greeks of historical times knew less than we do of the state of their country more than 1000 years before their own day, but there is every reason to suppose that the political and social state depicted in the Homeric poems is not far removed from the truth. No one would expect to find historical or archaeological accuracy in such records, and the age of the great dynasties who ruled over the pre-Dorian inhabitants of the Peloponnese was removed by many generations from the poet's own day; but the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed for the descendants of those who could still remember the glories of Mycenae and Sparta, probably before they were driven forth by Dorian invaders to find a new home across the Aegean. Nor were they driven to plant their new colonies amid alien surroundings. Long before the great period of Greek colonisation, both shores of the Aegean, as well as many of the islands, were already occupied by a people whose artistic tendencies are daily becoming more familiar to us. If, then, we find during the period before the Dorian invasion distinct evidence that people of a common civilisation, of similar customs, and of common artistic tastes and acquirements, inhabited many of the Aegean islands, and a great part of the mainland of Greece, we shall be justified in believing that many of these people survived, and that their artistic skill was renewed in the art of historical Greece; for foreign conquerors, even if they formed a ruling caste, would not monopolise all progress and civilisation. The Homeric poems alone would suffice to show that the early Greeks regarded the attainments of their ancestors on the mainland as at least not inferior to their own; and even allowing for poetical imagination and the praise of old times, there is probably some foundation of truth in this belief.

Before any systematic excavations in Crete were possible, it had been suggested by various authorities that the centre of the early civilisation of which sporadic examples had been found in Greece and in some of the Aegean islands would be found in the ancient realm of Minos. The recent establishment of Cretan autonomy has given opportunities of which the archaeologists have not been slow to avail themselves, and many sites in Crete have now been explored, above all the two great palaces of Cnossus (by Sir Arthur Evans) and Phaestus (by Dr.

Halbherr). The results of these excavations have not indeed any very direct relation to the history of Greek sculpture, as defined in this volume; but the objects which they have brought to light and the discussions to which they have given rise have yielded much evidence as to the early civilisation and art of the Aegean, and as to the relations of its peoples to one another and to the older civilisations of the East. And the actual works of art that have been found show more completely than could be inferred from the discoveries made at Mycenae and elsewhere in Greece itself the level of artistic attainment that had been reached in the Aegean region some thousand years, and even two thousand years, before the rise of what we know as Greek sculpture.

It is evidently impossible to give here even the barest sketch of the civilisation and art of which Crete was the chief centre. Architecture, pottery, and decorative art generally have left numerous remains, which must be studied together in order that each may be understood. But the results of such study, so far as they can at present be gathered, may be summarised as follows. As early as the third millennium before our era there existed a sort of confederation of the peoples surrounding the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, and these people also had international relations with Egypt and with other nations of the East. The rise of their art can be traced, mainly by the help of pottery, in Melos,[1] and more especially in Crete.[2] It is not identical with what is commonly known in Greece as Mycenaean, though it shows many similarities to it both in motives and technique; the Mycenaean art of Greece may indeed be regarded as a later local branch of this earlier and more widely spread art of Crete and the Aegean. It need, therefore, no longer be regarded as an isolated phenomenon, a strange outburst of artistic activity, of which the affinities are obscure and the origin unknown. On the other hand, the history of the Mycenaean civilisation in Greece itself, and especially on the mainland, still remains obscure; but so far as can be gathered from the evidence at present available, it would appear that the rich artistic production which we find at Mycenae, Sparta, and elsewhere was not indeed, as was once supposed, the work of Oriental or foreign artists, but owed its origin in a great degree

[1] See *Excavations at Phylakopi.*

[2] See *British School Annual* and *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei*

to the islands. The chieftains for whom it was made may very probably have been the traditional heroes of Homer. But the art which decorated their palaces neither began with them nor altogether departed with them. Its continuation, especially in purely decorative work, is attested both on the islands and on the mainland, and so offered both a basis of form and a training in execution which were invaluable as a preparation for the more national Hellenic art that was later to arise among the same people.

As regards actual works of sculpture of this early period that have been discovered in recent years, both Crete and Greece itself have yielded some examples. There are a few statuettes in lead, bronze, ivory, or other materials, which do not, however, add very much to our notion of the art that could produce such masterpieces as the Vaphio cups. Several of the figures resemble the men on those cups, not only in dress, but also in their exaggerated slimness of proportions and in the peculiar way in which the sinews are indicated by lines drawn along the limbs. The most remarkable of Cretan discoveries of this kind have been the coloured reliefs in plaster (*gesso duro*) from the palace at Cnossus. These cannot, indeed, be altogether separated from the frescoes of the same palace, which, as works of painting, do not come within our present scope ; but in their use of relief in inferior material as a basis for painting they offer a curious analogy to the coloured reliefs in rough limestone which we find in Athens some thousand years later ; we even see some resemblances in modelling, as in the same peculiar emphasis of the sinew. It is evident that, with such an interval of time, we cannot look for any continuous or direct influence of the one on the other. Some of the resemblances are probably due mainly to similarity of materials and technique ; but it is possible that there may also have survived through the interval some artistic traditions or tendencies that preserved, in the new growth of sculpture, some of the distinctive features of the old decorative work. As to subject, some of the Cretan reliefs represent scenes from bull-fights, reminding us of the Vaphio cups or of the Tiryns fresco ; there is one particularly fine head of a bull in low relief, which probably comes from such a scene. Others represent processions of courtiers or officials, or people bearing offerings, such as remind one of the decoration of Egyptian or Oriental walls ; but here too there are some curious analogies to similar subjects on early Greek decorative reliefs. The new evidence, on the whole, confirms the impression made on us by the old. The civilisation and the art of which we see the finest products in Crete or at Mycenae left behind it many traditions and survivals, but it was not, by any direct inheritance, continued in the art of Greece in the historical age. And the more we wonder at the barbaric splendour of these early kings, the more we become convinced that the art which they fostered had few, if any, of the essential characteristics that distinguish Hellenic sculpture. Such common features as we notice are just those that are present in archaic art of historic Greece, but are gradually eliminated by its progress to a more perfect development.

§ 7. *Civilisation of Mycenae.*—We have seen that among the population which tenanted the mainland and islands of Greece before the great immigration commonly known as the Dorian invasion, there was scope for very considerable attainments in the arts of war and peace; and although direct historical evidence upon this subject is but scanty, there is enough evidence both in the traditions of the Greeks themselves and in the records of neighbouring nations to show that they had made a considerable advance in both. Powerful dynasties such as that of Minos in Crete, who is said to have won the supremacy of the Aegean, or that of the Pelopids in Mycenae, who led the united Greeks against Troy, are regarded by Thucydides[1] as affording historical examples of a political power and prosperity such as could hardly fail to imply a corresponding advance in civilisation, and these legends have received remarkable confirmation from recent discoveries. We have, moreover, the Egyptian record which states that the great invasions of Egypt, by which the Libyans gained a permanent footing in that country for some length of time (1500–1200 B.C.), and repeatedly harassed the national government, owed their success in great part to the co-operation of allies from the east of the Mediterranean—Ionians and Danai, Trojans and Dardanians, among others; the same "bronze-clad men from over the sea" who later, in the seventh century, helped Psammetichus to establish his rule in Egypt. We should know but little of these people who lived in Greece between 1500 and 1000 B.C., and who were of sufficient importance to be feared even by the greatest civilised power of their day, were we dependent upon literary records, whether cut on stone or preserved by the tradition of manuscripts. But fortunately we have of late years gathered abundant information about them from another and a more trustworthy source. The excavations of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae startled the world by restoring to us, if not the bones and the possessions of Agamemnon himself, at least those of the princes of Mycenae "rich in gold," of a time very near to that traditionally assigned to the conqueror of Troy; and it seems more than a coincidence that even more perfect specimens of a similar workmanship have been found near Sparta,[1] the other great centre of the government of the Atridae. Nor is it only in Greece itself that the remains of this rich and powerful people have come to light. At certain towns in the Fayum, tenanted by those foreign allies of the Libyans whom we know to have come from Greece and the neighbouring countries, have been found remains of pottery and other antiquities similar to those discovered in Crete and at Mycenae.[2] The rich treasures of the Mycenaean graves are thus no longer a mere object of wonder and admiration, an isolated survival from an extinct civilisation of which we have no other knowledge. The people and the dynasties to whom they belong represent the highest point reached by the civilisation of S.E. Europe during the period between 1500 and 1000 B.C. It is even possible within this period to notice their advance and decline, until they are overwhelmed by the Dorian invasion.

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[1] i. 8. 9.

§ 8. *Art of Mycenae.*—It may well be asked what is the importance of an artistic development which had passed through all stages of its existence before 1000 B.C. and then practically became extinct, to the history of Greek sculpture, which, as we have seen, cannot be said to take its rise much before 600 B.C. This is a question which will be partly answered in the next section. At present it will suffice to notice certain characteristics of the art of Mycenae which are of interest in their relation to the later development of Greek art. For, however remote in time, the artists of Mycenae cannot have been entirely of alien race; and even apart from traditions of form which they may have handed down to their successors, the character and spirit of their work often gives promise of what was later to be known as Hellenic style.

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[1] At Vaphio, near Sparta. See Fig. 1.

[2] By Mr. Flinders Petrie; see his *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, and his *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*; also his papers in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* of 1890 and 1891 on "The Egyptian Basis of Greek History," and "Notes on the Antiquities of Mycenae."

The earliest work of sculpture which exists on Greek soil is the colossal group of two lions which fills the triangular space above the great gate of the citadel at Mycenae. The lions stand facing one another, their fore-paws resting on a basis or altar above which stands a column.[1] This is a scheme which is frequently repeated in Oriental art, and also in the fine tomb sculptures discovered in Phrygia.[2] Another example—probably the earliest of the whole series—is upon a gold plaque found in the Graeco-Libyan settlement in the Fayum. We see then that this motive, whatever its origin, was known to the inhabitants of Greece at a very remote period—at least as early as the thirteenth century B.C. And the Phrygian reliefs, which all belong to a later period, about 900 to 700 B.C., cannot be regarded as showing us the models whence the Mycenae lions were derived, though it may be disputed whether they show us a later survival of the Oriental original, or a type borrowed by Phrygia from Greece. Pausanias says that the Mycenae lions were made by the Cyclopes from Lycia—a statement which we must consider in § 10. For the present we must be content with the evidence of the sculpture itself. This offers in its execution a marked contrast to the vigorous but conventional treatment of beasts which we see in Assyrian art, and in that of Asia Minor, which is, as we have seen, dependent on Assyria. Nor, again, are they like those mere abstractions of animal form which belong to the Egyptian art of the period. Yet, in spite of the careful modelling and detailed truth to nature which has excited so much admiration, they have a conventionality of their own, not only in their position but in their style. It is enough to observe that it is not yet agreed whether they are meant for lions or lionesses. They are not to be separated from the rest of the Mycenaean discoveries; and although, as we have seen, they cannot be derived from any Egyptian or Oriental models, they are separated by an equally wide gulf of style as well as of time from the earliest productions of Greek art. In this Mycenaean art the rendering of some beasts, lions and bulls especially, was not only different from that we find in Greek art, but actually superior to it; so that mere excellence of work is no reason for assuming an affinity that cannot be proved. The relation of Mycenae to later Greek art must be afterwards considered; but the art of Mycenae must first be treated as the distinct and independent product of the people who ruled at Mycenae and elsewhere in Greece before the Dorian invasion.

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[1] *A.Z.*, 1865, Fig. cxciii.; *B.D.* 151.

[2] See § 5.

These lions over the gate stand alone as a work of sculpture among the works of art that belong to Mycenae. The tombstones with ornaments and figures carved upon them show nothing but clumsy attempts to render in flat relief subjects borrowed from works of the goldsmith; they are entirely devoid of modelling, and are of no artistic interest or importance. But it is impossible to pass over the magnificent specimens of goldsmith's work which, if not to be regarded as sculpture on a small scale, at least belong to the kindred art of *caelatura*. The finest of these is offered by the pair of gold cups ornamented with repoussé work found at Bapheion (Vaphio) near Sparta. The design, which is all round the outside of the cups, is beaten up from behind into bold relief, and finished with a chisel in front; the repoussé plates are backed with others, which are plain, and turned over at the top so as to hold in the reliefs; the handles are fixed with rivets. The scenes on the two vases are similar in subject, but show also great contrast. One has a wild scene of hunting, in which wild bulls are being driven into a net secured between two trees; one of them has turned upon his hunters and overthrown two of them. The other scene is more peaceful, and represents cattle at pasture, or possibly, as Sir A. J. Evans suggests, the capture of wild bulls by the help of a decoy cow. The men on these vases show fair power of modelling, though their proportions are very slender, and their muscles are only rendered in a conventional way; the animal forms are far bolder in design, and more accurate in their character and proportions. The bulls, if we allow for one or two contortions similar to those common on the island gems (§ 9), are rendered with wonderful vigour and truth to nature, and by an artist who has all the resources of skill and training at his command: they in no way resemble the often successful but always tentative experiments of an archaic Greek artist; we see here, as in the Mycenae daggers and the other finest products of the same style, the highest attainments of a mature art, not the promising

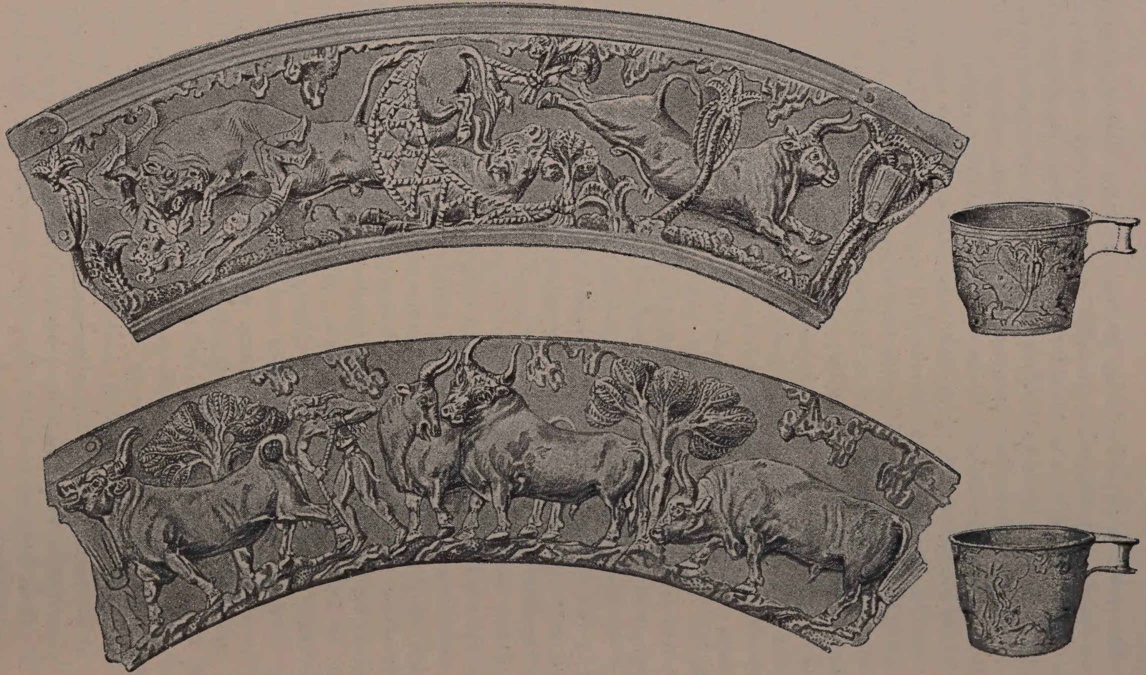

FIG. 1.—Gold Cups from Vaphio, near Sparta (Athens, National Museum).

attempts of one that is yet in its infancy. We may be able to trace some links between the art of Mycenae and that of historical Greece, but the two certainly do not combine to form a continuous development, except in the same sense in which the art of the Renaissance may be said to continue and develop that of classical Greece and Rome. The interval of time is not quite so great, but it is still considerable. And what types or traditions were transmitted have to be traced in both cases alike through obscure and indirect channels. What those channels were in the case of that little which survived of Mycenaean art we shall see in the next section.

§ 9. *The Island Gems and Early Bronze Reliefs.*—We have seen how widely the art of Mycenae is separated both in style and in actual lapse of centuries from the first beginnings of sculpture in Greece. We have also seen, in speaking of other influences to be traced in early Greek art, that the interval was by no means unfruitful of artistic works and tendencies among the other peoples of the Levant. But in the case of Greece itself we must give up any exclusive pursuit of sculpture if we wish to bridge over the chasm, and be content with such little help as is given us by other arts. We find, for example, what is really sculpture on a small scale in the numerous reliefs and carvings in bone and ivory that have been found on various Oriental sites, and above all in such a centre of Ionian religion as the temple at Ephesus;[1] and work of a similar character and showing the same influences has been found in the early strata of the precinct of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.[2] Engraved gems also form a valuable link. A class of gems, easily to be distinguished by their shape, their style, and the subjects which they represent, has been known for some time as "the Island Gems." These had been found in the islands of the Greek Archipelago, in Crete, and on the mainland of Greece, but not in Asia Minor.[3] Within recent years the numerous examples found in tombs at Mycenae and near Sparta[4] have surpassed both in number and interest those that were previously known. These gems are proved alike by the subjects represented on some of them and by the circumstances under which they were

[1] Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus.*

[2] *B.S.A. Annual*, esp. No. XIII., 1906–7.

[3] See Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, cc. ii. and vi.

[4] By M. Tsountas; see 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1888, Pl. x.; 1889, Pl. x.

found to belong to the Mycenaean civilisation. Thus their connection with the art of Mycenae is clearly established. How long they continued to be made we cannot say; but on certain among them, which must almost certainly belong to much later periods, we find figures and even groups of figures which appear to represent mythological subjects, such as Prometheus and the vulture, or Heracles wrestling with Triton, "the old man of the sea."[1] Now these very figures and groups are repeated almost exactly upon a series of early bronze reliefs, proved by the forms of letters on their inscriptions to be of Argive origin, which have been found at Olympia[2] and elsewhere; these bronze reliefs certainly are among the earliest examples of the continuous succession of reliefs and sculptures which belong to archaic Greek art, and they cannot be earlier than the beginning of the sixth century. The same bronze reliefs also borrowed types of Oriental origin, and these borrowed types are still more common upon more primitive bronze reliefs. The most remarkable of these is a plaque in repoussé work, narrower at the top than the bottom, and divided into four fields by horizontal bands. The two uppermost of these fields have purely decorative Oriental types, birds and gryphons; the lowest has a large figure of the winged Oriental Artemis, holding a lion in each hand. But in the third field from the top is a purely Greek

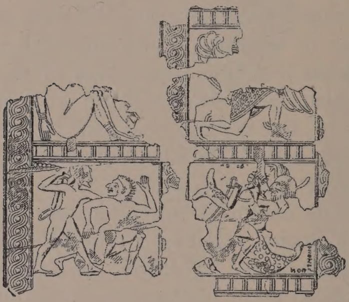

FIG. 2.—Argive bronze relief, with Prometheus, Gorgon Heracles and Geras, and Heracles and Triton from Olympia (Athens, National Museum After *Olympia*, iv. Taf. xxxix. Fig. 699*a*

FIG. 3.—Heracles and Triton, on an island gem (British Museum).

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[1] See the illustrations in Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 185.

[2] See Furtwängler *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, p. 92

subject, Heracles shooting a centaur. Another relief shows a single figure of Heracles shooting; the peculiarity of the technique in this case is that the figure is cut out as well as modelled by repoussé technique, and so is evidently meant to be affixed to some solid background, probably of wood.[1]

We shall see later how early Greek sculptors did not usually invent types,[2] but repeated or adapted those which they inherited from their predecessors or borrowed from foreign nations; at present all that concerns us is to notice that the Argive bronze workers who made those early reliefs drew from a store of types which was also known to the engravers of the island gems; and some early vases found mostly in Italy and Sicily, with stamped work in relief upon them, seem to derive their decoration from the same sources. We see, then, that there existed among the Greek peoples, at some time subsequent to the flourishing period of the Mycenaean civilisation, and previous to the independent development of Greek sculpture, a store of figures and groups which were, so to speak, the common property of the gem-cutter, the potter, and the bronze worker, and which served as models on which each alike could exercise his skill. It is not easy to say what was the origin of these types; but they cannot be traced with certainty to any foreign source, and the nature of the subjects chosen for representation is such that it seems hard to deny that they belong distinctly to Greek art, to the decorative art of a period later than that of the Homeric poems and about contemporary with the Hesiodic;[3] for, as we shall see later, the representation of subjects neither taken from daily life nor merely conventional or symbolical, but derived from mythology, is the characteristic which then begins to distinguish the Greek artist. This decorative art we shall have to consider in §§ 11, 12. For the present it must suffice for us to have observed those minor arts which supply a connecting link between two artistic periods so widely separated as those of Mycenae and of the rise of Greek sculpture in the seventh century. So far we have studied this dark interval entirely by the light of the monuments—to give a large name to small things. We must now turn to consider, however briefly, the views held by the Greeks themselves as to the period which preceded their own artistic activity.[1]

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[1] A bronze plate, from Crete, representing two men, one of whom carries an ibex, is also cut out; but it has no modelling, only incised lines to represent all details, thus it would have much the same effect as a black-figured vase. Only where one portion is in front of another, as in the arms, the front part is raised.

[2] See § 18 below.

[3] Of course these names are used in their wide conventional sense, without any intention of attributing the *Shield of Heracles*, for example, to the same poet as the *Works and Days*.

§ 10. *Mythical Traditions: the Cyclopes, Dactyli, Telchines, etc.*—We have first to deal with stories about purely mythical artists. If we knew more of these stories as they were told among the Greeks themselves during an early period, we probably should have no need to discuss them seriously as evidence for the early history of sculpture in Greece. But here, as elsewhere, the traditions of popular mythology only reach us, for the most part, through the medium of rationalising historians and mythologists, and consequently appear to have more value from the point of view of history, and less value from the point of view of mythology, than they really possess.

In almost all primitive mythologies we meet with tales of creatures, human or superhuman, who possess marvellous strength and skill, and to whom are later assigned various works, real or imaginary, which excited the astonishment and admiration of later generations. The giants and dwarfs of northern mythology were believed to have piled up stones with superhuman strength, or to have wrought metal with magic subtlety. So too in Greece we hear of the Cyclopes, a gigantic race to whom are assigned walls like those of Mycenae and Tiryns; if Pausanias assigns to them works of sculpture such as the lions of Mycenae and a head of Medusa at Argos, he is only repeating a conjecture based on the supposition that these popular tales were true. Nor is the story that the Cyclopes came from Lycia of more use to us. A study of the monuments does not indicate a Lycian influence on "Cyclopean" work; and nothing is more unscientific than to reject the miraculous or improbable elements of a myth, and then to use what remains as historical evidence, though it rests on precisely the same authority.

In similar primitive myths, the Idaean Dactyli and the

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[1] The ingenious theory propounded by Dr. Milchhöfer, in the *Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, that Crete was in early times the chief centre of the art and civilisation exemplified for us by the treasures of Mycenae and the island gems, has been remarkably confirmed by the excavations of Sir A. Evans, Dr. Halbherr, and others in Crete; see § 6. The discoveries of the contents of Delian tombs on Rheneia, and of the vases in the Heraeum of Argos, also afford many links between Mycenaean and later art.

Telchines are the first metal workers; they also deal in magic, and are associated in mystic rites with the Cabiri, the Curetes, and other semi-divine personages. The Cyclopes too are represented sometimes as working in metal, and are later associated with the Greek god Hephaestus, who supersedes all these more primitive metal workers, as orthodox Greek polytheism supersedes—at least in literature—the polydaemonism of popular belief. If we were merely told that the Telchines forged the sickle of Cronus and the trident of Poseidon, or that the Cyclopes forged the thunderbolts of Zeus, no mistake could arise. But later authorities distinctly assert that the Telchines made the earliest statues of the gods; and this statement is probably due to the fact that statues such as those of Apollo Telchinius and Hera Telchinia in Rhodes were known to exist. The fact is that the gods of the Greek Pantheon are here associated with those creatures of popular myth whose worship they absorb and supersede; hence the epithet, which no more refers to the making of the statue than in the case of Athena Telchinia at Teumessus in Boeotia, of whom no statue existed. The Telchines belong to the primitive mythology of Rhodes, and appear also at Sicyon, in Boeotia and elsewhere; the Dactyli—whose name is a puzzle, and may either be the cause or the result of the stories of their artistic activity, or possibly have no connection at all with them—belong to Ida in Phrygia or in Crete: the two are often confused in myth, and certainly are closely associated in primitive history and ritual. The names may have been taken in historical times as symbolising the skill in metal work, perhaps derived from the East, which characterised the early art of Rhodes and Crete. But they certainly cannot be trusted to give us any information which we cannot gain from other sources as to the artistic activity of prehistoric times.

§ 11. *Art in Homer and Hesiod.*—So far we have been concerned either with the scanty remains of early art in Greece, or with such popular traditions about their origin as have never, until a comparatively recent period, found any recognition from literature. We must now turn to a very different source of information—the Homeric poems;[1] and it is far easier to admire the spirited and poetical descriptions of works of art which we meet in Homer than to appreciate critically their exact value for the history of art. It is with the latter only that we are now concerned; and, in one sense, the very richness of the poet's imagination adds to our difficulties, for we must distinguish between his conception of what he is describing and the work itself which he has seen. This brings us to yet another difficulty. The poet is not a Pausanias, giving a careful catalogue and description of works of art; and one might even imagine that all he describes is the mere product of his own phantasy, having no counterpart in the outside world of his time. To a certain degree this is true; it is not to be supposed, for example, that there ever existed any such shield as that of Achilles in the *Iliad*, with its complicated arrangement of scenes and figures. But, on the other hand, no poet, however great, can be entirely uninfluenced by his external surroundings. Just as his descriptions of natural scenes or objects, though not derived from any particular landscape or thing, must follow nature in all essential features, and must create after the laws of nature, so too in his descriptions of works of art he must follow the character of the art of his time, and reproduce in his mind that style and composition which was adopted by contemporary artists. We may therefore quote the works of Homer as the best authority for the character of the art known in Greece during the Homeric age, though not of course as proving the actual existence of any particular work which he may describe.

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[1] Homeric criticism is beyond the scope of this work. It is probable, for example, that the Shield of Achilles is among the later portions of the *Iliad*; but in any case it belongs to the period between the flourishing days of Mycenae and the rise of Greek sculpture, and that is what it most concerns us to know.

If then we may use the Homeric poems as evidence for the state of art in Greece, we have still to consider whether their testimony is to apply to the poet's own time, or to the ages of which he writes. Of course no one would expect archaeological accuracy or research from a primitive poet, and therefore it would at first seem most natural to suppose that Homer's descriptions are based upon the works of art of his own day; and this is to a great extent the case. But, on the other hand, we must not forget the peculiar circumstances under which the Homeric poems were composed. Without concerning ourselves with disputed points, we may take it as generally agreed that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were designed for an audience of early Greeks, full of glorious memories of the "good old times" when their ancestors had ruled in the Peloponnese; and that these two greatest of epics were not the first product of a new poetic style, but rather the mature fruit of its development. They have clearly a long tradition behind them; and just as many grammatical forms and stereotyped phrases form part of the conventional apparatus of the poet, so too we may even suppose that some of his descriptions of works of art may, in their substance, be the reproduction of earlier examples. And, besides this, it is by no means improbable that some heirlooms belonging to an earlier age may have survived to give the poet some hints as to the surroundings of the heroes about whom he wrote. But in any case it is evident that the description of such a work, for instance, as the shield of Achilles is clearly understood by the poet who wrote it, while it remained unintelligible to the Greeks of the classical period, to Roman imitators like Virgil, and to a modern artist like Flaxman, until the genius of Brunn recovered the true explanation. Though Homer may attribute possessions of impossible magnificence to the heroes who were so far superior in every way to his own degenerate day, yet his descriptions must, except when he deals with magic or fairy-tale, refer to objects similar in kind to those which he saw around him, if often exceeding them in splendour.

We may then, after so much consideration, make use of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as evidence for the knowledge and attainments of art in early Greece; and the first remarkable fact that we notice is that free sculpture is almost, if not quite, unknown. The only real exception is the statue of Athena in Troy, upon whose knees the Trojan matrons lay the robe which they offer.[1] But even this implies no great skill in sculpture; roughly shaped figures were certainly known in Asia Minor, as we have seen, before there was any such thing as Greek sculpture;[2] and though it would be rash to generalise from a single instance, we may at least observe that it is in Troy, not in a Greek town, that this statue existed. Homer, by the way, knows nothing of the portable Palladium of later myth, which Ulysses and Diomed stole from Troy, and which was shown at Athens and at Argos. The only other passages that might seem to refer to free sculpture are such as those that describe the golden youths who serve as torchbearers in the palace of Alcinous;[1] but these clearly belong just as much to the realm of magic as the gold and silver dogs which Hephaestus made to guard the door of the same palace, or the golden maidens who supported the steps of the Halting God when he moved. As to free sculpture, then, the Homeric poems supply us practically with no evidence; and this is just what we should have been led to expect by our knowledge of the art of the period. But, on the other hand, we meet with descriptions of works in decorative metal relief of very elaborate design. The first thing we notice about these is that Homer evidently makes no distinction between Greek and foreign work; he even attributes a bowl given to Menelaus by the king of Sidon to the Greek god Hephaestus. But such works as the brooch of Ulysses, with its representation of a dog pulling down a fawn, or the telamon (shoulder-belt) of Heracles, with its boars and lions, and scenes of battle and slaughter, find their nearest analogy in the island gems and in the early bronze reliefs with similar types; and these, as we have seen, are at least naturalised, if not native, upon Greek soil. The shield of Achilles, on the other hand, shows a far more elaborate and complicated composition, and a greater mass of figures, than we can find any analogy for among the artistic products of early Greece; yet we can hardly deny that the poet must have had some definite conception of the whole in his mind, and that he must have seen some decorative works, which, if not so magnificent as that he describes, must yet have been designed upon the same principle. What that principle is was first pointed out by Brunn. The shield consists of five circular plates, arranged concentrically, but in graduated sizes;[2] thus, if viewed from above, the whole would have the appearance of a large disc surrounded by four narrow concentric bands; and so there is ample scope for the arrangement of long and complicated groups in these narrow bands. A precisely similar arrangement of reliefs in concentric bands is found upon metal shields and bowls of Phoenician workmanship that have been found in Crete, Cyprus, Etruria, and elsewhere.[1] These Phoenician works actually date from the sixth century B.C.;[2] but the style to which they belong must have existed earlier, and the shield of Achilles, though not so late as this, is yet acknowledged by Homeric scholars to be among the latest portions of the *Iliad*. The technique as described in the shield does not, on the other hand, appear to be that of relief, but rather of metal inlaying or damascening, since differences of colour are often insisted upon. Here we may see an analogy in the dagger blades of Mycenae; though these are of course far too remote in time to have influenced the poet, a similar technique may well have existed in his time, and it is even possible that some weapons of early manufacture may have survived as heirlooms, or as dedicated offerings, like the famous shield of Euphorbus, which remained to be recognised by him again when re-incarnated as Pythagoras.[3]

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[1] *Il.* vi. 303, *θῆκεν 'Αθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠυκόμοιο.* It seems quite possible that this may be merely a metaphorical expression like *θεῶν ἐπὶ γούνασι κεῖται*, and, if so, one can draw no inference from it.

[2] *E.g.* the Niobe of Sipylos, referred to by Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 614. See above, § 5

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[1] These do not seem to suggest sculptural figures used to hold torches, but remind one rather of M'Aulay's candlesticks in the famous story repeated in Scott's *Legend of Montrose.*

[2] Reichel, *Über homerische Waffen*, p. 44, maintains that the shield is of the typical Mycenae shape, an oval compressed in the middle, and not a circle. But he regards it as probable that the compression in this case is to be regarded as but slight, and does not seriously affect the composition. W. Leaf, *Iliad*, xviii. 478 (note), maintains that the πτύχες refer only to the leather, not to the metal covering, and that the five folds can have nothing to do with the formation of bands of decoration. If so, there is no evidence for the division into five fields, but the general principle of the arrangement must be the same, and the diagram shows how it could be worked out.

When we proceed to consider the scenes themselves, we first notice that none of them are from mythology, but all from actual life. Here we have a contrast to what we know of early Greek art; but it is just like what we find in the Phoenician bowls already referred to of a mixed Egyptian and Assyrian style. Mr. Murray[4] has shown how all the scenes described by Homer can actually be found upon these bowls or other similar works; and thus by a kind of patch-work from these he has produced a shield approximately resembling that described by Homer. As to the exact arrangement and composition of the various scenes no two modern authorities are agreed. But in the artistic composition and balance of the various scenes, there seems no doubt that the poet was influenced by an imagination far beyond that of the metal workers whose products were before his eyes; and that in this sense the shield of Achilles has some claim to be regarded as the first true example of Greek art, even though all the scenes it contains are based upon types of foreign import.

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[1] Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. xix.; *Mon. Inst.*, X. xxxi.-xxxiii., etc.; Antro di Zeus Ideo, *Monumenti Antichi*.

[2] Helbig, *Das homerische Epos*, p. 67.

[3] Cf. Horace, *Od.* i. 28. 11.

[4] *Greek Sculpture*, Pl. i.

The arrangement of the scenes probably present in the poet's mind may be seen at a glance in the accompanying diagram, which is modified from the scheme suggested by Brunn. Only here the central disc has been made much larger in proportion, the surrounding bands narrower. The advantage of this alteration is obvious; otherwise it is practically impossible to fit into the second and third circles the numerous figures implied by the description.[1] And the shields or other

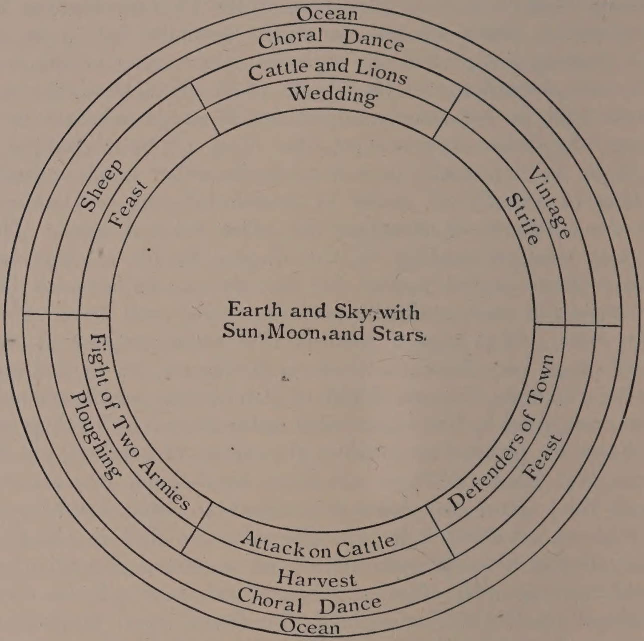

FIG. 4.—Homeric Shield of Achilles.

NOTE.—This is derived from Brunn (*Kunstgeschichte*, Fig. 58), with some modifications. The central disc is made much larger in proportion; and the description, after the end of the second band, is made to return back along the third band, instead of going on in the same direction.

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[1] Overbeck, to avoid this difficulty, made the description go from the innermost circle to the fourth, third, second, and then the fifth. Not to speak of the inversion of order, even this does not remedy the awkward shape of the fields provided.

metal works which are quoted as similar in design usually have bands of decoration as narrow as those which are thus offered. On the inmost of the three bands of figures we see all the varied life of a town in peace and in war; on the next come the various employments of the country; and within each of these main divisions we can trace a symmetry in all the smaller scenes, which seems to give a poetical completeness to the whole. The conception of a composition like this, which seems to illustrate all the phases of human life, balancing them in a system of subtle comparisons and delicate contrasts, is perhaps such as would commend itself to a poet rather than to an artist. And, although the poet's imagination must have been to some extent dependent on what he had actually seen, yet we do not find any trace of an allowance for technical difficulties, or of the use of a conventional type or design to fill a given field, at least on the bands of figures within which the human interest is concentrated.

We already find a great difference in this respect as well as in others when we come to consider the shield of Heracles as described by Hesiod.[1] This poem is of course to a great extent a mere imitation of the Homeric shield of Achilles; and so far as it is so, it is of little value to us. But it introduces some new elements which are clearly derived from contemporary art, and which serve to establish its position as intermediate between the shield of Achilles and the chest of Cypselus—if we may be pardoned for classifying Homer and Pausanias according to what we can find in common between their descriptions. The whole arrangement of the shield of Heracles is probably to be regarded as similar to that of its model, but it does not seem to be clearly thought out and distributed; what correspondence and symmetry we find in it is merely derived from the Homeric shield; in fact, it is little more than a peg on which to hang rhetorical descriptions of various scenes, such as mark a period of epic decadence. Under these circumstances, it does not seem any use to try to restore the arrangement of the whole; even if the poet had such an arrangement mapped out in his own mind, he has given no hints by which his readers could recover it. But we may learn something from the subjects he selects. As well as an unidentified battle scene, we find the fight of the Lapiths and Centaurs; and mythological subjects are introduced, such as Apollo and the Muses and Perseus pursued by the Gorgons. Some of these subjects, too, are among those which are peculiarly adapted to the narrow bands of ornament offered by this style of decoration. For example, the frieze of lions and boars, the long processions or races of horses and chariots, the hare pursued by dogs and men, are schemes that recur again and again both on vases and in relief work. The art from which the poet draws the additions that he makes to his Homeric model has evidently reached the stage at which these schemes have been selected as appropriate; and it has also begun to illustrate Greek mythology, as well as the scenes from ordinary life which continued side by side with heroic exploits. In a work like the chest of Cypselus we shall find mythological scenes exclusively employed; but we can trace on vases and on decorative reliefs the various stages by which types, sometimes from ordinary life, sometimes of purely decorative origin, gradually come to be identified with certain mythological scenes, and to be appropriated to a significance which is probably far removed from that which they originally possessed.

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[1] The name Hesiod is of course used here in the same conventional sense as that of Homer. Whoever wrote the Shield, the artistic innovations which it introduces into the Homeric description seem to belong to about the seventh century B.C.

In the Greek epic poems we found hardly any trace of the peculiarly Greek art of sculpture; but we have a series of decorative works, including the shield of Achilles, which seem to reflect the artistic tendencies of their time, and to lead up to the examples which we learn, from the description of Pausanias, to have been actually preserved at his day.

§ 12. *Other Decorative Works.*—We have seen how the poetical fancy of Homer had already imagined decorative works, of which the conception and arrangement seem already to anticipate Greek art, although the technique and the types which lent definite form to his imagination were probably of foreign origin. It was natural enough that the earliest artists of Greece should apply their efforts to great compositions like the shields of Homer and of Hesiod; and we accordingly find, recorded in Pausanias' description, some great decorative works, such as the chest of Cypselus and the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, which can be restored in imagination, by the help of extant monuments, to a sufficient extent to enable us to judge of their position in the development of Greek art. It is true that neither of these is exactly a work of sculpture, in the narrower sense of the word; it is true also that both of them probably, and one certainly, belong to a period far later than that which we have yet reached; but yet, as Brunn pointed out, they form the culmination of a long series of similar works, which begins with Homer's shield of Achilles, and serves to transmit and to develop many artistic types. They find, therefore, a more fitting place here than in their proper chronological sequence. But for the series to which they belong, we might well be at a loss to bridge over the gap separating the Homeric and Hesiodic descriptions, which imply a very high degree of artistic attainment in certain directions, from the first beginnings of the growth of independent art in Greece.

Many attempts have been made to restore both the chest of Cypselus and the Amyclaean throne from the description of Pausanias; and there can be little doubt that these attempts are approaching nearer and nearer to the truth, as more and more monuments are discovered which throw light on the types and composition, and as the study of the material already available leads to more definite classification or more certain inferences. At the same time, it is not to be supposed that either the selection of types or the arrangement of the scenes can ever be more than a matter of conjecture, though the limits within which conjecture is confined may be drawn yet closer. This is not the place either to give an account of the various proposed restorations, or to add another to their number.[1] What concerns us at present is merely to take note of some of the results which seem to be established, so far as they concern our subject.

The chest of Cypselus stood in the opisthodomus of the Heraeum at Olympia; it had probably formed part of the magnificent offerings dedicated there by the Cypselids of Corinth near the beginning of the sixth century. Though the story that it was the identical chest in which Cypselus was hidden when a child is generally discredited, there is no adequate reason for rejecting its association with his family—a connection which is borne out by the character of its decoration. For the nearest analogy to this decoration is to be found in the Corinthian vases of the same period, and on them it is possible to find exact counterparts of many of the scenes described by Pausanias. The field for ornament—either the front of the chest only, or the front and the two sides—was divided into five bands or friezes. Of these the first, third, and fifth—the top, bottom, and middle ones—either form a single scene, or offer two or three scenes which lend themselves to continuous treatment; in short, they resemble an Ionic frieze. The second and fourth bands, on the other hand, fall into a number of isolated and clearly defined groups, which were probably divided from one another by some structural partitions, just as the metopes of the Doric frieze are divided by the triglyphs.

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[1] The last and best restorations are that given by H. Stuart Jones in the *J.H.S.*, 1894, Pl. i., of the chest of Cypselus, and that by Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, Fig. 135 (omitted in the English edition), of the Amyclaean throne; each is accompanied by a full discussion and quotation of earlier authorities.

We are not told by what technique the figures in these various scenes were rendered. The material of the chest was cedar; and the figures were wrought partly in ivory, partly in gold, and partly in the cedar-wood itself. This seems to imply a use of relief, enhanced in its effect by the use of inlaid materials—ivory, for instance, was doubtless used for the nude parts of all female figures; and we thus have analogies on the one hand with coloured relief, on the other with the gold and ivory technique which we know to have been practised by the Cretan Daedalid artists and their pupils,[1] whose works were also exhibited in the Heraeum. The subjects, as has been said, can be paralleled most readily in the products of Corinthian decorative art; the Corinthian vases offer us the richest material for comparison, chiefly because they have been preserved in the greatest abundance; but the scanty remains of decorative reliefs in bronze, which are mostly of Argive or Corinthian origin, suffice to show that, were they as numerous as the vases, they would lend themselves even more readily to help in the restoration of the compositions on the chest. At the same time, this Doric influence is by no means exclusive. Many of the scenes can only be found upon vases of Ionic origin, especially Chalcidian. Nor is this merely the result of chance; for in some cases, where the same scene can be found both on Corinthian and Chalcidian vases, it is the Ionic, not the Doric scheme that is preferred by the carver of the chest. And, in quoting Chalcidian vases, we must remember that Chalcis, no less than Corinth, was a home of early decorative work in metal, and that much of the relief work either in metal or made in clay to imitate metal, which we find in Italy, is due to Chalcidian influence. We see, then, that even in Corinth the influence of decorative Ionic art was strongly felt, both in the types used and in the style in which they were treated. The same close interrelation of early schools is to be seen in the François vase, an Attic work made under strong Corinthian influence;[1] and what is true in the case of the more industrial and decorative arts doubtless holds also in the case of sculpture.

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[1] See Introd. (*b*) 1; also § 20 below.

The difference that strikes us most strongly in comparing the chest of Cypselus with the Homeric or even the Hesiodic shield is that the subjects have now come to be taken almost if not quite exclusively from mythology. It is true that they are identified by inscriptions only on the first, second, and fourth bands (counting from the bottom), but we can hardly doubt that Pausanias is right in giving a mythological significance to most of the scenes in the top band also. In the third band, which was continuous and represented scenes of battle and negotiation between two armies, it may be simpler to recognise one of those unidentified battle scenes which are so common on vases, and which are found on Hesiod's shield as well as Homer's. Pausanias' doubt as to its identification proves that there can have been no distinguishing features by which to recognise it; and such a scene, without inscriptions, can hardly be said to represent any particular combat, even if the artist had some such combat in his mind when he made it. But this is the exception; most of the scenes have appropriate types assigned to them, which have become more or less stereotyped by usage; and thus there is gradually being formed a kind of mythological canon, containing the appropriate illustration for every scene. Of course various similar types may act and react upon one another, and new types may be introduced, usually by the modification of an old one; but it is unusual, though not of course impossible, to find a case in which the artist has ventured upon a quite new scheme, especially if he is rendering a well-known subject. We see, too, how literary influence is making itself more and more felt in art. A work like the shield of Achilles seems more popular and spontaneous in its subjects and their treatment.

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[1] Benndorf, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888, Pl. ii.-iv.; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Pl. lxxiv.; Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, Pl. i.-iii., xi.-xiii.

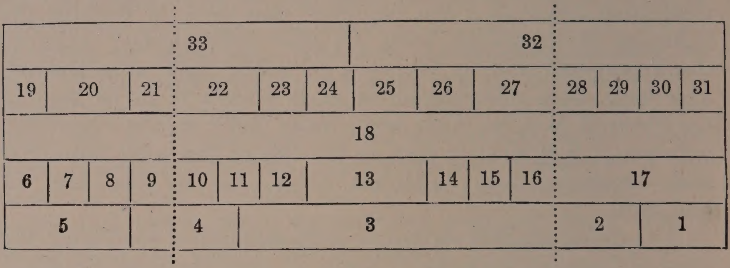

Fig. 5.—Chest of Cypselus.

1. Pelops and Oenomaus.
2. Departure of Amphiaraus.
3. Pelias' funeral games.
4. Heracles and Hydra.
5. Phineus, Boreads, and Harpies.

6. Night, Sleep, and Death.
7. Justice and Injustice.
8. Women with mortars.
9. Idas and Marpessa.
10. Zeus and Alcmena.
11. Menelaus and Helen.
12. Medea, Jason, and Aphrodite.
13. Apollo and Muses.
14. Heracles and Atlas.
15. Ares and Aphrodite.
16. Peleus and Thetis.
17. Perseus and Gorgons.

18. Two armies meeting.

19. Boreas and Orithyia.
20. Heracles and Geryon.
21. Theseus and Ariadne.
22. Achilles, Memnon, Thetis, Eos.
23. Melanion and Atalanta.
24. Ajax, Hector, and Eris.
25. Dioscuri, Helen, and Aethra.
26. Agamemnon and Coön.
27. Judgment of Paris.
28. Artemis.
29. Ajax and Cassandra.
30. Eteocles, Polynices, and Ker.
31. Dionysus.

32. Wedding of Peleus and Thetis.
33. Heracles and Centaurs.

Note.—The above is practically a simplified scheme of the restoration by Mr. H. Stuart Jones and Mr. Anderson in the *J.H.S.*, 1894, Pl. i. The two vertical dotted lines serve to divide it into front and sides, if such an arrangement be preferred.

Here the tradition of epic story and the corresponding artistic tradition seem to be drawing closer and closer the bonds of conventionality. It is this fact above all others which proves that in these works we see the last development of a decorative art which, one might almost say in its decadent stage, overlaps in time the rise of the newer and freer art that succeeds it.

The arrangement of the scenes on the chest, which is so clearly described by Pausanias that it can be restored without any room for doubt except as to a few minor details, may be seen at a glance in the accompanying diagram. A comparison of this with the diagram of the shield of Achilles will do more than pages of description to help one to realise the resemblance and also the difference which exists between the two.

The throne of Apollo at Amyclae is another great decorative work for the knowledge of which we are entirely dependent on Pausanias. Here our informant tells us the name of the artist, Bathycles of Magnesia. But his description of the throne is, as he himself says, but summary: we have no clue whatever as to where most of the scenes he mentions were placed, or how they were arranged; nor have we any reason to suppose that his enumeration is exhaustive. Under these circumstances it is impossible for any restoration, however ingenious, to do more than show how the whole may have been arranged.

The statue for which the throne was made was a mere primitive pillar of bronze, about 45 feet high with a head, arms, and feet attached (Fig. 6). The statue stood on a pedestal, the tomb of Hyacinthus, on which were some of the reliefs, representing the deification of Hyacinthus, and on the other sides of Heracles and of Semele. The throne was so placed that it might seem prepared for the god to sit on; but it offered not one seat only, but several. It was supported at the front and at the back by two Hours and two Graces; on the left by Echidna and Typhon, on the right by Tritons. A long band of relief was set round the inside of the throne, under which it was possible to enter; the rest of the scenes were either on the outside or on the back. These groups seem to fall into three sets of nine each, with larger groups in the middle and at each side, and smaller ones intervening; but this arrangement is to some extent problematic, since we must remember Pausanias' express warning that his description is summary: he may only be picking out the more remarkable scenes. The subjects represented are similar in character to those which we find on the chest of Cypselus. Some were evidently introduced by the artist from his Ionic home; others illustrated local myths and traditions. It has been conjectured with great probability that Bathycles was one of the Samian school of sculptors who worked at Ephesus and Magnesia in the time of Croesus, and that his migration to Sparta was due to the friendly relations which existed between that city and the Lydian king; he may have been sent by Croesus in his days of prosperity, when he sent other offerings to Sparta, or he may have come after the fall of his patron before the Persian invasion. In any case, tradition says he brought workmen with him, whose figures he set on the throne.[1] The date of his work in any case seems to fall considerably later than that of the chest of Cypselus; and we may imagine his sculptures, which were probably executed in bronze relief, to have resembled those on the columns dedicated by Croesus in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.[2] But the vast number of subjects represented, and the overloading of detail in the whole composition, seem to put this throne into the same class as the decorative works we have just been considering, of which it probably was almost the latest example. It is probable that the temple of Athena Chalcioecus at Sparta, which was also decorated with mythological reliefs by Gitiadas, a local sculptor, was an imitation of the work of Bathycles. If the work of Gitiadas had been already done, it is hard to see why a foreigner should have been called in. But of this and other similar works we know practically nothing.

§ 13. *Daedalus.*—If we were dependent on the later Greek writers for our notion of Daedalus, we might well be led to regard him as a historical character. Pausanias describes many primitive statues in various parts of Greece that were attributed to him, and adds that his works are "strange to look upon, yet have some divine inspiration manifest in them." From other late authorities we learn how Daedalus was the first to open the eyes of statues, to free their arms from their sides, and to make their legs stride, while his predecessors had left their eyes shut, their arms glued to their sides, and their legs as if grown together. It may be said at once that this is a very inaccurate description of the course of improvement in early sculpture, as we shall see later on. But if we examine the statement in itself, and compare it with earlier references to Daedalus, we shall find that it is merely a selection of the possible from among the numerous marvellous attainments ascribed to him, and a rationalistic explanation of the way they were performed. Earlier authorities show no such caution, but tell us that Daedalus made his statues see and speak, and run away unless they were bound by a chain to their pedestals. Here we see the true nature of the story. Daedalus is a wonder-working magician, and performs feats similar to those of the god Hephaestus, with whom he seems even to be identified sometimes. When we follow the name back to the Homeric poems, where, as we have seen, there is no question of sculpture, we find Daedalus mentioned only as having devised a dance—or prepared a dancing-place—for Ariadne in Crete. Now that we have seen the tendency of later times, we are not surprised to learn that this dance came to be interpreted as a marble relief made by Daedalus, and that such a work was actually shown at Cnossus in Pausanias' day.

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[1] The identification of these figures seems very doubtful; but the suggestion that they were represented seems to imply a tradition that the companions of Bathycles formed a distinct body.

[2] See below, p. 113.

In fact, the name Daedalus belongs in its origin either to an artificer-god or to some magician of superhuman power. The word implies skill in all kinds of handicraft, especially in the inlaying of wood, and metal, and ivory. But for some reason which it is not easy to trace, the functions of Daedalus came to be specially restricted to sculpture in later times, and his name served as an impersonation of the primitive sculpture of Greece, and of its advances upon the rude images which were the first representation of gods or men. It is clear, therefore, that the stories about him are of very little historical value, and merely represent the theories as to early sculpture held by later Greek writers; while of the statues attributed to him we can only say that they were supposed in later times to be the works of a very early period.

The one remaining fact in the traditions about Daedalus which is of importance to us is his connection with Athens and with Crete. This tradition is supplemented by the fact that in both places there existed families or guilds who called themselves Daedalids, and transmitted a hereditary skill in handicraft which certainly was applied to sculpture when sculpture became common in Greece. We may recognise here some very early relations between Athens and Crete in art as in other matters; the legends of Theseus and Minos, with which those of Daedalus are associated, all point in the same direction. But such a relation goes back too far to be of much importance for the history of sculpture. There is little trace of the connection, whatever it may have been originally, being kept up until the time when sculpture in Greece began its course of development.

§ 14. *Early Temple Images and Offerings.*—Many of the sacred temple images in Greece were of a most primitive nature, and went back to a time long before the beginning of Greek sculpture. Thus we hear of unwrought fetish stones and trunks of wood as being preserved in a temple as the symbol of the divinity; and probably many of the early ξόανα, though they may have shown some rude attempts at anthropomorphism, are hardly to be regarded as works of sculpture. Thus the Apollo at Amyclae had, as Pausanias expressly tells us, no artistic character; it was a mere column of bronze, with a head, hands, and feet attached. This unsightly colossus was later hidden by a sculptured throne or screen; and a similar process was adopted with greater ease for smaller images, which were often either enveloped in drapery or covered with branches, so as to escape the eyes of those who might otherwise have found it difficult for their religious reverence to counterbalance the artistic defects of the object of their worship.

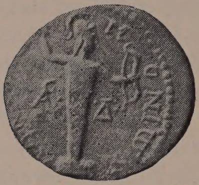

Fig. 6.—Apollo of Amyclae, from a coin of Sparta

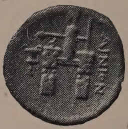

Fig. 7.—Primitive statue on throne, from a coin of Aenus.

Where the temple image was of this sacred yet uncouth nature, we might reasonably conclude that there was not much room for the art of sculpture to render its services to religion. And this conclusion is to a great extent correct. For a long time the Greeks must have remained content with these primitive symbols of their gods, and there is no sign of any need of a worthier representation of divinity arising from religion, until art had already asserted its capacity to render "the human form divine" in a more adequate manner. So soon, however, as this was the case, art was immediately enlisted in the service of religion; and we should miss entirely the spirit of Greek sculpture during its earlier period, if we failed to realise that almost every work which it produced was in one way or another intended for religious dedication.

But the primitive fetishes were not at once discarded to make way for more artistic representations of the deity. In many places they remained even until later times as the chief objects of worship. And although in many cases a more adequate representation of the god was set up in a conspicuous position, while the primitive fetish remained hidden in the sacred obscurity of the inmost shrine, even this kind of substitution is not often recorded in the earliest days of Greek sculpture, but more frequently towards the middle or end of the archaic period. Thus the statue of Apollo at Delos was by Tectaeus and Angelion, whose date is uncertain, but cannot be very early; that of Apollo at Branchidae near Miletus was by Canachus of Sicyon, and belongs to the beginning of the fifth century. The Athenians were content with the primitive Xoanon as the representation of their patron goddess, down to the time of Phidias; and even after his great chryselephantine statue had been set up as a worthy embodiment of Athena in her own Parthenon, the old image was still retained in the Erechtheum, and was the actual centre of the most sacred religious ceremonies of Athens. On the other hand, it must be recorded that when the Cretan sculptors Dipoenus and Scyllis brought their new art to the Peloponnese, the state of Sicyon gave them a public contract for statues of some of the chief gods, which may well have been intended for temple statues, though this fact is not recorded about them; and the descriptions of Pausanias seem to show that some at least of the early temple statues which he describes belong to the most primitive period of Greek sculpture.

In the case of the temple statue, however, the spirit of religious conservatism must always have been predominant; we hear, for example, how even in the fifth century Onatas was obliged to reproduce the uncouth horse-headed monster which served to represent Demeter at Phigalia.[1] The sculptor's work in the service of religion would have been extremely limited in its scope had it been confined to these chief objects of worship. But no such restrictions existed, or they existed in a much milder form, in the case of the numerous statues dedicated to the god within the sacred precinct, often within the temple itself. The extraordinary number of these offerings both in earlier and in later times has already been referred to (Introduction (*a*), p. 5). An illustration from a minor site will help us to realise this fact. At the temple of Aphrodite at Naucratis, which was violently destroyed by the Persian invasion of Egypt in about 520 B.C.,[2] there were found fragments of a great number of statuettes, varying in types, material, and size, which had all been dedicated to the goddess;[1] and every local shrine in Greece would probably have yielded a similar treasure, if circumstances had suddenly destroyed its contents to preserve them for our discovery. We have seen that the same is the case, only on a larger scale, at Athens, where the destruction was also due to the Persians, and took place about forty years later. A shrine like that of Olympia, which underwent no such sudden destruction, cannot give similar evidence; but here too the pedestals of early statues, as well as the small votive offerings that have been buried accidentally in the soil, show a similar wealth of dedications in early times.

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[1] See § 26, p. 223.

[2] *Naukratis*, II. cc. iv. and vi.

The nature of these dedicated statues, and the types which they reproduced, must be considered later (§ 18). All we are here concerned with is to notice their number, and the varied scope they gave to the artist, who, while working in the service of religion, could allow himself a freedom to do his best, whether in imitation of foreign models or in the exercise of his own skill and imagination, such as he could never have attained had he been chiefly concerned with making temple statues for the worship of the people. It was only when one of these sacred and often uncouth images had been surrounded by numerous works of sculpture, which contrasted by their excellence with its rude simplicity, that a more artistic embodiment of the divinity was allowed to take its place; and even then religious conservatism restricted the sculptor within narrower limits than were necessary in the case of a mere dedication. It was only after art had vindicated its position as the handmaid of religion that it was allowed to approach the most sacred things; and even then it had to submit to the religious ideals that were already established and sanctified by popular worship, at least in the sixth century. We shall see later how in the fifth century the sculptor went beyond all these conditions, and became a leader rather than a follower in religious thought; but this was a position that was not attained until many generations of service had led to mastery.

§ 15. *Changes in Greece before* 600 B.C.: *Later Means of Foreign Influence.*—In the last few sections we have been concerned with those facts or traditions that belong to the earliest days of historical Greece, before any independent development of Greek sculpture, but later than the Dorian immigration. The immediate result of that great change in the political, social, and racial conditions in Greece was two-fold in its influence upon the nascent art of Greece, and in its action upon the foreign influences which were then paramount. The invasion of the comparatively rude and uncultivated Dorians expelled or extinguished the already decadent civilisation of Mycenae; and at the same time it closed the ports of Greece to those Phoenician traders who had enjoyed free commercial intercourse with the earlier inhabitants. At the same time those who were expelled, taking their artistic traditions with them, and drawing a new stimulus from their change of soil, seem to have established more completely than before the Greek ascendancy over the islands of the Aegean and the coast of Asia Minor, driving the Phoenicians farther west to find in Carthage a new centre for their prosperity and power. Then the Greek colonies, spreading from Cyprus to Sicily, and from Egypt to the Euxine coast, brought the Greek into contact with the barbarian, whether more or less advanced than himself in art, under a new character. He no longer was visited in his home by the trader bringing wares from unknown lands, but he himself had the advantage of the traveller over those who receive his visits. It no longer was a rare distinction for a man that

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[1] Similar discoveries have been made upon many local shrines in Cyprus; but here the question of date is so difficult that we cannot safely quote them in illustration of early Greek art.

> πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω,

and the intelligence of the artist, as of all others, must have profited by the change.

The various peoples of Asia Minor, with whose art the Greek colonists must have become familiar during this period, have already been considered (§ 5); and we have seen that they afforded a direct channel by which earlier Oriental influences could be transmitted to Greece. But we have not yet sufficiently noticed the conditions under which the Greek artist came into contact with these influences in the outposts of Greek civilisation to the east and south, in Cyprus, Rhodes, and the African colonies of Cyrene and Naucratis. Cyprus has in all ages been readily receptive of foreign influences, as it has also been an easy prey for foreign conquerors or colonists. Its lack of political independence is matched by an equal lack of artistic originality; and its receptiveness for foreign models is joined to a conservatism of type and style which is both useful and puzzling to the student of Cypriote art—useful, because it has preserved to us numerous examples of the artistic types which offered models to the earliest Greek sculptors, and puzzling because the mechanical repetition of those types down to much later times often makes it impossible to infer with confidence the actual date of what may at first sight appear to be a very early specimen. In Cyprus also we find most prevalent the practice of filling every shrine with a crowd of dedicated statues; and we have already seen (§ 14) the influence of this practice upon the development of Greek sculpture. The numerous examples preserved of types based upon Egyptian or Assyrian models, or on a mixture of the two, afford us a very fair notion of the foreign influences that surrounded the sculptor in early Greece.

Rhodes, like Cyprus, was a natural meeting-place of East and West, but it occupies a very different position in the history of Greek art. It is, however, by no means easy to distinguish, in this case, between what is of local manufacture and what is imported; for whole classes of pottery found in Rhodes are now known to have been made in Samos, and others were probably imported from Miletus and elsewhere. But it is in the art of pottery that the products of Rhodes are most remarkable, and such specimens of primitive sculpture as have been found there do not differ essentially from those which abound in Cyprus, although we do not find in Rhodes that conservatism of type which we have noticed as being at once valuable and confusing. Naucratis again, which in pottery is directly dependent upon the Ionic cities of Asia Minor, though its local fabrics reached a very high perfection, offers a similar series of dedicated statuettes; so similar, that one is forcibly reminded in looking at them of the primitive statuette which Herostratus brought from Paphos in Cyprus and dedicated at his native town of Naucratis.[1] But we must remember that Naucratis was the only town in Egypt open to Greek traffic during the sixth century, and therefore that it must have been concerned in whatever direct transmission of Egyptian types to Greece we can discover during that period. To this fact we shall have to recur (§ 20). The colony of Cyrene, which is also best known for its pottery,[2] may perhaps claim some share in this transmission; but the vast space of desert between it and the shrine of Ammon must always have impeded any very close commercial or artistic relations.

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[1] Athenaeus xv. 676.

[2] This pottery is now called Laconian.

We thus see that while the direct influence of the two great national arts of early times must have been strictly circumscribed, their indirect influence may well have been very great; and this quite as much through the outlying Greek colonies as by the intermediation of any other people.

While these were the foreign relations of Greece during the period immediately preceding the rise of Greek sculpture, the political and social developments at home were no less remarkable. The rise of the tyrants on the one hand, and the foundation and gradual growth in importance of the national games on the other, must be reckoned among the conditions that prepared the way for a rapid spread and development of sculpture. The names of Phidon, of Cypselus, and of Pisistratus—to mention no others—are associated with inventions or dedications that form prominent landmarks in the early history of art. And it was only to be expected that an intelligent and cultured tyrant would be more likely to offer facilities to those who practised an art still in its infancy; though doubtless, as we shall see later, the highest products of Greek sculpture owed the conditions that made them possible to the pride and aspirations of the whole people. The growth of such feelings as these was fostered by the great national games and festivals of Greece, which also had a more direct influence upon sculpture; the athletic exercises which they encouraged supplied to the sculptor at once the models and the subjects for the exercise of his art, while the sites of their celebration were the places where his masterpieces were exhibited and dedicated.

From the custom of later times, we generally think of the four great athletic festivals as pre-eminent in Greece. But although they had acquired this position by the end of the sixth century, in the earlier time with which we are now concerned the case was different. The regular celebration of the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games was not dated back even by tradition beyond the early years of the sixth century, although in each case a far earlier mythical origin was claimed. The continuous dating of the Olympiads of course goes back to a much earlier period; but even here it seems probable that the national or Pan-hellenic character of the festival was greatly developed in the sixth century, under the influence of Pisistratus and other enlightened leaders of the day, who already foresaw the struggle with barbarism and the need for that consciousness of Greek unity which alone could give safety to Hellas. Delphi, as the seat of the worship of Apollo and his oracle, was perhaps of even wider influence in this early period; and the great Ionian festival of Delos, as portrayed in the Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo, was at its zenith in the eighth and seventh centuries before our era. At Olympia, Delphi, or Delos were dedicated many of the chief recorded examples of archaic art, and to these we must also add Athens, where the Panathenaea under Pisistratus had become something more than a local festival, and were remodelled after the manner of the other great national games to attract competitors from all parts of Greece—with what success is shown by the Panathenaic prize amphorae that have been found at Cyrene and in Italy. With the direct influence of athletic contests upon sculpture we must deal in a later section; here we note them rather as a historical and social condition, determining the character and direction of the new attainments of sculpture in Greece.

§ 16. *Summary.*—We have now seen something of the artistic influences which were prevalent in Greece and in the neighbouring countries during the period which preceded the rise of Greek sculpture; and however unique and independent we may find the art of Greece in its most characteristic attainments, we have learnt to recognise that it owes much in its origin to its predecessors. The great civilisations of Egypt, of Assyria, and of Asia Minor, each with its own artistic character, had arisen and fallen into decadence; and each in its turn had enriched the material at the disposal of the artist by a number of types and conventions, based ultimately upon the study of nature. These types and conventions, transmitted partly by means of woven stuffs, partly by decorative work in metal and other small objects, such as could be exported, and partly also by more direct intercourse, came to be regarded more or less as the common property of the artist, whatever his nationality; sometimes, as in Cyprus, he never got beyond a mere mechanical repetition and combination of these various elements, without ever rising beyond them, so as to create a style of his own. But in Greece there had already been signs of artistic promise, which showed that there was no fear of such a lifeless adoption of foreign products. In the second millennium before our era, there had existed on the coasts and islands of the Aegean a civilisation of sufficient power to make itself felt even by the powerful Pharaohs of Egypt, then in the zenith of its prosperity; and this civilisation had been accompanied by an artistic attainment not due solely to the influence of Oriental models, but apparently of independent origin. The people to whom this art belonged had to give way before the immigration from the north, commonly known as the Dorian invasion. After this change, they left behind them little of their art in Greece, except a few types which were preserved on gems or other small objects; and their successors did not for a time show any promise of rivalling them in artistic excellence. But in many districts adjoining the eastern Mediterranean, and above all in the great and prosperous Ionian cities of Asia Minor, we find a curious mixed art, partly carrying on the traditions of the Cretan and Aegean civilisation, partly dependent upon various foreign influences. Offshoots of this art were to be found even on the mainland of Greece; but when, after a long interval, art did begin once more to flourish upon Greek soil, it was marked by a yet closer study of nature in detail, by a vigour and conciseness of work beyond anything that had been seen in the earlier ages. The poets had already given definite form to mythological conceptions, which only awaited the adaptation of the traditional types. And although the images of the gods, as worshipped in their temples, still retained for some time their primitive and inartistic character, the custom of surrounding them with dedicated offerings gave more scope to the sculptor. We shall see in the next chapter the use which he made of his opportunity.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF GREEK SCULPTURE—600–480 B.C.

§ 17. *Character and Limits of the Period: Possible Subdivision.* —Hitherto we have been concerned for the most part with the foreign influences which were prevalent in Greece before the sixth century; or if we have in a few cases seen the work of a Greek artist, he has been an apt pupil of foreign masters or a clever imitator of foreign models, rather than the originator of new types or the author of an independent work of art. Nor was any exception offered by the first rude symbols of deities which were preserved as objects of worship by the Greeks even until later times. For the most part these have no claim to be considered as works of sculpture at all; or, if they have, they do not belong to any original artistic tendency in Greece. We now enter upon a period when this is to be changed; when the primitive attempts of the Greek sculptor, however rude and uncouth in appearance, yet show the beginning of that development which was to lead to the works of Phidias and Praxiteles, and when their chief interest for our study lies, not in their relation to the past, but in their promise for the future. It is not possible to fix any exact date at which this change takes place; but the earliest Greek sculptors of whom we hear from literary tradition do not belong to a period earlier than the beginning of the sixth century, and the inscriptions which are found upon some of the most primitive statues do not seem to indicate an earlier time. We may then take 600 B.C. as a convenient date for the beginning of the rise of Greek sculpture, while admitting that some works made before that date may have anticipated the progress which then began its continuous and rapid course.

The lower limit of the period with which we are concerned in the present chapter may best be fixed at the time of the Persian wars. There are two reasons why this, perhaps the greatest event in Greek history, forms a prominent landmark in the history of sculpture also. In the first place, the total revolution which was produced in the relations between Greece and the East by the destruction of the Persian army led, as we shall see, to many new artistic tendencies; and, in the second place, the actual sack by the Persians of sites such as the Acropolis of Athens led to the burial of many works of art which give us, when recovered, an excellent notion of the sculpture of the period immediately preceding. We have, therefore, a landmark which circumstances enable us to fix with exceptional accuracy; and it offers a good lower limit to the period of the rise of Greek sculpture, which may be made to contain all pre-Persian work—to use the words as an inaccurate but convenient equivalent for all that was made in Greece before the date of the Persian wars.

It is customary in histories of sculpture to divide this period into two, making the division at about 540 B.C. Before this date comes what is called the age of new inventions, after it the age of development. There is, however, no definite line of demarcation which can be drawn between the two either at this date or any other; the development, once begun, was continuous and unbroken; and even the more plausible assertion that sculpture left its old centres and found new ones at about this time does not bear critical examination. It is true that the places to which tradition assigns, for the most part, the first beginnings of Greek sculpture, are not those which carry on its development down to the close of the archaic period. But, on the other hand, we have good reason to believe that all those places which are known to us as the centres of later artistic activity began to have local schools of sculpture at a date not far removed from that of the first recorded beginnings of Greek sculpture, and certainly long before the division of periods above referred to. It therefore seems best, after a brief sketch of the actual and traditional origins of sculpture in Greece, to proceed to a sketch of its spread and local development without further subdivision of the period. The more influential and important local schools can then be treated separately, and their chief tendencies and most distinctive products can be described with more detail.

§ 18. *Inherited and Borrowed Types.*—We have already in the last chapter seen something of the sources both at home and abroad from which the early Greek sculptor derived the types upon which he first exercised his skill. We have seen also that our appreciation of the originality and perfection of Greek art in its highest attainment need not prevent our recognising the fact that these rude types, out of which the noblest forms of Greek art were gradually evolved, can in most cases be traced back to an origin which is not Greek. We must now consider more in detail the nature of the types, and notice the use that was made of them by the earliest Greek sculptors, and the direction in which they underwent gradual development. And for the present we must confine ourselves to simple sculptural types—that is to say, to single and independent figures. We have already, in § 9, made some reference to the traditional preservation and repetition of certain groups or compositions, but these were upon gems and reliefs; and to consider them in detail, with the illustrations offered by vases and other antiquities, would alone require a special treatise of very considerable dimensions. The following list even of sculptural types is not of course exhaustive; from the earliest times we may meet with occasional deviations, and even with such originality as to lead to the creation of a new type; but the great majority of early works of sculpture in Greece will be found to fall easily under one of these classes.

(*a*) *Nondescript draped type, standing* (cf. Fig. 14).—This description will apply to most of the rude statuettes, mostly without any pretension to artistic merit, that are found in such numbers on any early Greek site, especially in Cyprus, Rhodes, and Naucratis. It might even be possible to include also the primitive terra-cotta idols that are of still earlier date, and of almost universal distribution; but I doubt whether any direct development from these can be traced in the period of Greek sculpture with which we are here concerned. The usual material for the early statuettes is a rough soft limestone, a very easy substance to carve. There is little attempt at modelling, beyond the indication of the limbs and features. The arms are either close to the sides, or rest on the breast, or the two positions are varied for the two arms, but in any case they are not separated from the body; the lower part of the figure is either round or rectangular, more often a combination of the two, flat at the back and rounded in front; out of the shapeless mass of the skirt the feet project at the bottom, set close together side by side. The head-dress is almost always an imitation of some foreign model, whether the Egyptian wig or the Assyrian *frisure* or the Cypriote cap. The drapery is usually a solid mass without any rendering of folds or texture, much less of the forms beneath; the edges of separate garments are merely indicated by incised lines. I purposely describe this type in its simplest form; doubtless it might be possible to find in various examples that might be assigned to it some trace of most of those improvements which we shall notice in the more advanced types derived from it. So far, however, as these improvements are introduced, we must regard them as deviations from the type, usually in the direction of those more advanced types which follow it in our enumeration.

(*b*) *Draped female type, standing* (cf. Figs. 35-37).—This is a type in which it is easy to trace a continuous and uninterrupted development, beginning with statues or statuettes hardly distinguishable from our type (*a*) except in a rough attempt to indicate the sex and to imitate the nature of female drapery, and leading up to works of transitional period, already showing a promise of the finest attainments of Greek art. The developments in detail may be readily described. The left foot is almost invariably advanced, but both soles rest flat upon the ground. The arms are at first fixed close to the sides; then one or other is placed across the breast, but still in no way detached from the body; the next step is to raise one or both from the elbow, thus causing them to project freely, the free parts being often made from a separate block and inserted. The treatment of the drapery in this type clearly offers the widest field for development. At first it is a solid mass, with no character of its own, and no relation to the limbs it covers. Gradually both the texture of the material and a careful study of the folds occupy the artist's attention, until towards the end of the archaic period we find an extreme delicacy and complication in the drapery which almost amounts to affectation, and from which we find a strong reaction to simpler forms in the fifth century. At the same time the modelling of the body itself is more and more considered, and the drapery, if not subordinated to it, is at least made to follow the forms of the body, and to avail itself of them for graceful and pleasing arrangement of folds. So too, in a less degree, with the treatment of the hair, which tends to become less conventional, but more elaborate, until simplicity comes in with the finest period. The treatment of the face, and of other nude parts, progresses at the same time as in the next type (*c*), but more rapidly, since the forms of the body are covered, and thus the face, hands, and feet are the only parts where the sculptor has scope for the exercise of his art in rendering the human figure. Where the field of his activity is strictly circumscribed, he naturally shows a more accurate study of detail within the set limits.

Male draped figures are not unknown in the early period of art, but are comparatively rare. The same remarks will apply to them as to similar female figures, except that we should not expect the same delicacy and grace in the elaboration of the drapery.

(*c*) *Nude male type, standing* (cf. Figs. 16, 17, 26, 29, 30).—This type, of which the examples have often been classed together, sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly, under the name *Apollo*,[1] is the most characteristic of early Greek art. It is, indeed, one of which we must assign the invention to the Greeks themselves, and to the Greeks of the period when sculpture was beginning to develop; for the nudity of this type, as of the Greek athlete whom it so often renders, marks an essential distinction not only between Greek and barbarian, but also between the Greeks of the highest time of social and political development and their ruder ancestors. Thus we hear[2] that waist-cloths were not discarded in the foot-race at Olympia until after the 15th Olympiad (720 B.C.), while Thucydides[3] says that the custom of athletic nudity was introduced universally only shortly before his own day, chiefly under Spartan influence, and that waist-cloths were still retained by some foreigners, especially Asiatics, in contests of wrestling and boxing. Plato, too,[4] quotes this matter as an example of the change of convention by which what seems laughable to one generation becomes usual in another. We have no illustration of this change of feeling in sculpture; in the earliest Greek statues the nudity is already usual and complete; though if we go back a little farther, we find the use of waist-cloths not uncommon on some classes of early vases.[1] Thus we have a striking confirmation of the view that the history of sculpture in Greece does not begin before the end of the seventh century. Upon early sites where statuettes of our type (*a*) are common, a few examples of these nude male statuettes may be seen;[2] and the direct and continuous development from them to the "Apollo" statues and athletes of the early fifth century is just as easy to trace as in type (*b*). We find the same fixed position of the legs, with the left foot advanced, and the same varying position of the arms, as in type (*b*); and in other respects the progress follows similar lines. But in the nude male statue, which was especially developed under the influence of athletic competitions and dedications, it is the treatment of the body which mainly occupies the sculptor's attention; and it is in the careful study of nature, in the comprehension of the position and relation of bones and muscles, and in the gradual approach to a truthful rendering of the proportions and the structure of the human body, that we may see most clearly in early times the superiority of the Greek to all others who had practised the art of sculpture before him. And it was by mastering thoroughly and conscientiously all these details, and striving to reproduce them with the utmost accuracy and severity, that the Greek sculptors gained that training which fitted them in the fifth century to express the highest ideas and to attain the greatest dignity of style, though we must not forget the grace and delicacy of execution which the development of the female draped type had called forth. We shall see in subsequent sections to what local schools we must assign the chief attainments in either branch, and also how it was a combination of the two, and a reaction of the one upon the other, that characterised the beginning of the finest period.

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[1] This name "Apollo" has been retained throughout the following sections to describe the various examples of this type. It is now familiar, and is sometimes correct; and there is in hardly any case the material for a discussion whether this god or another, or perhaps a human worshipper or athlete, is the subject of the statue. I must ask the reader to bear this note in mind whenever I use the name.

[2] See Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 1050, where authorities are quoted and discussed.

[3] Thuc. i. 6.

[4] *Resp.* 452 D.

The nude female type may be dismissed very briefly; though a few examples occur in early statuettes, they are all of Oriental origin and significance, and led to no Greek development. This type is indeed of extremely rare occurrence in Greece until the fourth century. To the Oriental mind, nudity and indecency are inseparable. It is entirely otherwise in Greece, but only for men. Women are almost always draped in sculpture, so long as it retains its severest dignity, and presents only subjects that may be observed in daily life, or ideals that seek their expression in the types derived from such observation.

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[1] E.g. *Naukratis*, ii. Pl. xi. 2.

[2] E.g. *Naukratis*, i. Pl. i. 1, 3-5; ii. Pl. xiv. 13.

(*d*) *Male and female seated type, draped* (cf. Fig. 8).—It would be possible to subdivide this type in the same manner as the standing one, but little would be gained in clearness by such a proceeding. It will suffice to say that this type also develops gradually from a mere block, made, as it were, in one piece with the chair on which the figure is seated, and so enveloped in square masses of drapery that the forms of the body and limbs are entirely concealed, to a statue in which the bodily forms may be seen through the drapery, in which the drapery is rendered with careful study of its texture and folds, and which seems not of one piece with its chair, but looks "as if it had sat down and could get up again." In details, such as the arrangement of the arms, at first resting along the knees, later raised from the elbows, we may notice the same change as in the other types. We shall see that this type was of very wide distribution, and was used by almost all schools of sculpture in early Greece to represent both gods and men.

(*e*) *Winged figures* (cf. Fig. 13).—So many winged figures in what is meant for the rapid motion of flight have been found in various regions, that it seems worth while to include them under a separate type. It is clear that such a type as this offers plentiful opportunity for variety, from a stiff and conventional pose to a graceful study of flying drapery in motion. This type we find both male (sometimes nude) and female; its significance varies; in earlier times it may, where its purpose is not purely decorative, be meant to represent the winged Artemis, or a corresponding male divinity, in direct imitation of Oriental models; later it develops into the types of Victory and Eros. And although the figures are of a different nature, the representations of sphinxes, harpies, and sirens so common in early Greek art show a similar treatment of the wings, and are doubtless derived from a similar source.

If we examine any list of works of sculpture preserved from the earliest period, such as may be compiled from Overbeck's *Schriftquellen*, we shall find that almost all the examples may readily be classed under one or other of the types just mentioned—statues of Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, the Graces, priestesses, and so on, under type (*b*); statues of Apollo, Hermes, athletes, etc., under type (*c*); while seated figures of divinities or men fall under type (*d*). So, too, with extant monuments; if we consider only free statues in the round, not architectural sculptures or reliefs, we shall find very few early works in our museums that do not belong to one or other of these types, with but very slight variations; though the meaning of the artist in most cases remains doubtful, unless some attribute or inscription serve to show his intention. It may seem surprising at first that there should be so much sameness, such almost wearisome iteration of the same types, in the first outburst of a young and promising art, full of originality and observation of nature. Such repetition of certain fixed types with varying meaning might rather seem appropriate to the decadence of art, when invention and imagination were effete, and the sculptor could only reproduce what his greater predecessors had brought to the highest perfection. And this, as we shall see, is perfectly true.[1] But between the two cases, the rise and the fall of Greek sculpture, there is an essential difference. It is no lack of imagination, far less the carelessness and indifference that proceed in a decadent period from the fatal facility of the artist and his despair of advancing beyond his masters, that leads to the monotony of type in early Greek sculpture. The cause is rather to be sought in the correct appreciation by the sculptor of the great difficulties that are before him—a quality that at once distinguishes true art, though yet in embryo, from the easy and styleless attempts of an uncultured barbarian. A due realisation of the difficulties of sculpture, and an honest and persevering attempt to overcome them, are the signs of promise that are most characteristic of early Greek art; and when we observe these, we need not wonder that the artist eagerly adopted some fixed and definite limits within which he might exercise his skill, otherwise liable to be dispersed and lost among the infinite possibilities of a free and untrammelled rendering of what he saw around him.

§ 19. *Stories of Inventions and their Value.*—Upon the very threshold of what we may call the historical period of Greek sculpture we are met by certain traditions, which we can neither accept nor ignore, concerning the inventions made by various early artists. Thus we are told by Pausanias that Rhoecus and Theodorus of Samos were the first to invent bronze foundry, and to cast statues of bronze; and by Pliny that the first to attain renown in the sculpture of marble were Dipoenus and Scyllis of Crete, though this statement is afterwards modified by the addition that even before their time Melas and his family had practised marble sculpture in Chios. Here Pliny is almost certainly repeating side by side two rival and inconsistent traditions—probably both equally lacking in historical authority. We have already seen how worthless are the traditions preserved by later writers as to the inventions attributed to Daedalus;[1] Herodotus mentions a great dedication made by early Samian bronze workers long before the time of Rhoecus and Theodorus; and we know that statues both of marble and of bronze were made often enough outside Greece, if not in it, before any of these so-called inventors.

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[1] See § 77, Neo-Attic Reliefs.

We may then dismiss at once these stories of inventions, so far as literal accuracy is concerned; but at the same time it may be worth while to consider whether they are merely baseless conjectures of later Greek critics, or traditions with some underlying truth, though misunderstood by those who record them. Here again we are helped by analogy. In the case of the alphabet, similar traditions of inventions can be confronted with its history, as based upon ascertained facts. And we find that while one tradition, which assigns the introduction of letters into Greece to the Phoenician Cadmus, is very near the truth, there are many others equally inconsistent both with this tradition and with the facts. And in matters of detail we find the stories that assign the invention of various letters to various mythical or historical personages to be entirely false and misleading.

We shall then attach very little weight to the traditions which assign various inventions in connection with the art of sculpture to various early masters. They certainly tell us nothing except that these masters excelled in early times in that branch with which their reputed inventions are concerned. But the amount of originality which they can claim is only to be learnt from a general survey of the evidence, both literary and monumental, as to the nature and the limits of their artistic activity.

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[1] See § 13.

§ 20. *Schools of Samos, Chios, Crete: Literary Evidence.*—We find in the literary authorities on which we are dependent for the history of sculpture various stories as to the schools which first attained eminence and influence in Greece. We have already seen in the case of Daedalus, whose name is introduced again in connection with some of the early schools of sculpture, how worthless these stories are for scientific study; and we shall not see any reason for attaching much greater value to them in the present case. It is, however, necessary to repeat them here in their main outlines, partly because, however partial, they probably contain some truth, and partly because many statements based upon them may be found in accepted handbooks. We must, however, remember the nature of the authorities with which we are dealing (see Introduction (*a*)); all the stories are derived from late and uncritical compilers, who repeat side by side inconsistent versions which they have culled from various earlier writers; and these earlier writers often represent a prejudiced view, perhaps invented and certainly repeated in order to enhance the glory of some place or school, by claiming the earliest inventions or attainments for its primitive and sometimes mythical representatives.[1] After so much reservation, we may proceed to the stories themselves.

Next after Daedalus come certain artists who are expressly described as his pupils. Most prominent among these are Dipoenus and Scyllis of Crete, who were, according to some, the sons also of Daedalus. In accordance with this mythical date, we are told also that they made a life-size statue of emerald, which Sesostris of Egypt (Ramses II.) sent to Lindus. Smilis of Aegina was another contemporary of Daedalus; and the Athenian Endoeus was a pupil of Daedalus, and accompanied his master in his flight to Crete. If this were all we heard about these artists, we might dismiss them as entirely legendary. But other statements about them seem as clearly historical.[2] Dipoenus and Scyllis, we are told, were famous about 580 B.C.; they then came from Crete to Sicyon, where they undertook to make various statues of the gods. Owing to some breach of the agreement—perhaps at the death of Cleisthenes the tyrant in 573 B.C.—they went off to Ambracia, where works of theirs were preserved. Later, the Sicyonians after a famine having been advised by the Delphic oracle to recall them to carry out their bargain, they returned and made statues of Apollo, Artemis, Heracles, and Athena. Works of theirs were also shown at Argos, Cleonae, and Tiryns; and pupils of theirs were among the best known early sculptors, especially in Sparta. Statues by them were also among the spoil carried off by Cyrus from Lydia (in 546 B.C.). Besides marble and bronze gilt, the materials they used were ebony and ivory, in which they made a group at Argos of the Dioscuri and their sons, and Hilaeira and Phoebe. This subject at once reminds us of the groups in relief on early decorative works; but the groups by the Spartan pupils of Dipoenus and Scyllis must have been in the round,[1] and so probably theirs were also.

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[1] See Robert, *Archäologische Märchen.*

[2] For the chronology see Urlichs, *Skopas*, p. 219 *sqq.*

Before discussing the historical accuracy of these facts, let us get some notion of the other information which we possess about this early period from literary sources. Endoeus, whom we have just seen as an associate and pupil of Daedalus, is also said to have made the statue of Artemis at Ephesus, the ancient statue of Athena Alea at Tegea, and a primitive seated statue of Athena at Erythrae; but he also made a seated statue of Athena at Athens, which was dedicated by Callias, according to its inscription recorded by Pausanias (probably about 550 B.C.), and his name occurs on an archaic inscription actually extant in Athens.[2] To this strange mixture of fact and fiction we shall have to recur, as it offers the safest clue for our guidance amidst the contradictory evidence about early artists. Another artist, as to whom we get no trustworthy information, not even as to his name, is Simon or Simmias, son of Eupalamus, who made the statue of Dionysus Morychus at Athens of rough stone. The title of this statue, and the recorded practice of staining its face at vintage time with wine-lees and fresh figs, seem to show that it was a primitive object of worship.

With Smilis the case is somewhat different. He is described as an Aeginetan[3] by Pausanias, but his works were shown in Argos and Elis; he made the sacred image of Hera in the Heraeum at Samos; but in this case we are expressly told that his statue was a substitute for the shapeless plank that was the earliest representation of the goddess. This Smilis is also mentioned as the architect of the Labyrinth at Lemnos, in conjunction with Rhoecus and Theodorus, to whom we must next turn in our enumeration.

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[1] See below, § 23.

[2] *C.I.A.* i. No. 477.

[3] As Furtwängler (*Meisterw.* p. 720) points out, it is very probable that this is simply a misunderstanding of a conventional criticism, which classed Smilis as Aeginetan, *i.e.* archaic, of a certain type, in style. If so, Smilis must naturally be classed with the Samian artists.

These two artists, together with Telecles—the three are said to have been of one family, but their relationship is variously given—are the representatives of the early Samian school to which, as we have seen, the invention of bronze foundry is attributed. According to another story, Rhoecus and Theodorus invented also modelling in clay, long before the expulsion of the Bacchiadae from Corinth (663 B.C.); here, however, they have a rival claimant in Butades of Corinth, who is said to have made this last invention by filling in with clay the outline which his daughter had traced by lamplight from her lover's face upon the wall. Both stories are probably of equal value. Theodorus is coupled by Plato with the mythical Daedalus and Epeius. Rhoecus and Theodorus are mentioned as architects of temples as famous as those at Samos and Ephesus, and of the Skias at Sparta. But the only works of sculpture attributed to them are a statue at Ephesus called Night by Rhoecus; a statue of Theodorus by himself, holding a file in his right hand and a chariot of remarkably minute work in his left;[1] and the statue of Apollo Pythius at Samos, as to which is told the curious story that Telecles and Theodorus made the two halves independently, one at Ephesus, the other at Samos, and that these two halves fitted perfectly when joined. This remarkably systematic work is attributed to the fact that they were trained to follow the Egyptian proportions, and we are told that this statue had its legs striding and its arms close to the sides, after the Egyptian model. We have seen, however, that nearly all archaic male statues in Greece follow this same type. Then many technical improvements and inventions of tools are attributed to Theodorus, who was.

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[1] The fly that covers this with its wings can hardly mean a scarab gem. The expression is probably a purely hyperbolical one, to express minuteness of work; compare the similar one about Myrmecides; *S.Q.* 2192-2201. "Simul facta" is probably a textual error, unless Pliny has made a mistake himself, as is not improbable. The point is hardly worth discussion.

however, even more famous as a gem-cutter and goldsmith. He made the ring of Polycrates, which forms the subject of one of Herodotus' charming stories, and also the famous golden vine and plane tree for the Persian king Darius, and gold and silver craters for Croesus to dedicate at Delphi (between 560 and 548 B.C.). Finally, the name of a sculptor Theodorus, in the Ionic alphabet, has been found upon a base on the Acropolis at Athens, of about the middle of the sixth century;[1] and that of Rhoecus as the dedicator of a vase to Aphrodite at Naucratis in Egypt,[2] thus lending some probability to the story of the Egyptian studies of these Samian artists.

Then there is a great family of Chian artists who rival the Cretan Dipoenus and Scyllis in their claim to be the first sculptors in marble; they run through the four generations of Melas, Micciades, Archermus, and Bupalus and Athenis. Of the first two we are told nothing; but Archermus is said to have been the first to represent Nike with wings, and works of his existed in Delos and Lesbos. By singular good fortune there have been found at Delos a statue of an archaic winged female figure, and a basis (which has been thought to belong to it) bearing the names of Micciades and Archermus of Chios.[3] It may perhaps be that in this statue, which must be described later,[4] we see the very figure described as a winged Nike by later writers: in any case we have positive proof that Archermus dedicated an offering in Delos before the middle of the sixth century. A later inscription, in Ionic characters, has been found with the name of Archermus of Chios on the Acropolis at Athens.[5] Bupalus and Athenis were the enemies of the poet Hipponax, whose deformity they are said to have caricatured, and who wrote abusive verses about them (about 540 B.C.). Several statues by them are recorded in various cities of Asia Minor, all of female divinities; and there is also mentioned in Chios a mask of Artemis, hung high up, that

[1] *C.I.A.* iv. No. 373.90.

[2] *Naukratis*, ii., Inscr. No. 778.

[3] See Loewy, No. 1; and for reading and interpretation of inscription, *Class. Review*, 1893.

[4] See p. 122.

[5] *C.I.A.* iv. 373.95. It has been said that these two inscriptions cannot refer to the same man; but the difference of place, and a possible interval of forty years in time, would easily account for the difference of lettering. Archermus would be a young man when he worked with his father Micciades in Delos. He may well have come to Athens in his old age.

appeared severe as one entered, and smiling as one went out. At Rome, works by Bupalus and Athenis were set up either in the pediment or as acroteria upon the temple of the Palatine Apollo, and (adds Pliny) in almost all Augustus' buildings. It is especially to be noticed that the great majority of the statues made by these Chian artists were of female divinities; we shall see how this preference for the female draped figure is characteristic both of Ionic and of Attic art, and contrasts with the preference for the male athletic type which we shall find in Aegina and the Peloponnese.

Another early artist, Clearchus of Rhegium, was called by some a pupil of Daedalus; but in this case the story is probably due to his having made a statue which appeared to later critics to show a very primitive technique.[1]

Other names might be added to those included in this section, but we should learn nothing more as to the early history of sculpture, which is very little the clearer even for the records already mentioned. We must now, however, attempt to get some more definite notion of the value of this evidence.

It is in the first place to be observed that concerning almost all the artists who have just been mentioned we have some stories that are clearly mythical, and others that make claim to be historical; yet both apparently rest on precisely the same authority, and often occur in consecutive sentences of the same author. Perhaps one example shows this most clearly of all: Pausanias tells us that Endoeus was an Athenian who accompanied Daedalus in his flight to Crete; in the very next sentence he says that Endoeus made a statue for Callias, as is mentioned in the dedication. Now this last statement is probably true, for we know from actually extant inscriptions that Endoeus was an artist working at Athens in Callias' day. And, moreover, Pausanias tells us he is quoting an inscription, and in such a case we may well allow considerable authority to his statement. Yet we see here how he places side by side with a most trustworthy statement another which is both inconsistent with it and impossible in itself. And so, where we have no certain means of ascertaining the source from which he derived his information, we can allow hardly any weight to his critical discrimination in accepting and repeating it. Even more is this the case with Pliny, who is merely a compiler from compilations. With what impartiality he compiles may be seen from his statements that Dipoenus and Scyllis on the one hand, and Melas and his family on the other, were the first sculptors in marble. The two stories are inconsistent with one another, and evidently proceed from the rival traditions of various schools. How these traditions arose we can only conjecture; but few if any of them have any early authority. Yet it is a singular fact that they are mostly associated with the names of early artists whose existence is either extremely probable or attested by certain evidence. The names of these artists were probably preserved by inscriptions, and possibly some of their works remained extant till later times; but as to their date, their lives, or their attainments, very little could have been known. Those later critics or compilers who championed the claim of one school or another to the earliest eminence in any branch of sculpture naturally made use of the names thus preserved, eking out the scanty facts recorded by the aid of their imagination or by borrowing from mythical sources. Thus it does not follow because an artist is mentioned as a companion of Daedalus, that he is therefore an equally mythical personage; but on the other hand, we have no certain criteria by which we can distinguish the true from the false among the various information with which we are supplied by ancient writers. We must not, therefore, accept as historically accurate any of this information about the early artists of Greece, except with the utmost caution and the most careful comparison with ascertained facts—unless, in short, we know it to be true upon other evidence. Least of all must we select from the passages preserved from ancient writers such as appear to us to be intrinsically probable or consistent with our theories and expectations, to the exclusion of all the rest. Such a proceeding is most unscientific in its method, and can only lead to the perpetuation of error or the concealment of ignorance. The study of the monuments alone can guide us safely in the history of this early period; supplemented, indeed, by literary evidence, but never constrained into consistency with what, after all, may well be a partial or misleading account.

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[1] See below, p. 172, and also Introduction, p. 24.

NOTE.—The unusually low estimate made in this section of the value of the literary authorities for the history of archaic Greek sculpture finds confirmation in the facts analysed by Loewy in his *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, p. xvi. It there appears that out of the total number of sculptors whose names are recorded on inscriptions, the number whose names are already known to us from literary sources varies considerably according to period. Dr. Loewy's table is as follows :—

	Names of sculptors mentioned in ancient writers.	Names of sculptors not mentioned in ancient writers.
Sixth century . . .	2	11
Fifth ,, . . .	14	8
Fourth ,, . . .	16	8
Fourth to Third century . .	10	19
Third to Second ,, . .	7	35
Second to First ,, . .	9	55
Imperial times . . .	3	55
Copies	18	0

Some additions to this table from more recent discoveries, especially on the Athenian Acropolis, would be possible. But they would not change the nature of the proportions.

We find then that in the fifth and fourth centuries, the period that includes all the greatest names in Greek art, the literary tradition fairly coincides with that of inscriptions, about two-thirds of the artists whose names we find inscribed on the bases of statues being mentioned by ancient authors ; in the sixth century, on the other hand, but a very small proportion of the sculptors recorded by inscriptions to have been active in Greece is known to us from literary evidence. The natural inference from these facts is that in primitive times the literary evidence is of a very partial and fragmentary nature, while, as to the fifth and fourth centuries, the facts about artists were fairly well known and pretty completely recorded by those authors, chiefly Pausanias and Pliny, on whom we depend for our literary information. This is exactly what we should expect from the circumstances of the case ; and in particular, the doubts which we were led by the nature of the evidence about the earliest Greek sculptors to entertain as to the trustworthiness of that evidence, are strikingly confirmed by its failure to correspond with the evidence of inscriptions.

In later times, though the proportion of known artists among those recorded by inscriptions again becomes small, the reasons are somewhat different. Our authorities record less about the artists of later times not so much because of their ignorance and the impossibility of finding out the truth, as from the lack of interest in the subject after the days of decline had begun. And again, the earlier historical and descriptive compilations on which our authorities are based probably date from the end of the period when the literary and epigraphical evidence correspond.

§ 21. *Early Monuments, locally classified.*—We have seen that the literary evidence as to the early history of Greek sculpture is on the one hand so untrustworthy, on the other so fragmentary and partial, that it cannot be used as a foundation for the study of the monuments. It follows that such indications as to various artists and schools, their relations and their dependence, as we gather from literary authorities, cannot serve as a basis for the classification of extant works of sculpture. There are three other methods according to which it would be possible to arrange these extant works in any systematic treatment: we may classify them according to the place where they were found, or to which they are proved to belong by certain evidence, such as that of inscriptions; or we may follow in turn each of the main types which we have already noticed through the various modifications it underwent in various places and periods; or we may try to adopt a chronological order. The last of these three is, however, impracticable in dealing with numerous works made under varying conditions; we have no reason to assume that the course of development was of equal rapidity and similar tendency in different parts of Greece; and thus a chronological arrangement is only possible within various local subdivisions. An attempt to follow the main sculptural types through their various examples would be very instructive, and is indeed indispensable to the student; but we should thus be restricted almost entirely to sculpture in the round, and should be precluded from filling in the gaps in our evidence with reliefs, which in many cases form our only source of knowledge. It seems best, therefore, to content ourselves in the present section with an enumeration of the most representative works of early sculpture according to a purely local classification. Such inferences as may be safely drawn concerning the relation or influence of early schools will in part be apparent as we proceed; in part they must be pointed out in a subsequent section.

For the sake of clearness in this local classification we will divide the various localities as follows:—

(§ 21) Ionic: (*a*) Ionia, (*b*) Asia Minor, (*c*) Aegean Islands, (*d*) N. Greece, (*e*) Athens.

(§ 22) Doric or Peloponnesian: (α) Crete, (β) Sparta, (γ) Rest of Peloponnese, (δ) Corcyra and Acarnania, (ε) Megara, (ζ) Selinus, (η) Boeotia.

I. IONIC. (*a*) *Ionia.*—Two sites in Ionia have yielded considerable remains of archaic sculpture—the very two which were the chief centres of worship, and therefore attracted those dedications which, as we have seen, offer most opportunities for the energy of the sculptor in early times. These are the temple of Apollo at Branchidae near Miletus, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. At Branchidae many of the statues that lined the sacred way have survived; most of these are now in the British

Museum, some in the Louvre.[1] Some of these statues have inscribed dedications, which are most valuable, not only in giving us additional evidence as to date, but also in telling us

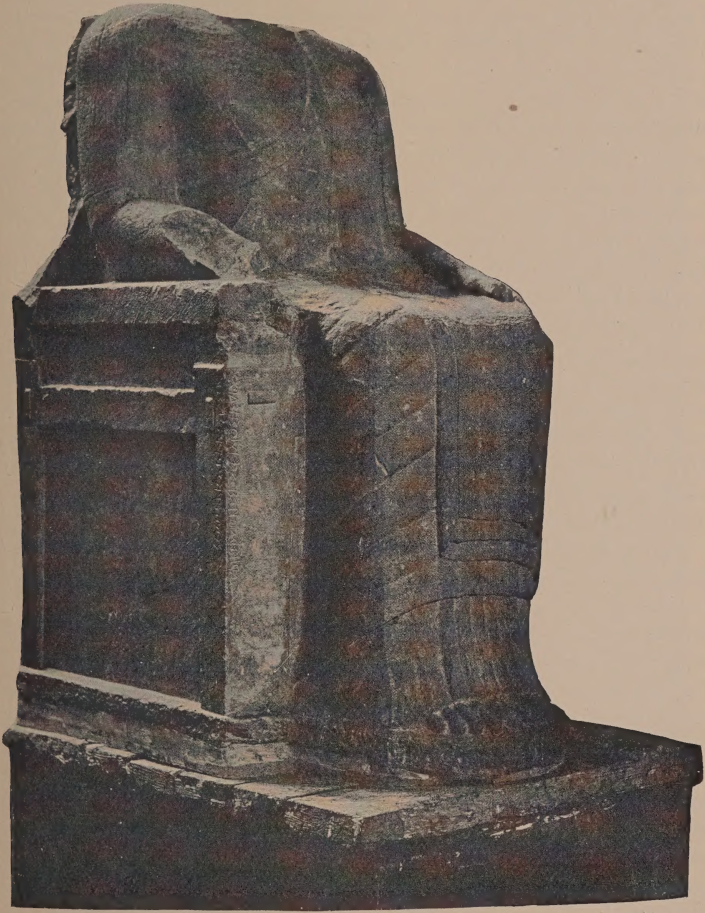

Fig. 8.—Statue of Chares, ruler of Tichiussa, from Branchidae (British Museum).

the subject; the inscription on one of the statues asserts that it is Chares, ruler of Tichiussa, and in all cases probably the worshipper or dedicator himself is represented. From these inscriptions we may assign the statues to various dates, mostly not long before or after 550 B.C.; and we can see corresponding differences in the style of the statues themselves. The earlier among them offer some of the most primitive examples of the common seated type. The seated figure seems to be of one piece with the chair, and none of the forms of the body are felt or indicated through the flat heavy drapery, which envelops all the contours as if in a solid and unyielding mass. Yet even in this case we may see some characteristics which we shall frequently have to notice in works of Ionic style or under Ionic influence—the full and heavy forms both of head and body, the rounded and fleshy build of the figure, and the absence of modelling of details; these are often rendered by mere incised outlines, especially in the case of the drapery. The more advanced examples among the Branchidae statues show the same general character. Although in them the drapery is arranged far more elaborately and is rendered with more care in details, while the forms of the body in some cases show through the clothes that envelop them, we still find the same clumsiness and heaviness of mass, and the same absence of any organic distinction between the drapery and the human figure, or the figure and the chair that it sits upon.

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[1] *B. D.* 141-143; Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, etc., Pl. lxxiv.-lxxv.

The sculptures of the temple at Ephesus are somewhat different in nature. The most interesting of them formed bands of relief round the columns of the temple, most of which were dedicated by Croesus;[1] and fragments of an inscription, which has been restored with great probability by Canon Hicks as Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν, have been found upon some of the bases. We are thus enabled to date these reliefs approximately, for the reign of Croesus lasted from 560 to 546 B.C.; thus they are earlier than some, and later than others, of the Branchidae figures; and we may remember also that they were in the very temple of which the foundations are said to have been laid by Theodorus of Samos. We may best judge of the style from the restored drum now set up in the British Museum,[2] and containing most of a male draped figure and portions of a female figure. The fragments inserted may not all belong together, but the restoration serves to indicate the

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[1] Herod. i. 92.

[2] *J.H.S.*, 1889, Pl. iii.; *B.D.* 148. Fig. 9 gives the more complete figure only.

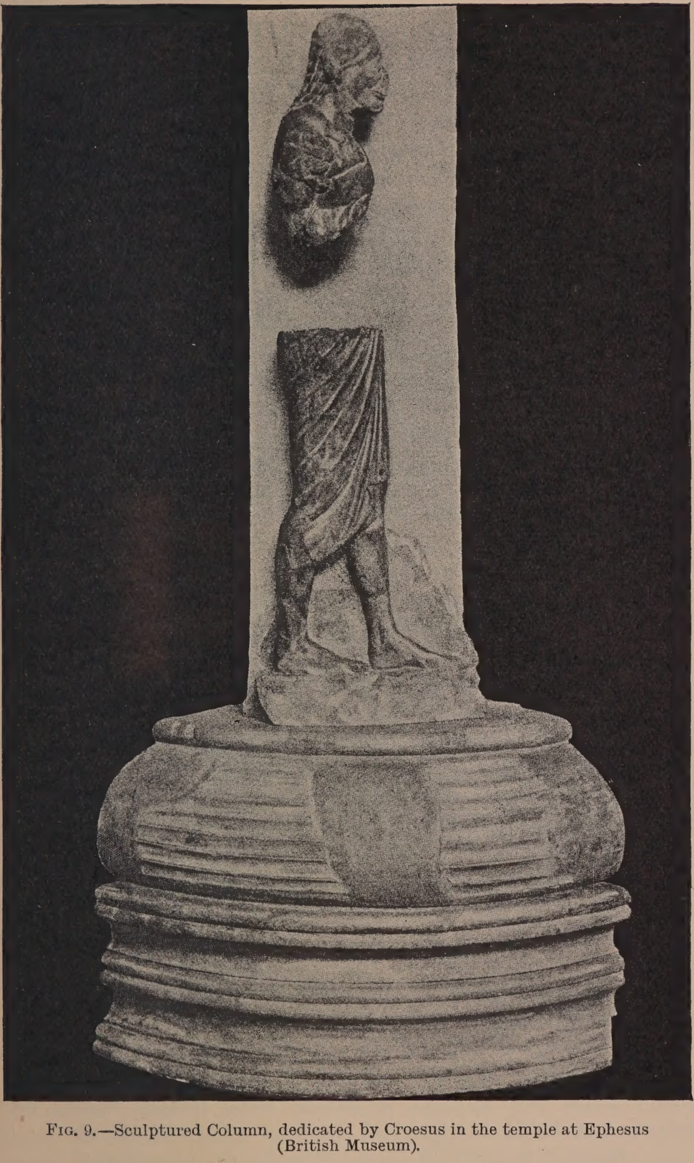

FIG. 9.—Sculptured Column, dedicated by Croesus in the temple at Ephesus (British Museum).

general effect. So far as it is possible to compare architectural sculptures, which are subject to the conditions imposed by another art, with independent statues, these Ephesian sculptures seem to show a resemblance in style to those of Branchidae; the forms, if less heavy and fleshy, are of a similar character; and we see the same enveloping drapery, with its folds and divisions cut in outline on a flat surface rather than modelled. But here we have some fairly preserved faces, and in them we notice even more distinctly the full and rounded forms, and a soft and sensual type which well accords with the luxury of the Ionian cities before the evil days that befell them during the advance of Persia. At the same time we may notice a want of definition in detail, coupled with harmony of composition and skill in laying out the main outlines, such as we shall see again in works that fall under Ionic influence — a general character that may be summed up in the expression "lax archaic style." This is a distinction that we shall appreciate fully when we come to consider the precise and accurate, though often harsh and angular forms of Doric and Peloponnesian art. For the present we must be content with noticing the various forms which this style takes in Asia Minor, and in those parts of Greece which are connected with it by position or influence.

The sculptured cornice of this temple at Ephesus is in a very fragmentary state; but it clearly belongs to a much later period, the building of the temple having perhaps lasted over a century. It shows a delicacy in detail which contrasts with the rather heavy work of the figures on the columns, and seems to show traces of the influence of refined marble work from the islands.

(*b*) *Asia Minor.*—We have already seen something of Lycian art in an earlier stage; we must now return to see in it the reflection of the Ionic art of the sixth century. The great example of Lycian art at this period is the Harpy tomb, brought from Xanthus to the British Museum. This monument was surrounded with reliefs on four sides, representing throned figures, male and female, approached by trains of worshippers with offerings, while at each corner of the two shorter sides are strange monsters, with human heads and breasts, and birds' wings and bodies, which carry off small female figures, clasped in their claws and their human arms.

These creatures have given their name to the tomb.[1] The symbolism of these interesting reliefs may perhaps be only partially Greek in its nature; but it throws a good deal of light on the beliefs of the people to whom it belongs as to death and the after-world; and their notions seem not to be dissimilar to those we find in Greece. It is clear that the strange monsters are some kind of death genius, carrying off the souls of the deceased, and that in the throned figures who receive offerings we have a similar subject to that with which we shall meet again in the Spartan tomb reliefs (see § 22, β). In them it may often be doubted whether we should recognise

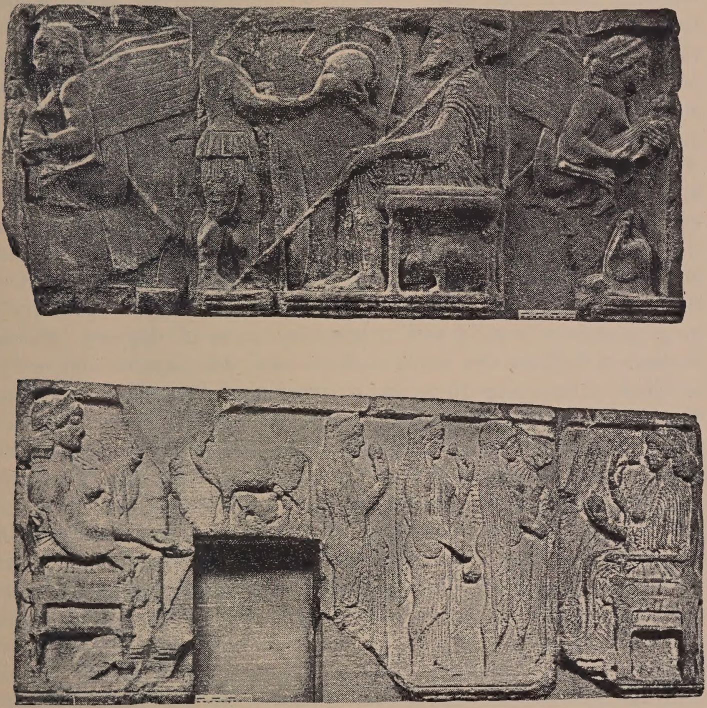

FIG. 10.—Harpy Monument from Xanthus in Lycia; N. and W. sides (British Museum).

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[1] It is probably incorrect to give the name of Harpies to these monsters; but the name is now so well established that it is difficult to get rid of.

the deities of the lower world or the deceased as a hero receiving the funeral offerings from his descendants; probably the two notions are not clearly distinguished. The survivors may have believed that their ancestor sat enthroned below, to receive the offerings they brought to his tomb, and symbolised in the reliefs that decorated it. And the worship they accorded him was included in that which they paid to the deities who ruled the dead. It is, however, with the style that we are now mainly concerned. This and other Lycian sculptures find their closest analogy in the works of Ionic art that we have just been examining. We see again the lax archaic style, the full and round proportions, the way in which the chief forms are emphasised, while there is no finer modelling in detail. In the drapery too, though we see more elaboration and care in the rendering of its folds, as in the later Branchidae statues, we find little approach to a harmonious combination of the rendering of the figure and of the clothes that envelop its forms. Arms and legs seem simply to project from a solid and unyielding mass of drapery, which, though it follows the main outlines and contours of the body, is filled in between them in rounded and heavy masses that show no understanding of the forms beneath, and but little of the texture of the stuff itself. On the other hand, in the general composition and design, especially when the positions are of rest or only gentle motion, we see a quiet and harmonious conception which goes far to make up for defects of detail, and we may well imagine the artist as satisfied with his work; he lacks entirely that stimulating discontent which was elsewhere to lead to the surmounting of difficulties of which he seems unconscious. As to the period of this Lycian relief we have no certain evidence, and comparison with Greek works may be misleading; but in development it seems upon about the same stage as the later Branchidae figures, and a little more advanced than the Ephesian columns. It must probably belong to the latter part of the sixth century. Other Lycian tomb reliefs belong to the same period, but one example is sufficient to show how the influence of Ionic art spread down the Asiatic coast to the south. To the north we may see yet another example of the same influence in the sculptures of the temple at Assos in the Troad. These sculptures form a band of ornament along the architrave of a Doric temple, instead of taking the usual position of sculptured ornamentation on the frieze.[1] They are chiefly remarkable for their subjects, which consist partly of groups of animals, bulls and lions, and others, partly of feasters reclining on couches and drinking, partly of mythological scenes, such as Heracles shooting at the Centaurs, and Heracles wrestling with the fish-tailed Triton. These are the same subjects which we find on early bronze reliefs and other decorative works, and they follow just the same types; thus additional confirmation is lent to the theory that these sculptures on the architrave are but substitutes for an ornamental metal casing. We see also in them the principle of isocephalism carried to its extreme. Small standing or running figures, such as the Nereids in the Triton scene, or the attendants at the banquet, have to cover the same vertical interval as the reclining figures in the same scenes, and consequently are made at about one half the scale.

(*c*) *Aegean Islands.*—Under this heading we may include all the islands that lie between the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece, except those which, like Cythera and Aegina, seem alike by their position and their history to attach themselves more closely to the mainland. Some of these islands must be closely connected with the Ionian school; others may either have their own artistic character, or fall more under other influences. But such distinctions are too problematic to be recognised at present in a classification which mainly follows geographical limits. We shall, however, find that the islands naturally fall into three groups: firstly, those which like Samos and Chios are close to the Ionian coast, and can hardly be widely divided in art from Ephesus and Miletus; then the more central and southerly islands, especially the Cyclades, Naxos, Paros, Thera, and Melos, which seem more independent; and together with these, under Delos, we must mention those works which, being found in the great centre of the worship of Apollo, presumably represent the style of Ionia or the islands, though we cannot as yet make any more definite statement about them. Lastly, we must proceed to consider the more northerly islands, such as Thasos and Samothrace, in which we can recognise a distinct development of the Ionic style, which seems to spread through them to the north of Greece itself.

Samos.—The Heraeum at Samos must once have rivalled the

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[1] *Mon. Inst.* III. xxxiv. See Introduction (*c*).

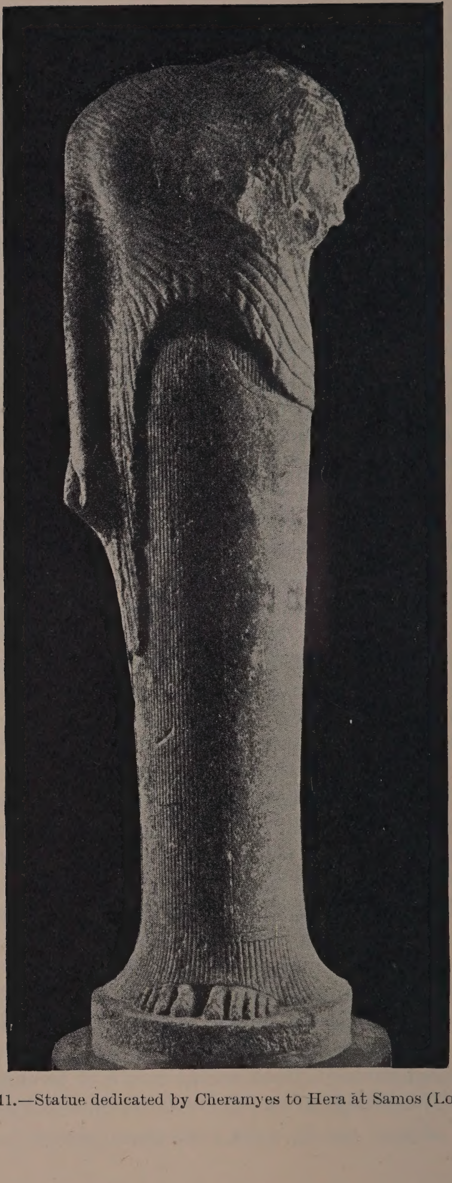

Fig. 11.—Statue dedicated by Cheramyes to Hera at Samos (Louvre).

temples of Ephesus and Branchidae as a centre of worship, and therefore as a museum of early sculpture. Of this sculpture but one specimen has survived, and that of a somewhat unsatisfactory nature. This is a statue found close to the site of the Heraeum, and bearing an inscription stating that it was dedicated to Hera by one Cheramyes. It is of very primitive type, the lower part of the body being a mere circular column from which the feet project at the bottom. The head is wanting, but the upper part of the body shows more attempt at rendering the form of the human figure; this, however, is only in the main contours, there being no modelling at all in detail. The drapery has evidently occupied the artist's attention, but he has taken more pains about the extremely elaborate arrangement of a complicated system of garments than about the study of folds or the rendering of texture; he has, indeed, been content to indicate both of these by a conventional system of parallel lines which follow all the contours of the drapery, and give to the whole the appearance of having had a large tooth-comb drawn over the surface. With our present knowledge of the history of the Ionic alphabet there is no need to place the inscription on this statue later than the middle of the sixth century and certainly the style of the statue does not suggest a later date.

The very peculiar style, especially in the treatment of drapery, which we see in this Samian statue, finds a most striking analogy in two statues that have been found on the Athenian Acropolis, but are certainly not of Attic work.[1] The resemblance seems close enough to justify us in treating the three together here, though it would be rash in the present state of our knowledge to assert dogmatically that the Athenian examples were imported from Samos, or made by a Samian artist. It may be noticed also that the name Theodorus occurs on one of the bases of statues found on the Acropolis, written in the Ionic, not the Attic character; it seems natural to identify this Ionic sculptor with Theodorus of Samos, and, if so, Samian works in Athens need not surprise us. The weak link in the chain of evidence is that the statue found on Samos is an isolated and in some ways peculiar example, from which we cannot generalise very confidently as to Samian art.[1] One of the statues found in Athens, which also lacks its head, otherwise resembles very closely the Samian statue, except that the lower part of the body is oblong, not round, in section; it reminds us, in fact, of the *σανίς* rather than of the *κίων*. The position of the figure, which holds a fruit (pomegranate ?) close to the breast with one arm, while the other is close to the side, and the treatment of drapery, though its arrangement is here less elaborate, are precisely similar to what we see in the Samian figure. The second similar figure from Athens fortunately has its head preserved, though the body is lost below the

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[1] More recent investigation has made more probable the opinion that both the statue from Samos and the similar statues in Athens should rather be regarded as Naxian. Cf. pp. 126-129.

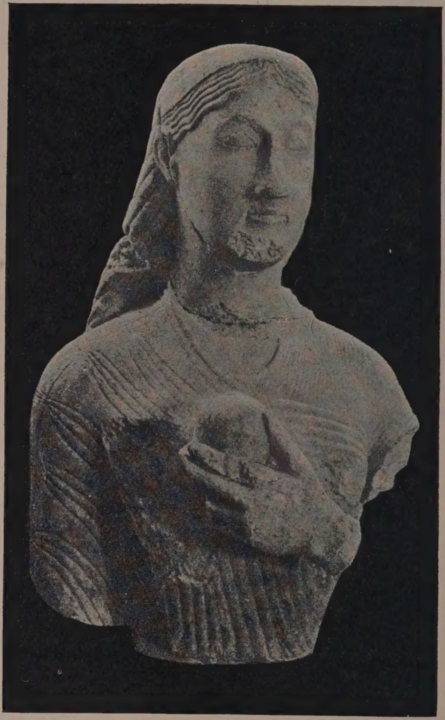

Fig. 12.—Statue found on the Acropolis at Athens, resembling that from Samos (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

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[1] These statues are probably Naxian; see pp. 167, 175.

waist. But the position and drapery are again so similar that we may almost certainly restore what is missing in any one of these three statues from what is preserved in the others. Thus the one head remaining has a very high value to us; its proportions are narrow and meagre, the broader surfaces flat, and their junctions angular. All details are added in extremely shallow work; thus the eyelids are merely indicated by incised lines, and the folds and texture of the drapery are hardly clearer. The hair also is thin and wavy, with parallel lines like those of the drapery. The mouth is merely a straight and shallow line, bordered by thin lips, thus offering the greatest contrast to the full lips and exaggerated smile common in works of Ionic art and in many others at an early period. The whole impression conveyed is weak and indefinite, as if the sculptor were diffident and tried to gain the effects he wished for with the least possible play of surface. If we are right in suggesting Samos to be the home of this art, we must notice the contrast which it offers to the usual full and rounded forms of Ionic sculpture, though in the absence of finer modelling, the drawing and incising rather than moulding of details, there is also a resemblance. Possibly we may see here in marble the kind of work which was produced by the earliest bronze-founders; in their case we can easily understand a careful avoidance of deep cuttings or projecting masses, such as would offer grave difficulties to unskilful bronze-casters.

Another statue, this time of the male type, which offers a very close resemblance in the treatment of the face to the Athenian example, has been found in Boeotia, at the temple of Apollo Ptous. It is described, however, under Boeotia,[1] our knowledge of the distinctive character of the early schools being insufficient to suggest any other arrangement.

An interesting parallel to the seated statues of Branchidae is offered by a seated statue representing Aeaces, the father of the famous tyrant Polycrates; it is not so massive and heavy as the Milesian statues, but shows a similar style of work.[2]

Chios.—The school of Chios, which, as we have seen, is said to have continued in one family for four generations, is mentioned upon an inscribed base found at Delos, which, however it be read as to details,[3] certainly contains the names of

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[1] See p. 167.

[2] See *Ath. Mitth.*, 1906, xxxi. Pl. xiv-xvi.

[3] See *Classical Review*, 1893, p. 140.

Micciades and his son Archermus. Near this basis, and within the same building, was found an early winged figure, which may or may not have stood upon it. But in any case the facts that Archermus is known to have made such winged figures, and that many of his works existed in Delos, justify us in describing the figure here. It is a draped female figure in rapid flight; such at least is shown by the outspread wings on back and feet to be the intention of the artist, though at first the statue seems rather to be kneeling on one knee; one hand also is raised, and the other appears in front of the hip, and both arms are bent at the elbow, as in rapid running; the legs are similarly separated and bent at the knee, and thus the whole really does give the impression of quick motion. A study of small bronzes reproducing the same type[1] shows that the whole floated free in the air, being supported only on the drapery which falls in a deep fold beneath the bent knee; and thus the illusion of flight is yet further aimed at—a very bold attempt for so primitive an artist. For although his design is probably based on an already existing decorative type, its translation to marble, and its execution on so much larger a scale, really amount to an original invention. Together with this change is probably to be associated a Hellenising of the subject, an infusion of new meaning into a purely decorative borrowed type; and herein also lies a great advance on the part of the artist. What his exact meaning was it is not easy for us to ascertain; but, in connection with this early winged figure from Delos, it seems justifiable to quote the statement of the Scholiast to Aristophanes (*Birds* 575), that Archermus was the first to make a winged Nike. He seems, therefore, to have been credited with artistic originality in the invention or adaptation of sculptural types; and we may even, perhaps, see in this very statue the figure which he made and dedicated in Delos, and which later critics interpreted as Nike.[2] We must, however, turn from the subject to the style.

The shape of the upper part of the body is practically contained by four intersecting planes, the back and front and the two sides being parallel, and the corners just rounded off.

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[1] *Mittheil. Ath.*, 1866, Taf. xi.

[2] It has been argued with much force that the Greek conception of winged Nike is not earlier than the fifth century. But Archermus may still have originated the type, even if he used it with another meaning. Cf. Sikes, *Nike of Archermus* (Cambridge, 1891).

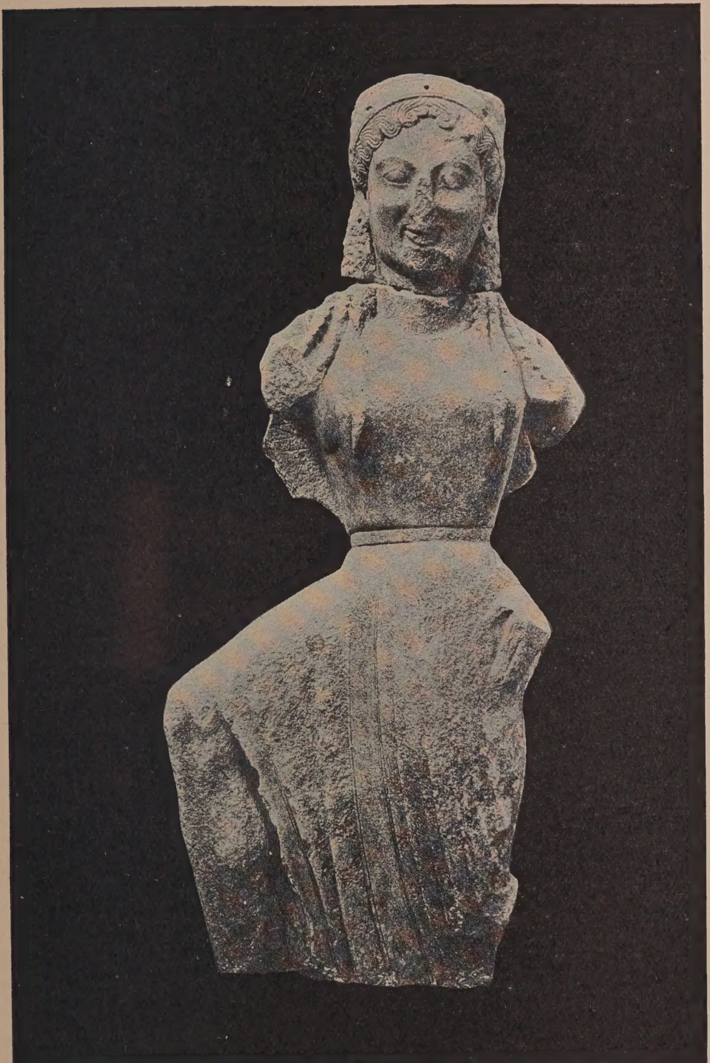

FIG. 13.—Winged figure dedicated at Delos, probably by Micciades and Archermus of Chios (Athens, National Museum).

Though the shape is such as to leave room for the breasts, no trace of modelling exists; but the flat surface is covered with small incised circles drawn with a compass, doubtless intended to imitate plumage, like the similar ornamentation often found on the breast of early sphinxes. They were painted in various bright colours, and thus resembled the scale pattern on some early vases. The feathers of the wings were similarly outlined and coloured. Below the waist the dress follows closely the outlines of the limbs in their rapid motion; it does not flow freely or seem to have any independent existence; its broad folds, each of which seems slightly to overlap the next, follow the fixed contours in parallel lines. It hides and envelops the forms of the body, without having any form of its own to substitute.

The treatment of the hair follows a conventional system which we shall meet with frequently in archaic works. It is divided into three portions, which are treated independently of one another. The circular space on the top of the head, within the diadem, is divided into four quadrants, in each of which parallel wavy lines run from the centre to the edge. Over the forehead we see a succession of waves, each divided by lines parallel to its edge, while in the middle is a curious flat spiral, divided symmetrically. Down the back the hair falls in a wavy mass, while separate tresses hang in front from the temples over the breast.

The face is very bony and angular; the projecting eyeballs are merely bounded with incised lines for eyelids; the mouth, in a strong but simple curve, runs up at the corners into a band of flesh that curves round it both above and at the side. The finishing of the corners of the mouth was always a difficulty with early sculptors; it is solved in a very similar way in the Apollo of Thera.[1]

In short, this statue shows many of the defects and conventionalities that we have already noticed; but it also shows great originality and promise both in its conception and its execution. Thus it is a most characteristic monument of the early development of Greek sculpture, whether we associate it or not with the Chian artists of whom, otherwise, we have little knowledge.

Naxos.—This island is not known to us from literary

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[1] See p. 131.

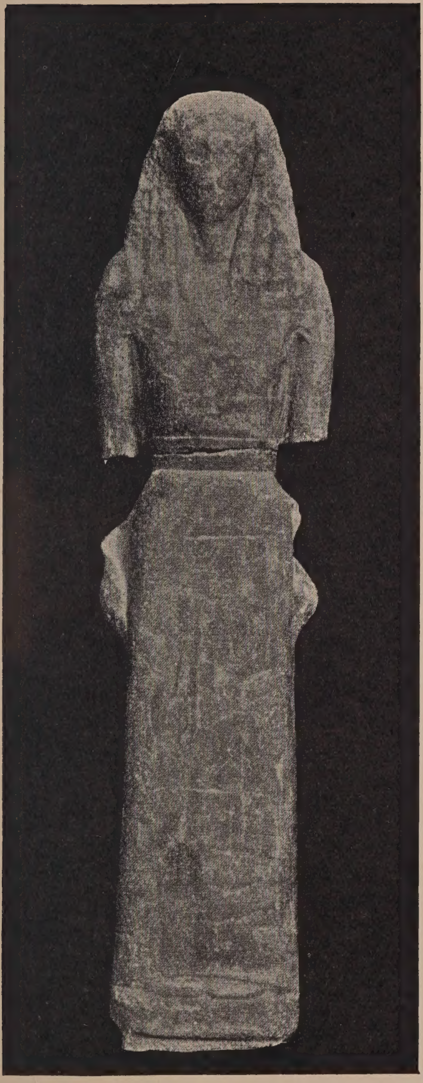

FIG. 14.—Statue dedicated at Delos by Nicandra of Naxos to Artemis (Athens, National Museum).

authorities as an early centre of art. But the number of early works of sculpture, some of them found upon the island itself, some of them dedicated by Naxians in Delos, and one discovered even as far off as Boeotia, is too great to be due to a mere accident. The marble of Naxos,[1] like that of its sister island Paros, was a favourite material with early sculptors, and may have contributed to an early development of sculpture in the island.

The earliest in type, and probably also in date, among these Naxian sculptures is the statue dedicated to Artemis at Delos, by the Naxian Nicandra. Here, indeed, we have no direct statement that Nicandra employed a Naxian artist; but the presumption is strong in favour of such a view. This statue, which is now in Athens, has already been quoted as an example of the most primitive type. The body, which is like an oblong pillar or thick board,[2] and the position, which is perfectly rigid, with the feet together and the arms close to the sides, show no advance on the simplest models; the face, unfortunately, is quite gone. The hair is rendered by a curious convention which can only be derived from an Egyptian model; it fits close over the top of the head, and projects at each side over the ear in a broad mass, a scheme which we find in some other primitive works. We see here, then, a statue, possibly imitated from a primitive cultus image earlier than any sculptural development in Greece, and showing little trace of that imitation of foreign models, Egyptian and other, that gave a great stimulus to Greek sculpture in its early days.

At Delphi the Naxians set up one of the most conspicuous of all the monuments, and this has happily been recovered in an almost complete state by the French excavators. It consists of a colossal sphinx, mounted on an Ionic column of peculiar early form; this was placed just above the rock of the Sibyl, in front of the platform on which the temple stood. The sphinx, to which we are accustomed as a symbol over a tomb, is doubtless meant here as an allusion to the oracle. The statue itself offers another example of an attempt we have seen already in various works of archaic art—the attempt to reproduce in marble on a large scale a motive taken from minute decorative art. And here, because the scale is colossal, the process is more difficult and its defects are more conspicuous. We see, as in a

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[1] See Introduction (*b*) 2.

[2] σανίς. Cf. *S.Q.* 342.

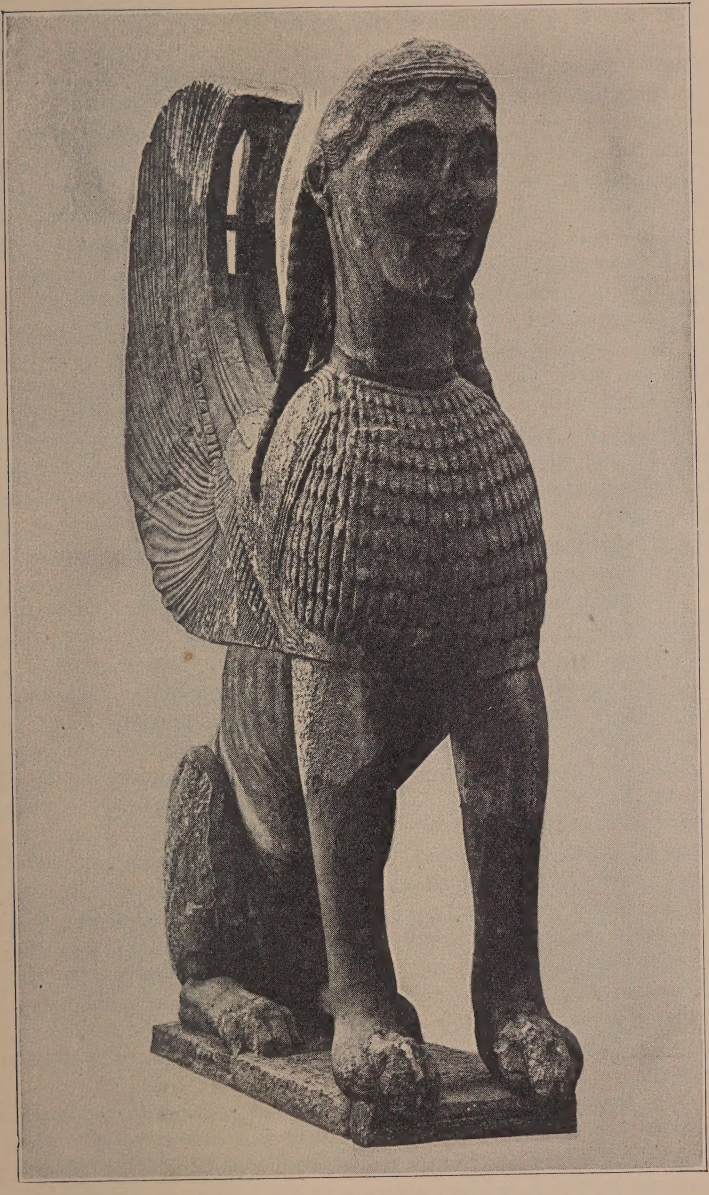

FIG. 15.—Sphinx dedicated by the Naxians (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II. v).

small bronze, the back-curved wings, the indication of plumage on them and on the breast, and other conventional features of the smaller treatment. But the large scale of the face has evidently been too much for the sculptor. Here, as in the Hera of Olympia, we see the thin waves of hair over the forehead, the flat eyeballs with merely incised lids, the straight mouth with thin lips, and the blankness of expression which contrasts strongly with the exaggerated grimace of many archaic faces. It is the same timid, indecisive style that we have seen elsewhere in works associated with Samos and with Boeotia; it is instructive to find another example belonging to Naxos, for it shows us that the early Attic series of female statues, which are by many associated with influence from the islands, and especially from Chios, by no means represents a style that is characteristic of the Aegean islands. But, apart from its defects of detail, the boldness of design of this sphinx on its lofty column shows us the vigour of the Naxian sculptors, who did not shrink from the great difficulties of execution and transport which a work on such a scale must imply.

We must turn next to three statues which all reproduce the ordinary nude male type. Two of these are unfinished, but none the less instructive for that. The third is fragmentary, only portions of the torso and legs and one hand surviving. This last is the colossus which once stood upon the basis at Delos bearing the well-known inscription *τοῦ ἀϜυτοῦ λίθου εἰμὶ ἀνδρίας καὶ τὸ σφέλας*, while on the other side is added in later letters *Νάξιοι ᾿Απόλλωνι.* The statue was an example of the nude male type (probably with the arms raised from the elbows), only distinguished from others by its great size, and by a curious metal girdle, of which the attachment is still visible round its waist. At the front, back, and sides it is extremely flat; thus there is little modelling, the outlines and muscles being indicated by mere cuts or depressions in the surface of the marble. The hair at the back ends in a row of little spiral curls, such as are often seen over the forehead; here the scale of the work probably made some such finish desirable.

The Naxians seem to have been fond of making such colossi; another lies unfinished in a quarry on the island itself. This statue is about 34 feet long; in its present state it is instructive to notice how it is worked entirely in flat planes at right angles to one another, forming the front, back, and sides.[1] The left leg is, as usual, slightly advanced; the arms are bent forward from the elbow. It is possible, as Ross suggests, that this may have been originally intended for the colossus to be dedicated at Delos, and was given up owing to flaws in the marble. If so, and indeed in any case, we can see on comparing the finished and unfinished work how this system of working in planes parallel to front and side affected the finished statue, in which we can see the flatness produced by the process still remaining, though it is disguised by rounding off the corners and adding some details. Another unfinished statue, now in Athens, was found near the same quarry on Naxos; and a study of its form leads again to the same conclusion as to the manner in which these early statues were cut.[2]

We have yet another example of this type from Naxos, in a bronze of smaller size and of a more advanced period of art, now in Berlin.[3] It was dedicated to Apollo by Deinagores. In the case of a small bronze it is not so safe to infer a local origin as in the case of a large marble statue; but the conventionalities of pose and hair, the careful yet flat modelling of the body, the disproportionate heaviness of the calves, are all features which we shall meet again among the islands,[4] and the type of face is just what we might expect, with the advance of art, to replace the somewhat crude forms of the Nike of Archermus, without changing their essential nature. From the inscription, this statue must belong to the sixth century, though its style is so much more advanced than that of many other examples of the same type that it must be placed near the end of the century.

Finally, we must mention here the work of a Naxian artist, Alxenor, who worked in the first half of the fifth century.[5] The date is shown both by the lettering of the inscription which records his name, and by the style of the relief (found in Boeotia and now in Athens) on which it is inscribed. This is a tombstone, representing a man leaning on a staff, and holding playfully a cicala to a dog, which turns back its neck towards his hand. Thus we have little more than a genre scene from actual life, such as is not uncommon on tombstones.[1] The style is remarkable for the grace of the composition, and for the care and skill with which all the details are rendered in the very low and flat relief. At the same time there are some features—-notably the way in which the farther shoulder rests on the top of the staff, and the foreshortening of the left foot—which look awkward in sculpture, and suggest that the artist was more used to the resources of drawing on a flat surface. This may best be realised by comparing the original or a cast with a photograph or drawing; what in the latter appears natural and graceful only shows its awkwardness when seen in relief. It is hardly rash to infer that the artist must have been trained in a school which was more skilled in drawing and painting than in sculpture in relief. But considering the difference in period between this and the earlier Naxian sculptures, and also that they are exclusively sculptures in the round, we have no materials for any further comparison or for any wider inferences about the Naxian school in the light of this, its later work.

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[1] Ross, *Reise auf der griechischen Inseln*, vol. i., plate at end, and p. 39.

[2] See Introduction (*b*) 2, and *J.H.S.*, 1890, p. 130.

[3] See *Arch. Zeitung*, xxxvii. Pl. vii.

[4] See especially Melos, p. 132.

[5] Conze, *Beiträge*, etc., Pl. xi.

Thera.—Early sculpture from Thera is represented for us by an "Apollo" now in Athens, a nude male statue corresponding in type and style very closely to those we have just seen from the neighbouring island of Naxos. It affords throughout the clearest example to be seen in any finished statue of that system of working in planes parallel to front and side, and at right angles to one another, which we have noticed in the unfinished statues from Naxos. As in the colossal torso, the corners are merely rounded off, and the outlines of muscles are rendered by shallow grooves which cannot be called modelling, and do not affect the general flatness of the surface on which they appear. In the treatment of head and face, we see a very similar repetition of the characteristics that we noted in the head of the "Nike of Archermus"—the same slight and angular form, the same treatment of eye and mouth. The hair is somewhat different, being spread in a row of flat spiral curls over the forehead. If we compare this statue with the Apollo from the Ptoan temple in Boeotia (see Fig. 30, p. 168) we are struck at first with the similarity of its proportions. But this similarity only serves to emphasise the essential difference of style which we see in every detail. The rounded modelling of the Boeotian figure, both in face and body, the simple, expressionless lines of eye and mouth, contrast most strongly with the flat intersecting planes and the exaggerated expression that are the most remarkable features in this and other works that come from the islands.

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[1] For another example from the islands, very similar in composition, see below, p. 144.

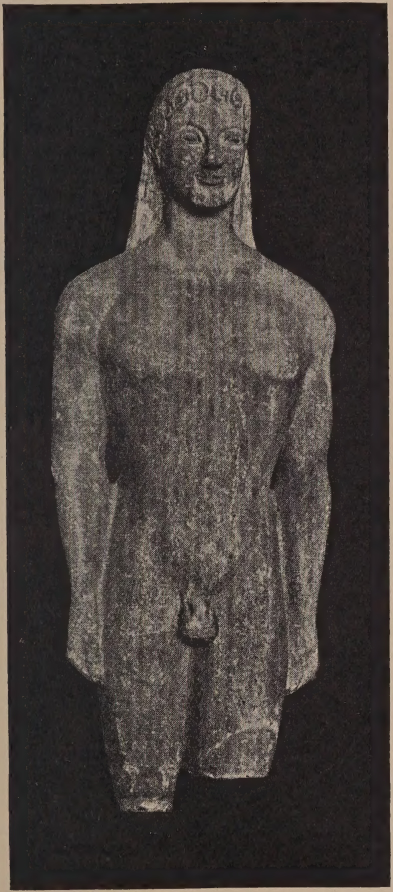

FIG. 16.—"Apollo" found at Thera (Athens, National Museum).

Melos, which has yielded a fine harvest of sculpture of various periods, to enrich various museums of Europe, was until recently only known in the early period of art for its remarkable vases

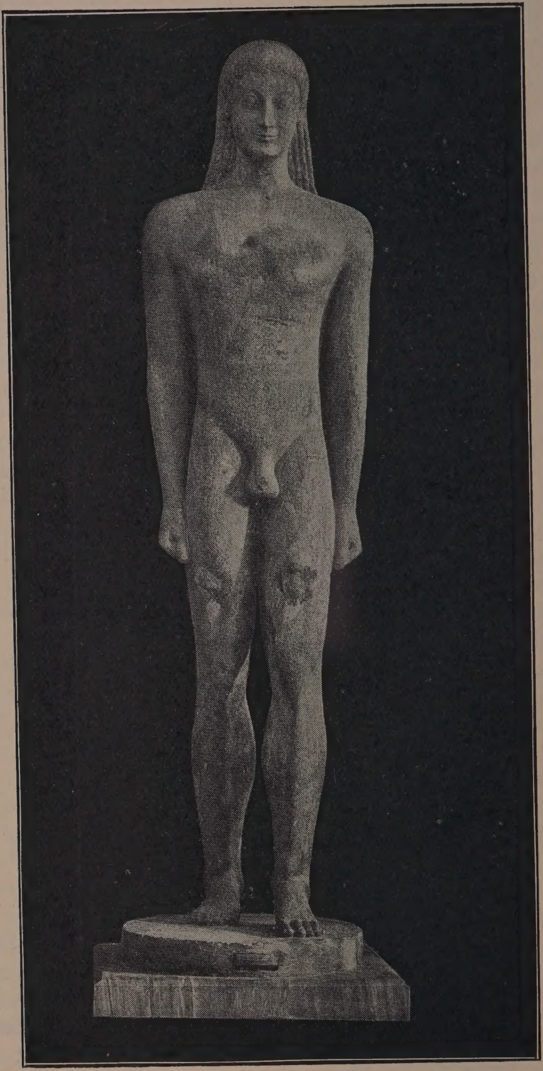

FIG. 17.—"Apollo" from Melos (Athens).

and for an interesting series of terra-cotta reliefs. To these must now be added a life-size Apollo, found and transported to Athens in 1891[1] (Fig. 17). This statue resembles the one from Thera in most ways, but there are also considerable differences between the two: in particular the squareness of form there so remarkable is considerably modified by cutting away the sides obliquely, both in the body and the arms. In treatment of hair and expression, and in general proportions, we see in the Melian statue a more advanced example of the same type that we find in the Theraean one. The legs here are preserved to the ankles, and show the disproportionately heavy calves which we noticed in the bronze Naxian statuette.

Paros.[2]—Works from Paros are not widely known; but enough exist to show that all the principal types of early sculpture were made on the island which supplied also the finest marbles for its execution. Thus there exists on Paros a draped seated statue,[3] much broken, but showing in its style a similarity to the most advanced of the Branchidae figures, and to a similar seated Athena on the Acropolis at Athens.[4] There is also a draped female figure[5] standing, which might well belong to the series found on Delos; it is characterised by a similar style, chiefly noticeable for the elaborate arrangement and delicate finish of the drapery. A nude male statue[6] corresponds in style to those from Naxos; it has the same flatness of side and front, and the same absence of modelling to modify the flat surfaces thus produced, the section at chest or hips being a mere oblong, with the corners rounded off; the head and legs are lost. Then, again, there are two reliefs,[7] one representing a flying Gorgon, just in the position of the Nike of Archermus, and one representing a seated figure, like those we shall meet with on the Spartan stelae. Thus this collection of sculptures from Paros, though not extensive in number, is remarkably representative in the types of archaic art which it offers, and places Paros in the relation which we should expect it to have to the islands around it, with which its richness in marble must have constantly kept it in commercial and artistic connection.

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[1] *B.C.H.*, 1892, Pl. xvi.

[2] See Loewy, "Antike Sculpturen auf Paros," in *Arch.-epig. Mittheil. aus Österreich-Ungarn*, xi. 2.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 156-157.

[4] See § 24, p. 205.

[5] Loewy, "Antike Sculpturen auf Paros," *l.c.*, Pl. vi. 1.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 161.

[7] *Ibid.* Pl. v.

Delos.—We have already seen that many examples of the early sculpture not only of the Cyclades but even of more distant islands were dedicated on Delos. The shrine of the Delian Apollo was, even more than the great temples of Asia Minor, the centre of Ionian worship and festivals, and therefore the most fitting place for the dedication of statues. So far we have selected from the works found on Delos those which from inscriptions or other evidence could be assigned to other islands; but a large residue does not admit of any such distinction. The conditions at Delos, where even residence was placed under restrictions, were not favourable to the growth of a local school, though there may have been sculptors, and there probably were stone-cutters, attached to the service of the temple. These men, however, would belong to the neighbouring islands, above all to Naxos and to Paros, the two islands which yielded most of the marble employed by sculptors in the sixth century. But without further evidence it seems best to treat under the head of Delos what is left of the early sculpture which the excavation of the sanctuary of Apollo has yielded, and which we can hardly be wrong in assigning to the same class as the examples we have just been considering.

The most numerous among these Delian statues form a series which offers different variations upon the draped female type. Similar statues have been found at Athens, which are fortunately far more numerous, and in a far better state of preservation. But a comparison of the two series is most instructive. At first glance they seem almost exactly alike, but a closer examination not only reveals a difference between the individual statues in each place, but also makes some general distinction possible between those found in Delos and those in Athens. We must reserve a general description of this type and its development until we come to the Athenian series;[1] here we must be content to notice a few distinguishing features of the Delian statues.[2] We can see in them, as in any series of early statues which stretches over a period of some length, many different stages, from a square and almost shapeless figure like that dedicated by the Naxian Nicandra[3] to such as show a considerable skill in the modelling of the body and the rendering of drapery. But in Delos the simple system of parallel folds which we see in some of the earliest draped figures is developed in a more conventional way than at Athens; they are sometimes cut in deeper, in one case even with the help of a saw. The same statue[1] which shows the use of this instrument is also remarkable for the squareness of its shape; we are already familiar with this shape and the flat surfaces at side and back that contain it—it is all the more noticeable for the deep cuts that intersect it—but mere depth of cutting in does not constitute modelling, though it produces shadows which prevent the work from appearing monotonous and lacking in character. This squareness may appear a reminiscence of such figures as Nicandra's Artemis; but on the other hand we have seen the process by which it is produced in other cases, and there is no need to look for any different explanation here. Another peculiarity that distinguishes the Delian statues from those at Athens is that most of them are cut out of a single block of marble, including even the projecting arm; this was doubtless owing to the proximity of the Parian marble quarries; at Athens the greater distance of transport made the sculptor avoid the necessity of large blocks by inserting any such projecting portions of the figure. The pose, drapery, and other characteristics of these female draped figures can best be considered in the case of the Athenian series, and the propriety of the name Artemis, sometimes given to these Delian figures, can hardly be discussed separately in their case; it is on the same footing as the name Apollo, commonly given to the corresponding nude male type—a type of which two or three more examples, not differing in any essential points from those we have already seen, have also been found on Delos.

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[1] See § 24.

[2] Homolle, *De Antiquissimis Dianae Simulacris Deliacis.*

[3] See above, Fig. 14.

Siphnos.—Among the buildings discovered in the excavations of Delphi, none is more remarkable than the treasury which comes next above that of the Sicyonians on the Sacred Way. It can be restored almost completely, and is an architectural gem; its rich and delicate mouldings, carved in Parian marble, are worthy to be compared with the Erechtheum itself; in their design and bold projection they have more resemblance to the "Sarcophagus of the Satrap" from Sidon, which is, almost certainly, a work of Ionic art. The treasury contains in itself a whole gallery of sculpture, in the caryatids that stood "in antis" in its front, in the groups that filled its western pediment, and in the continuous frieze that was set round all four sides of the building. When this treasury was first discovered it was named the Treasury of the Siphnians, which is described by Pausanias as coming next after that of the Sicyonians, and this identification is probably correct. The Treasury of the Cnidians, which was also in this region, was probably a little farther up the hill; to it belong "two Maidens" or caryatid figures, serving as its front columns. The Siphnian treasury was in the form of a little temple facing the west, where there was a small platform in front of it, accessible from the Sacred Way. The two "Maidens" who serve as caryatids on this front are typical examples of the richly draped female type with which we are already familiar, but rather resembling the ordinary Ionic style, as we see it in Delos and elsewhere, than the series of figures from the Athenian Acropolis; a peculiar feature is the rich basket-like head-dress, or polos, which serves as a capital to these human columns, and is decorated with minute figured designs.

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[1] *B.C.H.* xiii. Pl. vii.; now in Athens.

The pediment is of very peculiar construction; the lower part of its figures is in high relief, but behind the upper part of them the background is completely cut away, so that they stand out as if completely in the round against the dark hollow. Yet the technique is not that of sculpture in the round, but of a kind which we find not uncommonly in early sculpture in high relief; the front surface is nearly flat, details being indicated upon it only by shallow incision; and then the outlines are cut into the requisite depth with little, if any, attempt at modelling. The subject of the pediment is the struggle between Heracles and Apollo for the Tripod—a subject common on early vases; but it is not treated in the most usual manner. In the middle is Athena, evidently as conciliator or arbitress; on the right is Heracles, on the left Apollo, who is held back by Artemis. These four figures form the central group. It is framed on either side by a chariot—a device for separating the central from the subsidiary figures, and easing the transition, which we find afterwards applied with greater skill in the pediments of the Olympian temple and of the Parthenon. But in this case both chariots are facing in the same direction; and as almost all the figures are advancing to the right also, the result is a processional scheme such as is ill adapted to a pediment, and is more suitable to a continuous frieze. It is inconsistent with that concentration of interest, both sides tending towards the centre, which we find in all the most successful pedimental compositions. The work is, in fact, experimental in many ways; and the result of the experiment was not such as to encourage repetition or imitation.

The frieze, which goes in a continuous band round all four sides of the building, shows much diversity both in subject and style; it is, indeed, more like a gallery of reliefs than one consistent composition. On the west front the subject is doubtful; at each end is a goddess alighting from a chariot, Athena and probably Aphrodite. Here the work throughout is more pleasing and delicate than in the pediment, but is equally flat in the front, and deficient in modelling where the outlines are cut in, deep and straight, to the background. Much the same character of relief may be seen on the south side, where the subject again involves a procession of chariots and people on foot or horseback. In the chariots are heroes carrying off maidens, while in the midst is an altar of Zeus; this doubtless represents Castor and Polydeuces carrying off the daughters of Leucippus, an event which took place at a sacrifice their father was offering to Zeus. The altar and the racing chariots suggested at first that the scene was the race of Pelops and Oenomaus, as on the Olympian pediment, but this explanation is less probable. The style of the sculptures upon the east and north sides is far better and more advanced in character than that of the other two; it shows not only more original and vigorous composition, but in execution also it attains more nearly to the essential nature of sculpture in relief. The difference, indeed, is so great that it seems impossible to assign the two sets to the same sculptor or sculptors.[1] On the east end the subject is a Homeric combat in the presence of a seated group of gods. The interest is centred in the struggle over the body of a fallen warrior, who is shown by the inscription painted on the border of the relief to be Euphorbus; from one side he is attacked by Menelaus and other Greeks, from the other defended by Hector, Aeneas, and other Trojans. The scheme is a conventional one, and does not follow very closely the Homeric description of the battle; the coincidence in the names of the combatants with those on the well-known plate from Rhodes is curious; it is not easy to see why the early artists preferred this scene to the better-known fight over the body of Patroclus, with which it was closely associated. The group of seated gods and goddesses look on at the fight in two sets, indicated by inscriptions as the gods of the city of Troy in one case, and presumably of the Greeks in the other. This group has often been referred to as resembling the seated gods of the Parthenon frieze; a comparison between the two serves to emphasise the difference between archaic and Phidian art. Here the composition is full of life and variety, the gestures are quaint and suggestive, and each figure is full of character; but there is a lack of the dignity and moderation that are characteristic of Greek art at its best; we see promise rather than perfection. In the drapery of the figures we meet with a conventional treatment of parallel folds and with other details that may be found in Ionian monuments but that contrast with the grace and refinement of early Attic art. On the other hand the chariots of the combatants on this east side offer the strongest contrast to the stiff and flat appearance of the chariot teams on the east and south friezes; instead of being placed in two pairs, each pair produced by doubling the outlines, here the team faces obliquely to the front, so that each horse can be seen separately; and the variety of pose, as well as the skilful modelling in the round, are as conspicuous here as in the human figures, while the observation of the forms of the muscles on body and limbs is equally exact, though the transition from front view to profile is still an unsolved difficulty.

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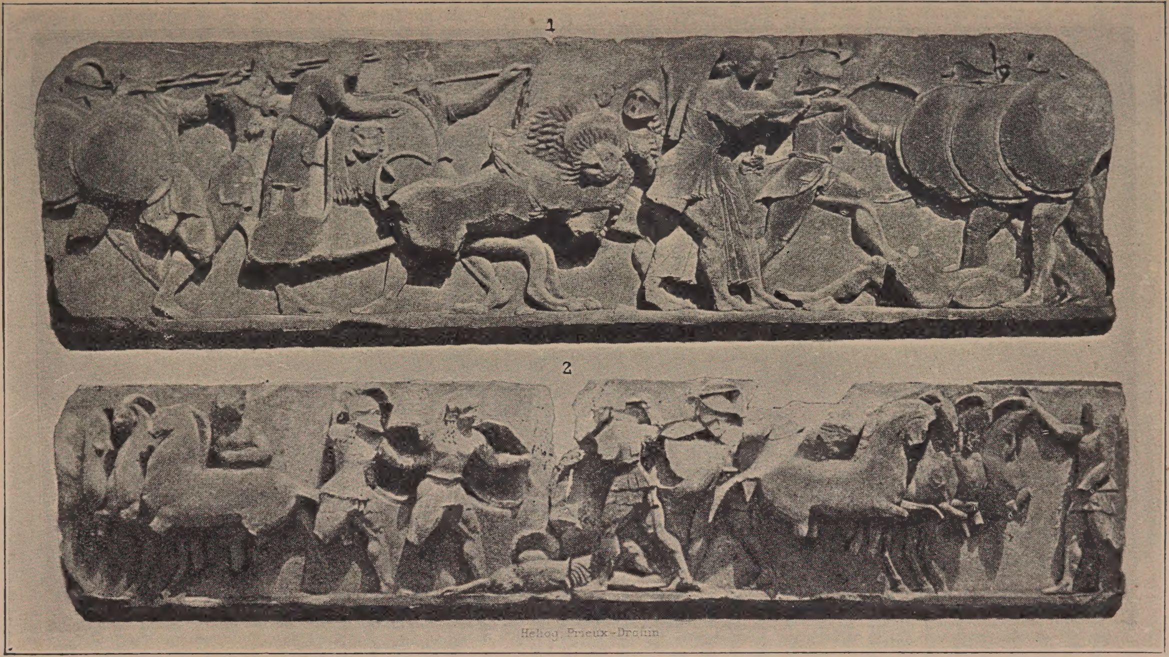
[1] Prof. Heberdey, in *Athen. Mittheil.*, 1909, adduces reasons for believing that these two sets of the frieze belong to two different buildings, perhaps to the Siphnian and the Cnidian Treasuries respectively; and that the pediment belongs to a third and earlier building. His conclusions have not, however, met with general acceptance. It seems best to reserve judgment on these and other matters until the French official text has appeared. The essential thing for our present purpose is to note the difference of style between the three.

The north frieze is the masterpiece of the whole series; the subject is the battle between the gods and giants. It is an interesting coincidence that we should find the same subject in what is, perhaps, the finest extant example of archaic Greek relief and the greatest of Hellenistic compositions, the Pergamene altar. Both alike offer an excellent illustration of the invention and resources of the ages to which they respectively belong. On the treasury we see, at one end of the frieze, a god with two sacks—one still full, while the other is already collapsing in heavy folds. He has been identified either as Aeolus, with



Heliog. Prieux-Dreuin

FIG. 18.—1. Gigantomachy. 2. Fight over the body of Euphorbus.
N. and W. Frieze of Siphnian Treasury.

the winds, or Hephaestus with his bellows. Then come a whole series of groups of combatants, the giants simply represented like human warriors in full armour, some of the gods in similar fashion, but with distinguishing details; one figure, perhaps Dionysus, has a wine-cup set on his helmet to carry the crest; we can recognise Heracles by his lion skin, with its mask set on his head for a helmet, though he fights, like others, with a spear; Apollo and Artemis use their usual weapon, the bow; and Athena and Hera may each be recognised, transfixing a giant with a spear. But the most characteristic group of all is that of the Mother of the Gods, who dashes into the combat in her car, while the lions who draw it also take their share in the battle, tearing with tooth and claw the giants opposed to them. When these slabs were first found, many traces of their original colouring remained; the background was blue, and the traces of red, brown, blue, and other colours upon the figures show that the whole had a rich polychromatic effect, which did not, however, as in the sculptures in rough limestone, completely cover the surface or obscure the texture of the material. It is, above all, the vigour, both in invention and in modelling, by which we are impressed in looking at these north and east friezes, especially in comparison with the somewhat flat and timid work of the other sides. There is an inscription on the shield of one of the giants which is of a tantalising character. It seems to contain the artist's signature, though his name is lost; it is written in a very unusual kind of ornate script, and the only characteristic letter is the Argive ⊢ ($= \lambda$), which occurs, however, by a curious coincidence on the plate from Rhodes with the fight over Euphorbus. These facts have been adduced as pointing to the Cnidian origin of the treasury, but it seems safer, in the present state of the evidence, to assign it to the Siphnians, who are also recorded to have had a very magnificent one. Whether the art is that of the Aegean islands or the Asiatic coast, it certainly shows us a peculiar development of what we have seen in Ionia; but to the opulence and facility of the Ionic style it has added a vigour of form and a correctness of detail which suggest some measure of Doric influence—an influence confirmed by the inscription. It is to be hoped that further study will lead to more definite conclusions, but we may at least assign to the sculpture that decorated this beautiful little building a position intermediate between the early architectural compositions of

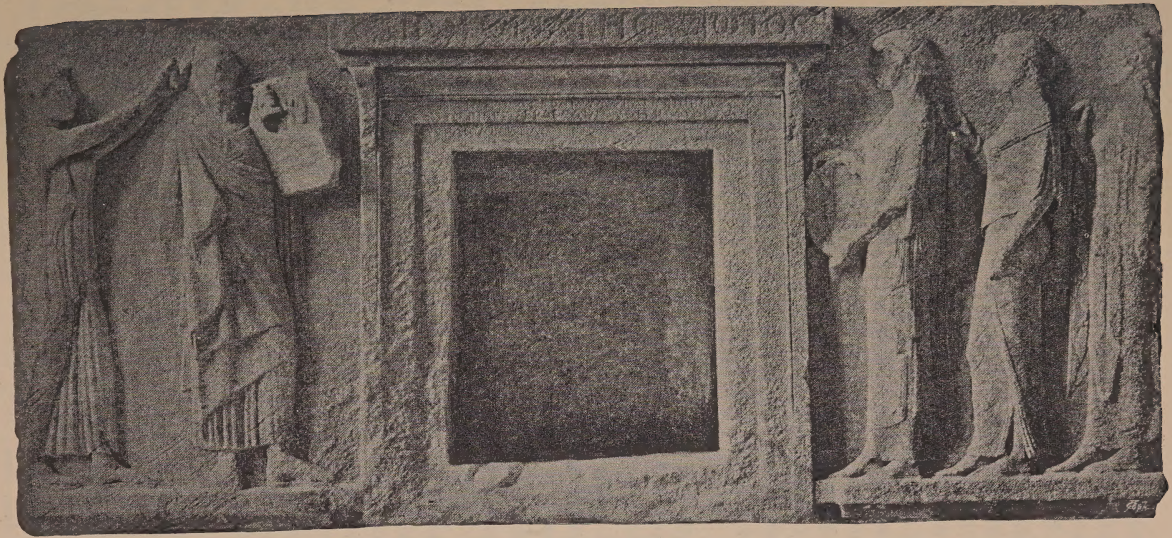


Fig. 19.—Central part of relief to Apollo and the Nymphs, from Thasos (Louvre).

Ionic art and the Attic masterpieces of the Phidian age. Before the discovery of this Delphian Treasury the gap between the two was very wide, for sculptures like those of Aegina or Olympia belong to a different line of development.

Thasos.—We now leave the Cyclades, and follow the course of Ionic influence across the north of the Aegean. The peculiar forms of its alphabet show the island of Thasos to have been in close relations with Paros and Siphnos in the latter part of the sixth century ; and we are accordingly prepared to find in its art a resemblance to that of the Cyclades.

The most characteristic works hitherto discovered on Thasos are in relief, not in the round. One of them is a relief of Apollo, Hermes, and the Nymphs, on each side of the opening of a sacred cave. This work is remarkable for the grace and variety of pose in the figures and in the arrangement of their drapery ; there is so much advance in this respect that we may even assign the relief to the earlier years of the fifth century. But in spite of all this grace and delicacy, we still see here that absence of severity and accuracy of form and modelling which we have seen in less advanced Ionic works. We see also, repeated again and again, the conventional treatment of drapery with which we are familiar, modified here and there by a careful piece of study, as in the rich draperies of Apollo and the nymph that crowns him, or in the light chlamys of Hermes. But here, as in works in the round of the same class, the treatment of drapery, however skilful in composition and detail, has not yet attained a complete harmony with the forms it covers. Sometimes it clings close to them, as if wet and transparent, sometimes it envelops them completely or hangs in independent and conventional folds. This relief is now in the Louvre.

Another Thasian relief, also in the Louvre, is the tombstone of Philis,[1] a work of still later date, which might perhaps find more fitting place in the next chapter. But it may be mentioned here because it shows the same essential character, combined with a still further advance in art. But some conventionalities survive in hair and drapery, and there is a flatness of surface, doubtless once helped out by painting, but deficient in true modelling, and the consequent play of light and shade on the surface of the marble.

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[1] *Ann. Inst.*, 1872, Tav. L ; Mitchell, *Selections*, Pl. ii. 1.

Samothrace.—The neighbouring island of Samothrace has yielded interesting sculptures of various periods: among these is a relief, probably from the arm of a chair, representing Agamemnon seated, while his henchmen Talthybius and Epeius stand behind his chair;[1] the names are written near each person. This work rather belongs to the class of primitive decorative reliefs than to free Greek sculpture; even the bands of decorative patterns above and below are like those which we see on early bronze reliefs of a decorative nature: decoration and figures alike are clumsily translated here into stone.

Before we leave the islands of the Aegean, we must notice one or two more works about which we have no certain evidence as to provenance, though they almost certainly come from the region of Ionic influence, whether the islands or the mainland. The first of these is the relief in the Villa Albani at Rome, commonly called the Ino-Leucothea relief,[2] from a mythological interpretation now generally acknowledged to be erroneous. Most probably it is simply a tombstone, of somewhat larger size than usual, with a domestic scene upon it; the deceased lady is represented as playing with her children and attended by her servant. The seated figure seems at first sight almost a repetition of the seated figures, some of them on identical thrones, on the Harpy monument from Lycia; and the standing attendant repeats with a like exactness the type which we see in one of the nymphs on the Thasian relief. It might not be safe to infer from these facts alone that the relief in the Villa Albani owes its origin to the same school—we have already seen how universally early types are repeated with but slight modification—but a study of the style leads us to the same conclusion: we see here again the same full and rounded forms, the same absence of detailed modelling, the same careful and elaborate arrangement of drapery, marred by the same defects and misunderstandings; though the drapery does not develop and conceal the forms beneath quite as completely as on the Harpy monument, it is still far from attaining to a due expression of those forms, in harmony with its own texture and folds. The whole composition, again, is graceful in design; but the child, though from its size a mere baby, is represented with the proportions of a grown woman; this is a convention which we shall meet constantly in Greek sculpture, right on to the fourth century.

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[1] *Ann. Inst.*, 1829, Tav. C. 2; Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.* II. i.

[2] Winckelmann, *Mon. Ant.* i. 56.

Another relief, now in Naples, resembles very strongly in its design the stela made by Alxenor of Naxos in Boeotia,[1] but differs widely from it in execution. In that case we noticed the flatness of the surface, and the skill with which all details were drawn rather than modelled upon it. Here, on the other hand, the forms are much rounder, and it is their heavy proportions and a certain flabbiness and lack of detail in the modelling which suggest a connection with Ionic style. We know nothing as to the provenance of this relief, but subject and style alike seem to assign it to this place.

(*d*) *Thessaly.*—Early sculpture in Thessaly is represented by several tomb-reliefs. The best known of these comes from Pharsalus, and is now in the Louvre. Only the upper part of it is preserved, and it represents two maidens facing each other, and holding up flowers in their hands. On another tombstone, from Larissa, now in Athens, we see a youth with a broad-brimmed hat (petasus) on his head, and clothed with a chlamys which falls in broad simple folds over his short tunic.[2] He holds in one hand a hare, in the other a fruit (pomegranate ?). A companion figure to this, of similar material, but of inferior and perhaps later work, was found in the same place, and now stands beside it in Athens.[3] It is a draped female, also carrying a hare. Two other examples of finer local marble[4] are also in Athens, and bear the names of Fekedamos and Polyxenaia;[5] and a head of similar style still remains at Tyrnavo[6] (Phalanna). These works suffice to give a notion of the number and character of the Thessalian sculptures, though the list is far from complete. Some of the examples already quoted probably belong to the fifth century, but all alike show a local development of a peculiar style, closely related to that we have already seen in the northern Aegean Islands. Here again the most striking feature is the contrast between the excellence of composition and of the general effect, and the carelessness or deficiency in details, between the good drawing and the poor or incorrect modelling. The various reliefs vary considerably among themselves; thus in the Pharsalian relief of the two maidens we see a rendering of thick drapery which is well designed, and the youth with a hare, from Larissa, shows an excellent study of folds; but in other cases, as in the maiden with a hare, the folds are neither conventional nor natural; they seem to be cut obliquely into the surface by the artist, without study of a model and without any due regard to the character and conditions under which he is working. Thus by the folds that radiate from the breast, or that appear above and below the elbow that holds up the drapery, he doubtless meant to express the forms of the body and their impress on the clothes; but the method he has taken of doing this is unsuccessful as well as inaccurate. In all cases, even where relief is high, and therefore cut deep down or rounded at the edges, it is flat in its general surface, and there is no attempt to reach

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[1] Conze, *Beiträge*, etc., Taf. xi. See p. 130.

[2] *B.C.H.*, 1888, Pl. vi.

[3] *Mitth.*, 1887, p. 78.

[4] See Lepsius, *Gr. Marmorstudien*, p. 89.

[5] *Mitth. Ath.*, 1883, Taf. ii. iii.

[6] *B.C.H.* xii. Pl. xvi.

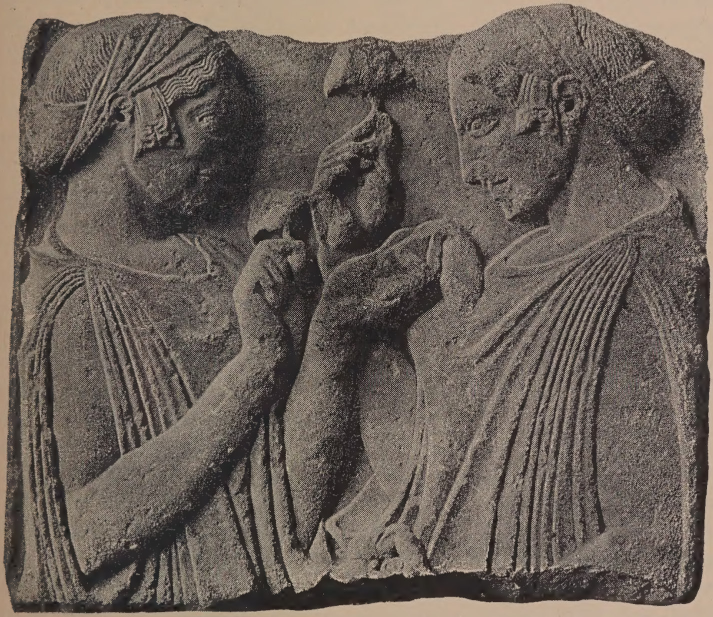

FIG. 20.—Two maidens holding flowers: relief from Pharsalus in Thessaly (Louvre).

any rules or system of sculpture in relief. The artist is content to produce, by any means that he finds easy, the effect which he desires, and in this he is sometimes successful; but there is no striving after accuracy and definition of style.

(*e*) *Athens.*—The early sculpture of Athens is now preserved to us in such abundance that a separate section must be devoted to its study. Yet it cannot be altogether omitted here, without deranging our notion of the relations of the early schools, especially as some of the finest examples of the types which we have found to recur again and again in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands have been discovered on the Acropolis. It is impossible, for example, to separate the magnificent series of female figures found at Athens from the similar, though worse preserved, examples of the same type from Delos; and if the Athenian statues are reserved for treatment in a later section, it is only in order that a connected view may be given of that local school of early sculpture which is now, thanks to recent discoveries, the best known to us. Here, however, it must be noted that in the earliest works of sculpture from Athens, whether imported or of local origin, we shall find many of the characteristics that we have already seen in early Ionic art—the same heavy forms, the same absence of modelling in detail, the same superiority in the general design over the execution It was also the Attic school which carried to their highest development the characteristics of Ionic art, and in its more advanced works attained to a grace of design and a delicacy of execution which, in their way, could hardly be surpassed. The other elements of greater strength and severity which contributed to the highest work performed by Attic artists in the fifth century may, as we shall see, be traced to a different origin; and so the Attic is to some extent a composite school. But it belongs more to the Ionic school than to any other, especially in its origin.

§ 22. II. DORIC. (*a*) *Crete.*—Until recently our knowledge of early Cretan sculpture was confined to the notices preserved by literary tradition. The upper part of a statue from Eleutherna[1] now gives us an opportunity of judging what the work of Dipoenus and Scyllis may have been like. At the same time we must remember that one statue cannot adequately represent the art of so large and important an island, and that marble and wood are said to have been the materials in which Dipoenus and Scyllis worked, while this statue is of rough local stone. It was probably of the usual seated type; it has not much

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[1] *Rendi Conti dei Lincei*, 1891, p 599 (Loewy); *Revue Archéologique*, 1893, Pl. iii. and iv. (Joubin).

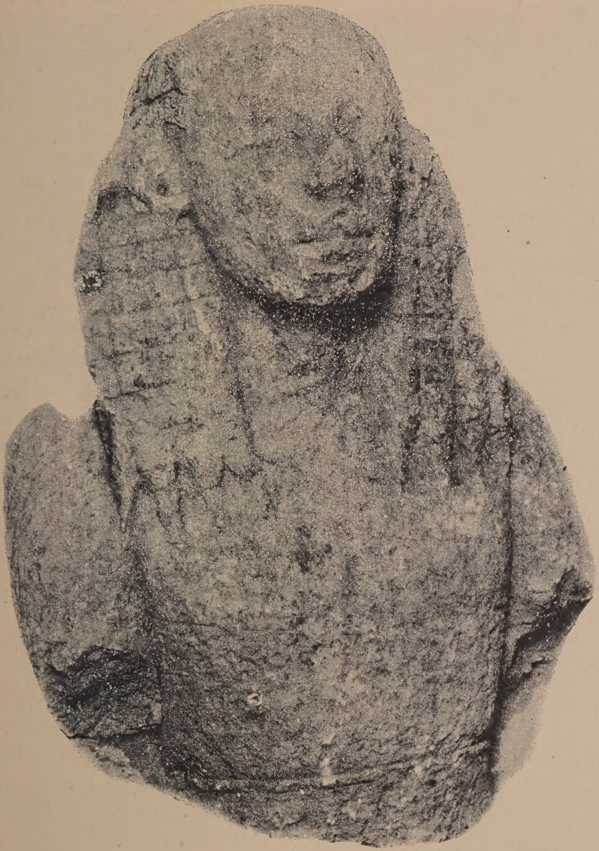

Fig. 21.—Cretan Statue (Museum, Candia). After *Revue Archéologique*, 1893, Pl. iii.

attempt at modelling, and in its conventions, especially in the treatment of the hair, it shows remarkable resemblance to a seated figure from Tegea. The most curious thing about the hair is the way it wells out from the head just above the ear on each side, falling in a broad flat mass on the shoulders; there is almost certainly here a convention derived from the Egyptian wig. The face is merely cut out in intersecting planes, details being incised; in the mouth there is no attempt at expression, such as we see in the exaggerated archaic smile; it is merely a straight line, as in some other primitive works.

(β) *Sparta.*—The traditional notion of the Spartan character is hardly such as to lead us to expect to find at Sparta in early times a centre of artistic work and influence. The excavations of the British School at Athens in the precinct of Artemis Orthia have, however, brought to light a rich harvest of early dedications, dated from the seventh to the fifth century B.C.; these are mostly small products of decorative art in bone, ivory, and other materials, similar to what has been found at Ephesus and elsewhere. Here we seem to find evidence both of an early connection with Ionia and of a vigorous local activity in the minor arts. Our literary sources for the history of sculpture tell us not only of an elaborate artistic structure, like the Amyclaean throne,[1] made by the foreign sculptor Bathycles of Magnesia, but also of a flourishing local school of sculptors, pupils of Dipoenus and Scyllis, whose works were to be seen both at Sparta itself and at Olympia. At present, however, we are concerned only with the extant specimens of the art of Sparta, and these, though they are fairly numerous, and so confirm the evidence of literature as to the practice of sculpture in early Sparta, are of a totally different nature from the works of Spartan sculptors mentioned by ancient writers. Thus we are reduced here also to an independent treatment, based entirely on the monuments themselves.

The most primitive of these is a quadrangular block of blue marble, narrower at the top than at the bottom, which has, on its two narrower sides, snakes curling up it.[2] On the two broader sides are scenes which reproduce types similar to those on the Argive bronze reliefs and other early works (see § 9). Thus we have a link connecting marble sculpture in relief with those primitive decorations. In each case we see a man and a woman, but their relations on one side are friendly, and she holds a wreath; on the other side he seems to be stabbing her with a sword. A possible interpretation of these scenes is to see on one side Polynices and Eriphyle, on the other Orestes and Clytaemnestra. But without more distinctive attributes it is impossible to make such identification with certainty; the same types are often repeated with varying significations. The style is too rude for any detailed analysis,

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[1] See p. 83

[2] *Ann. Inst.*, 1861, Tav. C.

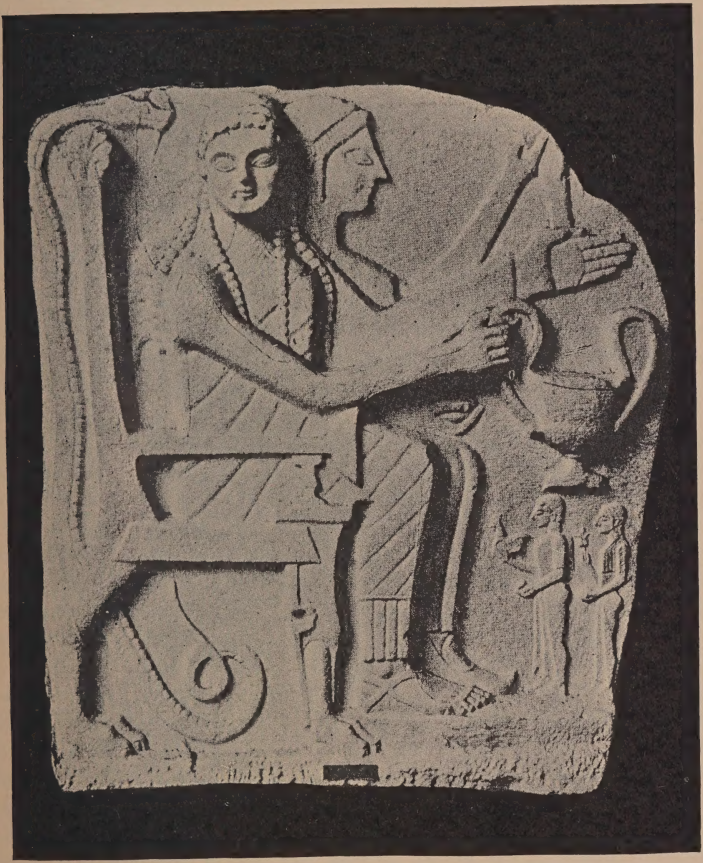

FIG. 22.—Spartan Tombstone, formerly in the Sabouroff Collection (Berlin).

but we may recognise here a roundness and heaviness of form which contrasts strongly with other examples of Spartan art. We cannot, however, recognise here a work of independent sculpture, the stela is rather to be regarded as a translation into stone of work such as we see on the small bone reliefs from Sparta published in the *Hellenic Journal*, 1891, Pl. xi.; and these again fall into their place in the series of early decorative works, in bronze, ivory, and other materials, which we have already noticed. We come next to a series which now represents for us the early art of Sparta in its most characteristic form—a series of grave reliefs,[1] in which the deceased is represented seated upon a throne, alone or with his wife, while smaller figures, doubtless representing his descendants, usually bring him offerings. Often he holds a cup in his hand, while the sepulchral significance is emphasised by the snake which sometimes curls up the back of his throne. We may see here in its simplest form the worship of the deified dead, which appears frequently upon later Greek funeral reliefs in the form of a banquet at which the deceased reclines. The Spartan reliefs are even more remarkable for their style than for their subject. They are worked in a succession of parallel planes, as many as five of these planes being clearly distinguishable, one behind another, and each at its edges is bounded by a cut that runs in at right angles to it, the corner being hardly rounded in most cases; thus the face and arm of the nearest figure, and near side of his throne, are usually worked in the first or highest plane, his body and leg in the second, and so on. Modelling hardly exists, as the boundaries of these planes are mere outline drawing; but here and there, as in the shoulder or foot, there is some modelling in the intermediate surface. Details are added, incised or in relief, but in no way modify the flatness of the general surface. On the other hand, this working in planes seems to be merely a device due to the crudeness of the sculptor's attempt to render one object behind another. It is not based on any strict adherence to an accepted convention, for the respective planes are not always worked consistently throughout the relief; one sometimes merges into another where it suits the artist's convenience, and the background often curves about to suit the design, so that the strict parallelism of the planes is completely violated. Where there must be some modelling, as in the face, the features are cut out without any consideration of truth to nature in their contours, the lower outline of the jaw, for example, forming a sharp edge that would almost cut. And in the whole composition there is an angularity and stiffness of position that well accords with the angular nature of the technique.

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[1] *Sammlung Sabouroff*, Pl. i.; *Mittheil. Ath.*, 1877, Taf. xx.-xxiv.

This peculiar technique is usually supposed to be due to the influence of wood carving, and the grain of wood would certainly be a help in splitting away the surface from one plane to the next, after incising deeply the outlines of what was required to be left in the upper plane. But, on the other hand, the difficulties which meet an unskilled sculptor, when he has to represent several objects behind one another in a relief, might perhaps have led to a similar result.

(γ) *The Rest of the Peloponnese.*—The curious reliefs which we have noticed at Sparta find a parallel in a similar, but not identical, subject found at Tegea.[1] The style of this relief closely resembles that of the Spartan ones, with their curious succession of planes. The subject also is the bringing of offerings to the dead; but here, while the small worshipper and the seated wife are just as at Sparta, the principal figure reclines on a couch, of which the end only is preserved; we have thus a transition to the ordinary type of the so-called funeral banquet so common on tombstones.

To return to sculpture in the round, we first notice two statues of the primitive seated type. One of these, which was found near Tegea, resembles to a remarkable degree the Cretan seated statue;[2] we find not only the same rather slender form—a great contrast to the massive proportions of the Branchidae figures—but the same conventional rendering of the hair. The face in the Tegea figure has unfortunately entirely disappeared; the drapery, with a curious border or fringed edge slanting across the chest, and ending in a tassel thrown over the shoulder, is perfectly flat, and has no indication of folds. The other statue,[3] which was found near Asea in Arcadia, has lost its head. The body and chair seem made all in one piece, and are remarkably square and flat; but the form again is less heavy than in the Branchidae figures. This last statue has a name inscribed on it, 'Αγεμώ; this is probably a proper name, and, if so, the statue was most likely set up as a monument over a tomb. It is much worn and weathered; but in the feet, the only part left which offer much scope for detailed modelling, it is clear that the sandals and the sinews which show between their thongs have been worked out with considerable care.

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[1] *Mittheil. Ath.*, 1879 Pl. vii.

[2] *B.C.H.*, 1890, Pl. xi.

[3] 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1874, Pl. 71.

The excavations of Delphi have brought to light many interesting remains of Peloponnesian art, among which those that concern us most, as supplying valuable evidence for the history of sculpture, are the metopes of the treasury dedicated by the Sicyonians, and two early nude statues more than life-size, signed by an Argive sculptor. Both architectural sculptures and independent statues of the "Apollo" type have hitherto been but scantily represented from this region at so early a period. The Sicyonian treasury was in ancient times the first to meet the eye of a visitor to Delphi as he advanced up the Sacred Way. Its foundations, in rough limestone (*poros*), are still to be seen. The remains of sculptural metopes found beside them may belong either to the partly extant building or to a still earlier one, of which the architectural members are built into the extant foundations; this latter is perhaps the more probable theory, since it explains the good preservation of the surface and the remains of colour by suggesting that the sculptures only remained a short time on the building before it was superseded. In any case the metopes are among the earliest architectural sculptures we possess, and date from the earlier part of the sixth century B.C. We have noticed in other cases the way in which the designs of metopes in stone were borrowed from small decorative panels in bronze. Here the technique suggests another comparison; the figures are coloured in a more or less conventional manner, while the background is left plain, in the natural brown colour of the stone; and the effect produced must have been very similar to that of the figures painted on Corinthian or Sicyonian vases approximately contemporary with the treasury. The relief is bold, but there is not much of that refinement of detail which we see later in the athletic art of the same region. The subjects are such as we see on some other early metopes, such as those of Selinus. The relief of Europa on the bull (Fig. 23) is common to both (cf. Fig. 28), and is not dissimilar in treatment, though the Sicyonian work has not the same delicacy of incised lines which may in the Selinus metopes be attributed to the influence of metal-work; single decorative types are not common on metopes; such a figure of a boar on the Sicyonian treasury reminds us of the Selinus sphinx, as well as of subjects common

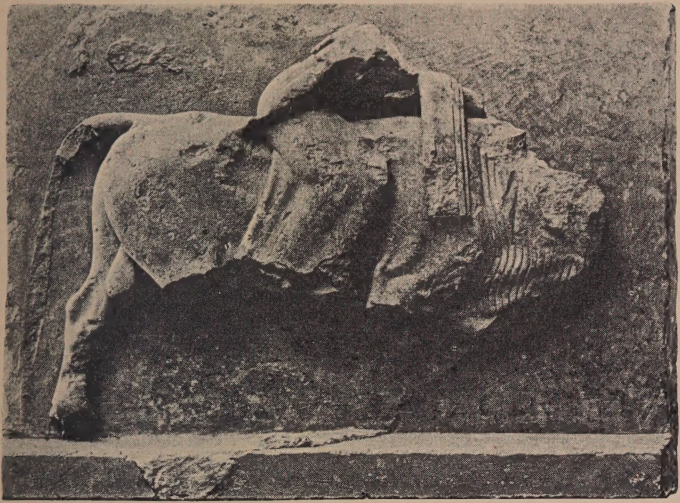

Fig. 23.—Europa on the Bull.

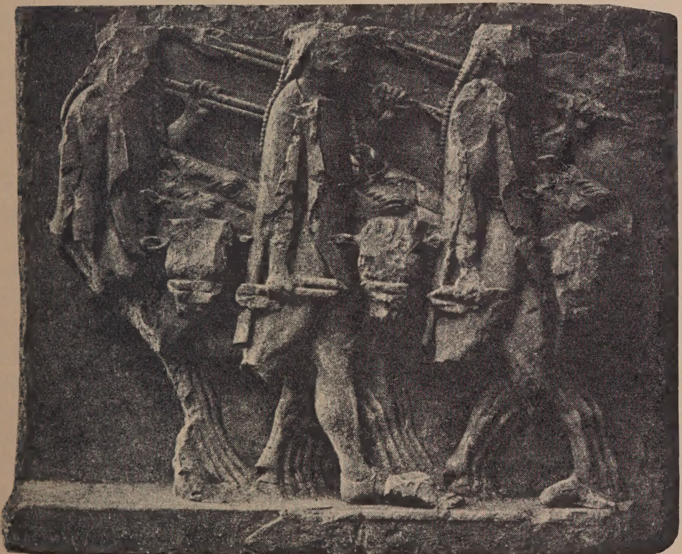

Fig. 24.—Return from a raid.
Metopes of Syracusan Treasury (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II. iii. and iv.)

on vases. The two most interesting of the series represent mythological scenes; in one of them we see the ship Argo, with the two Dioscuri seated on horseback in front of it. On its deck stand two musicians, Orpheus and another, who are mere repetitions of the musician type with which we are familiar on primitive statuettes from Rhodes, Cyprus, Naucratis, and elsewhere. The other (Fig. 24) is a more ambitious and complicated composition; in it we see a group of three warriors, each carrying javelins over his shoulder, guiding along a drove of cattle, who are kept in their course by other javelins held horizontally. The names of the heroes, Castor, Polydeuces, and Idas, were painted on the stone, and could still be deciphered when the reliefs were discovered. A curious feature in the work is the way in which the heads of the cattle in front are turned to face the spectator, though the bodies are in profile; and in this way, just as in the Selinus Gorgon (Fig. 27), the primitive sculptor has enabled himself to profit by the decoratively familiar type of the bucranium. We see here again how he guides himself as far as he can by familiar types or designs; but there is considerable freshness and originality in some of the compositions. More recent investigations have however made it probable that these Metopes belong to an earlier treasury, that of Syracuse; the devices which they use would strike us as equally appropriate if we had met them in Sicily.

In the Argive statues, on the other hand, we have fine early examples of a type in which the Argive sculptors later won their chief distinction (Fig. 25). The two are a pair, very similar in workmanship; they reproduce the well-known type in its simplest form. A peculiar interest is given to them by their inscription, which not only records that they are the work of an Argive artist, but also identifies them as Cleobis and Biton, the two youths who drew their mother in her car to the Argive Heraeum, and to whom the goddess gave, in reward for their piety, her best gift, a painless death. The statues are of very massive and heavy build and very square in shape, and the outlines and contours of muscles, and especially the line of the false ribs, are indicated by clearly incised lines. Beyond the bold blocking out, there is very little detail in the modelling, except about the knee, where, as often in early sculpture, the artist has done his best to indicate the bone and muscles round the knee-cap. The heads are large,

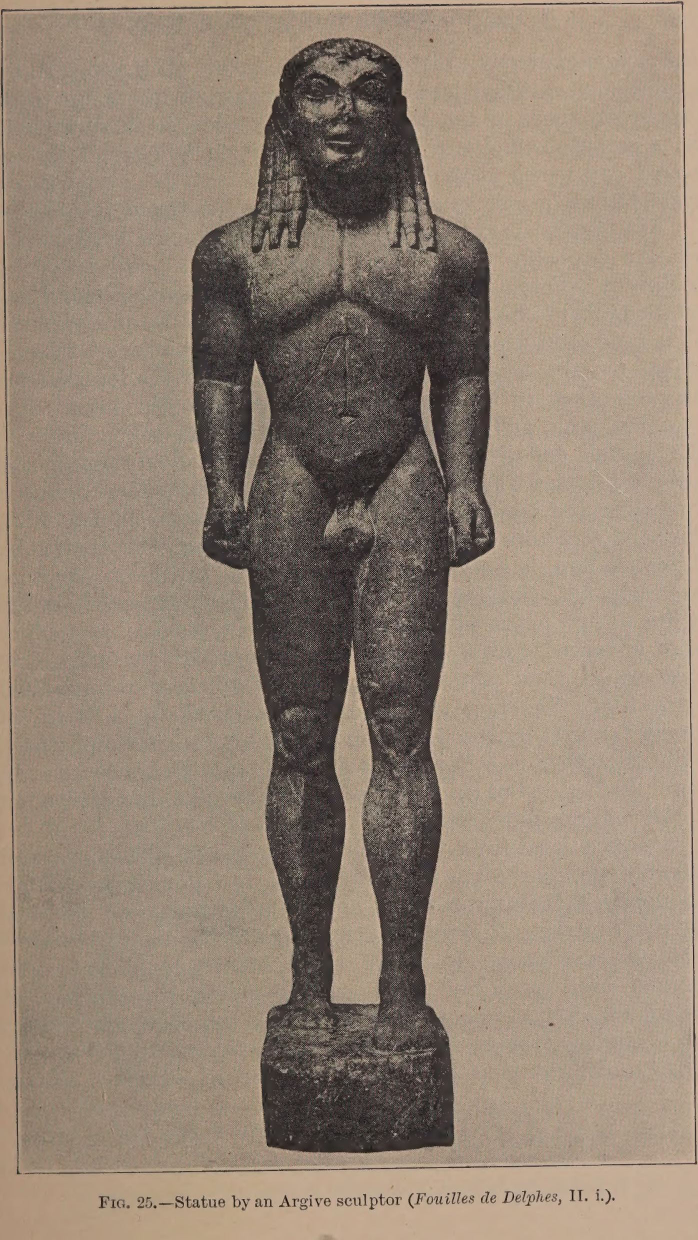

FIG. 25.—Statue by an Argive sculptor (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II. i.).

the faces inexpressive, the eyes large and flat. It is a long course of development that leads from such figures as these up to the Apollo of Tenea or the Ligourio bronze; but it is valuable to have earlier examples of which the Argive origin cannot be contested and which show already, in so characteristic a form, the massive proportions associated later with the Argive school.

The Olympian excavations have yielded several heads, which we are probably justified in assigning to a local school of sculpture. Foremost among these is the colossal head of Hera, which probably belonged to the temple statue in the Heraeum.[1] This head is in many ways of uncouth and primitive workmanship. On the head rises a high crown; over the forehead the hair is worked in flat waves, clinging close to the head. The eyes are large and flat, with lids but little in relief, and with the eyeball and iris incised with compasses, doubtless as outlines to fill in with colour; the mouth is a simple curve, thus producing the archaic smile in its most primitive form. But the bony structure of the skull seems to be distinctly felt by the artist, and, in spite of all roughness of execution, the form is clearly cut, and the expression, though exaggerated, is full of life. Two heads of Zeus from Olympia[2] belong to a much more advanced period of art, and are interesting for the contrast which they offer between the technique of bronze and terra-cotta. The first seems to be contained by a series of clearly defined surfaces, with their intersecting angles emphasised, while the other is softer in its outlines, and the transitions are more gradual. But in both alike we see the same slender, almost meagre, proportions.

A bronze head from Cythera,[3] now in Berlin, shows in many technical peculiarities a resemblance to the bronze head from Olympia. But its proportions and its appearance too are very different; perhaps the resemblances may only be due to technical proceedings common to many early bronze founders. The Cythera head probably represents Aphrodite, the goddess of the island, after a type which is found on the coins of Cnidus; but a similar type is not uncommon elsewhere,[4] and although a foreign dedication is likely enough at so important a shrine, it would be rash, in the present state of our knowledge, to assign it to any definite origin. But the half-shut eyes, the mouth with its very subtle triple curve, and the careful modelling of the end of the lips, can most easily be paralleled in the Acropolis statues at Athens. If this head is not Attic, we have a warning against trusting any such criteria while our evidence as to the local distinctions of early schools is so scanty.

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[1] *Olympia*, iii. Pl. 1; Bötticher, *Olympia*, p. 237, etc.

[2] Bötticher, *Olympia*, Pl. vi. etc.

[3] Published by Brunn, *A.Z.* xxxiv. Pl. 3 and 4.

[4] *E.g.* for Artemis on Arcadian coins.

The best preserved of all the early works found in the Peloponnese is the so-called Apollo of Tenea (Fig. 26). The contrast in proportion to the massive Argive statues perhaps makes it probable that this "Apollo" is an imported work of some school of the islands; but in the absence of certainty it is placed here because of the region in which it was found. The statue is an embodiment of the nude male type, as we have already seen it in the "Apollo" of Thera and the "Apollo" of Melos; its significance is equally uncertain, though in this case there is some evidence that it stood over a grave to represent the deceased. The Tenean statue is all but perfect in preservation; it is also the most carefully executed of all the series to which it belongs. This care is not only seen in the general proportions of the figure, but also in the finish of details, such as the knees. The hair is treated in broad and rather flat waves, free from conventional spirals. In the face is an exaggerated attempt at expression which contrasts with the development given by Attic artists to the archaic smile. Here, though the eyes are convex, not flat, they are still wide open, not narrowed by the lids nor sunk in beneath the brows; the mouth is a simple curve, and there is none of the Attic delicacy in finishing the ends of the lips—the grimace has no tendency to become an expression. In the body, the most striking feature is the downward tendency of all the lines—the sloping shoulders, and the elongated triangle of the lower part of the abdomen. There is an almost exaggerated slimness of proportion; but the figure, though lightly made, is neither weak nor emaciated; the muscles are finely developed, and the main outlines both of muscle and bone are indicated. Indeed, with the exception of the face, the work throughout is finer in details than in general proportions, and shows a careful study of the human form such as could hardly fail to lead to rapid progress in sculpture.

(δ) *Corcyra and Acarnania.*—A remarkable pediment from an

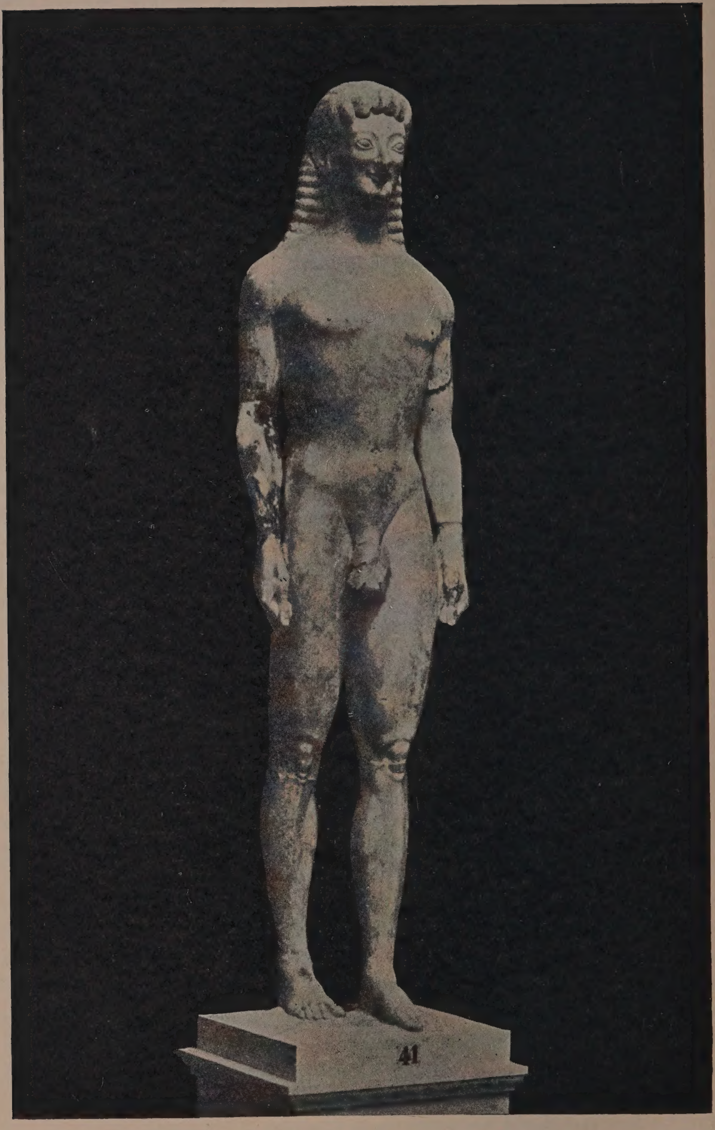

FIG. 26.—"Apollo" found at Tenea (Munich).

early temple[1] has recently been discovered in Corcyra; it is in some ways the most primitive attempt at architectural sculpture that we possess. The centre is occupied by a colossal gorgon, winged, and in the conventional kneeling attitude of flight. On one side is a winged horse or Pegasus, on the other a nude male figure. Beyond these on each side is a large lion, the head facing, the body in profile, filling up the whole breadth of the pediment, and framing as it were the central group. Beyond this, to the right is a scene of combat between Zeus, wielding the thunderbolt, and a giant. At the other side of the pediment is a seated female figure, and beyond, at the end, a large recumbent figure of a bearded and apparently dead man or monster. The whole is a quaint jumble of figures on different scales, pieced together anyhow to fill the space; but the design as a whole is impressive. The figures themselves are very square in shape, and show extreme examples of the early custom of designing from two aspects only, the front and side. Most of the figures have their head and chest full-face, their legs in profile, the transition between the two being managed in an awkward manner; there is little anatomical detail in the modelling, but plenty of incised drawing and ornament. The pediment is evidently the work of men used to carving in bone and ivory and other hard materials, such as occur at Sparta and elsewhere, and may well illustrate the tradition of Daedalid influence.

With the Corinthian colony of Ambracia, and the neighbouring town of the Amphilochian Argos, which retained the name as well as the coin-types of its mother city, we should naturally expect the art of Acarnania to be dependent on that of the Peloponnese, even apart from the tradition of the visit of Dipoenus and Scyllis to Ambracia in the interval of their work at Sicyon. The scanty remains which we possess from this region are not inconsistent with such a supposition. The most important of these are two statues of the nude male type, unfortunately both headless, which come from the temple of Apollo at Actium.[2] These have the same slightness of proportion which we saw in the Apollo of Tenea; and again the principal feature of the modelling is the indication of the bony structure beneath the flesh, especially the collar-bone and the outline of the false ribs. These characteristics, however, recur elsewhere, notably in a small Apollo from Orchomenus in Boeotia, now in the British Museum; and in general shape, especially in section, some other Boeotian statues come nearest to these of Actium. But where the examples are still so few and so scattered, it is rash to make any further inferences.

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[1] See illustrations in Πρακτικά, 1911 (Versakis).

[2] *B.D.* 76. These torsos are of island marble, probably Naxian.

Another work from Acarnania is a grave relief, representing a poet singing to the lyre.[1] The interest of this, technically, lies in the fact that it is evidently a painting translated into relief; and in this process the right and left legs have changed places, so as to be out of drawing. The lyre, too, is merely scratched on the background of the relief; the effect was doubtless left as much to colour as to form; we have here an extreme case of the influence of painting, as we see it, for example, on the Boeotian relief of Alxenor.

(ε) *Megara.*—Megara is represented in early sculpture by two works. The first of these is a colossal torso of the male type,[2] which, in its shape and proportions, strongly resembles the early statues from the temple of Apollo Ptous in Boeotia; only here the squareness of section which we have seen in some early works is avoided not so much by making the body circular as by cutting it away obliquely at the sides. The exaggerated slimness of the proportions and the elongation of the waist are most conspicuous here, owing to the colossal size of the statue.

The other work is the pediment of the Treasury of Megara at Olympia.[3] This represents a gigantomachy, and is carved in the soft local limestone of Olympia. We are justified, at least until further evidence appears, in classing this as a product of Megarian art: it is unlikely that the decoration of a building destined to represent the devotion and the glory of Megara at Olympia would be entrusted to a foreigner; nor is it any proof to the contrary that this treasury, in the time of Pausanias, contained works by an early Spartan artist. The best preserved figure is the giant who was the antagonist of Zeus in the central group. In spite of the bad state of preservation, enough is left to show that the style bears out the statement of Pausanias, that the treasury was later than the primitive statues it contained. This giant, who sinks wounded on one knee, is rendered with considerable freedom and power. The old fashion of completely colouring all the figures, as well as the blue background, was here necessarily followed, owing to the inferior nature of the material. The period is probably not far removed from that of the metopes of the third series[1] at Selinus, which from their subject offer the easiest comparison.

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[1] Published by Wolters, *Mitth. Ath.*, 1891, Pl. xi.

[2] In Naxian marble.

[3] *Olympia*, iii. Taf. ii. iii.

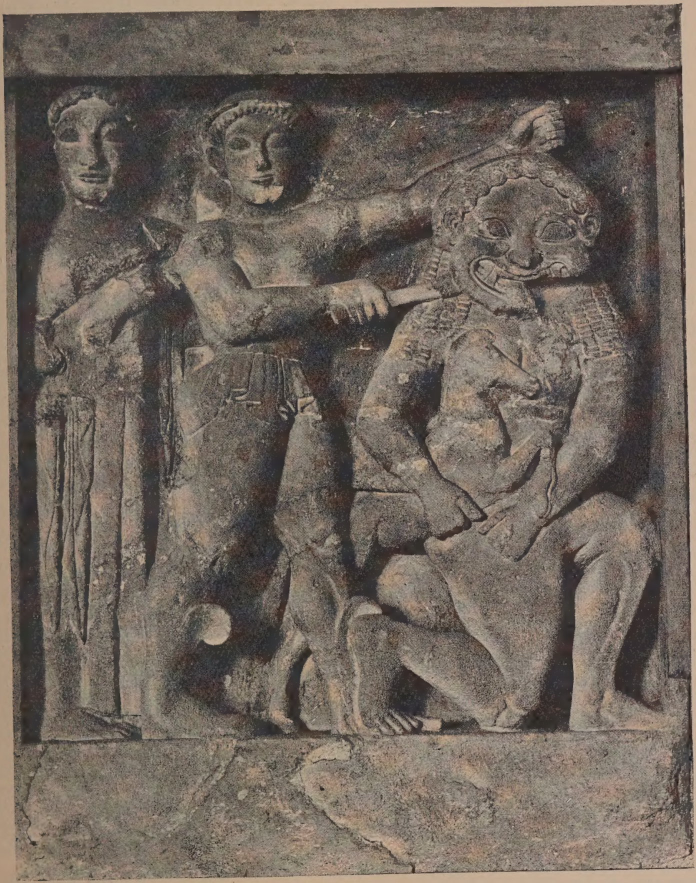

FIG. 27.—Metope of earliest series, from Selinus (Palermo).

(ζ) *Selinus.*—As a colony of Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, Selinus naturally finds its place next to Megara, the mother city of both. The temples of this town have yielded a most interesting series of metopes, which are now preserved in the museum at Palermo.[1] These metopes fall into four sets; of these the latest must be deferred until we reach the fifth century, but the first three sets find their place here. The earliest, which perhaps show us the first attempt on the part of a sculptor to enlarge and to translate into stone the mythological scenes with which he was already familiar in bronze reliefs and other decorative work, cannot be placed much later than the beginning of the sixth century. Three of these are in fairly good preservation; the subjects are Perseus cutting off the head of the Gorgon in the presence of Athena, Heracles carrying the Cercopes suspended head downwards, one at each end of a pole which rests on his shoulders, and a chariot with four horses, seen full face, with a draped figure standing on each side of the charioteer. These types are all of them common on early decorative works; the first two are very similar in style, and show the same defects and peculiarities. In all the figures the face and breast are full face, the legs, from the waist down, in profile. The heads are disproportionately large, and the proportions of the body and limbs are very heavy, though the emphasis given to the joints and muscles prevents the fleshy, almost flabby, appearance which was produced by similar proportions in early Ionic works. The hair is rendered by simple waves, without spiral curls; the eyes are large and flat, almost without any indication of lids, except in the case of the Gorgon; the ears projecting and shapeless; the mouths but slightly curved, and devoid of expression; in most cases there is a vacant stare rather than the grimace we often find in archaic sculpture. The face of the Gorgon is worked with more facility and definition, probably because it was already familiar to sculpture or rather architecture as a decorative type; and so the sculpture in this case is of a less tentative nature than in the other figures, for which the artist probably only knew models of comparatively minute size. On the other hand, we see in the body of this same Gorgon a misunderstanding on the part of the artist. In his model the Gorgon was doubtless represented as running or flying, with her legs drawn up in the customary archaic scheme; but his figure is unmistakably represented as kneeling on one knee. The little Pegasus which the Gorgon holds is very likely a part of the primitive type. The relief generally is not cut after any system, but the figures, which stand out nearly in the round, are cut in as far as is necessary in each case, and the background is not an even plane.

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[1] See below, p. 164.

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[1] Benndorf, *Metopen von Selinunt; B.D.* 286-293.

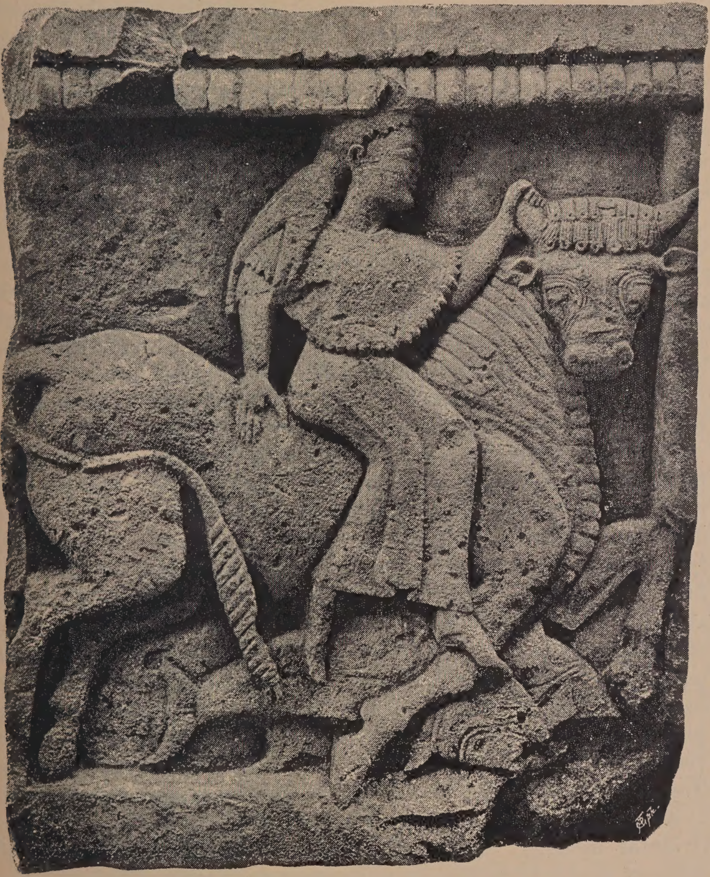

FIG. 28.—Metope of second series, from Selinus (Palermo).

The third metope is very different in style, though the conditions seem to preclude the possibility of any great difference of date. The full-face chariot is a common type of early bronze relief; but the translation into stone was in this case peculiarly difficult. It is contrived, first by giving the relief much greater depth, about twice as great as in the other metopes. Then the fore-parts of the horses are completely cut out in the round, while the hind-legs, the chariot, and the charioteer are in relief on the background. Thus the bodies of the horses are practically omitted; but when seen from in front, at a distance, the effect of the foreshortening is by no means unsuccessful. In details, too, the work seems better than in the other metopes. The eyes both of the horses and the charioteer are convex, and the lids are clearly marked; his ears are better shaped, and do not project like those of Perseus. The difference is probably to be explained by the uneven skill of the various sculptors who were set to make these metopes, probably after selected types. The whole was once covered by a brilliant polychromy, of which traces still remain; the background was blue. To appreciate the effect of these compositions they must be seen set, as at Palermo, in their massive architectural frame; to these surroundings their heavy and uncouth proportions seem to be peculiarly adapted.

The second set of metopes, of which three are preserved, or partly so, were found as recently as 1892.[1] They are not far removed in period from the first set, but their style shows different influence, and the subjects too seem to be derived from Crete. One, which represents Europa riding on the bull over the sea, in which a dolphin is swimming, reproduces almost exactly the scheme which we see on the earliest coins of Gortyna. Here there is an almost exaggerated slimness of proportion, and there seems to be almost an affectation of delicacy in many details, which contrasts strongly with the uncouthness of the earlier metopes. The same character is visible in the scanty remains of the group of Heracles and the Cretan bull, which forms another of the metopes; the third is a single figure of a sphinx, which is clearly derived from Oriental models. Indeed the whole character of this set of metopes seems to be due to an accession of Oriental influence.

The third set of metopes, which is a good deal later, and probably belongs to the earlier part of the fifth century, is only represented by two examples, and of these the lower half only is preserved; both are scenes from a gigantomachy. In one the giant, who is fallen on one knee, resembles to some extent the giant on the Megarian pediment, but his position is far less forcible; the other is fallen on his back, and his head, which is thrown back, shows a remarkable attempt to render in the half-open mouth and the drawn lips the agony of death. Throughout these two we see a good deal of refinement and even mannerism in detail, but a weakness and lack of vigour alike in the conception and the execution. This is perhaps characteristic of the great cities of Magna Graecia, which were, at the end of the sixth century, at the zenith of their prosperity, and, like the Ionians of Asia Minor, had adopted a softer and more luxurious way of life than was yet known to the Greeks of Central Greece or the Peloponnese.

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[1] By Professor Salinas.

(η) *Boeotia.*—Literary evidence fails us in any attempt to trace the artistic influences that we may expect in the sculpture of Boeotia; and we are therefore reduced in this case to the monuments only. From these we see that in Boeotia sculpture seems to have had distinct features and an independent development such as implies a flourishing local school, subject, at the end as at the beginning, to foreign influence. The earliest extant remains of Boeotian sculpture are a portion of a seated statue from the sanctuary of Apollo Ptous, and the monument of Dermys and Citylus. Both of these are distinguished also by the presence of inscriptions of a most archaic character,[1] probably not much later than 600 B.C. The Ptoan fragment[2] is part of a primitive seated statue like those at Branchidae, but even squarer and less modelled; it bears the signature of an artist the last half only of whose name is preserved, ——otus. This is unfortunate, for it is perhaps the earliest artist's signature which we possess. The monument of Dermys and Citylus[3] is of rough material, and of the rudest and most primitive style; but in the position of the two, each with his arm about the other's neck, and in the treatment of the hair, we can see clear indications of an imitation of Egyptian models. The same wig-like treatment of the hair appears also on a head and shoulders of an early figure from the Ptoan sanctuary—possibly a portion of the same statue as the inscribed fragment just mentioned. These Egyptian features are to be noticed, for they are of importance in considering another influence which we shall later recognise.

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[1] Considerable error has arisen here as elsewhere from the unwarranted assumption that ≤ is always later than ч. See *J.H.S.* vii. p. 235. Hence some have actually asserted that Dermys and Citylus must be late. Another example of ≤ on an undoubtedly primitive work refutes this view more completely than any epigraphical discussion.

[2] *B.C.H.*, 1886, Pl. vii.

[3] *Mitth. Ath.*, 1878, Taf. xiv.

The so-called Apollo[1] of Orchomenus shows us Boeotian art in its most characteristic development; and it is now no longer isolated, but forms the first of a series, of which several other examples have been unearthed in the temple of Apollo Ptous. All of these have certain common peculiarities which distinguish them from most other early Greek statues. Foremost among these peculiarities is their remarkable roundness of shape, such that a horizontal section through the waist

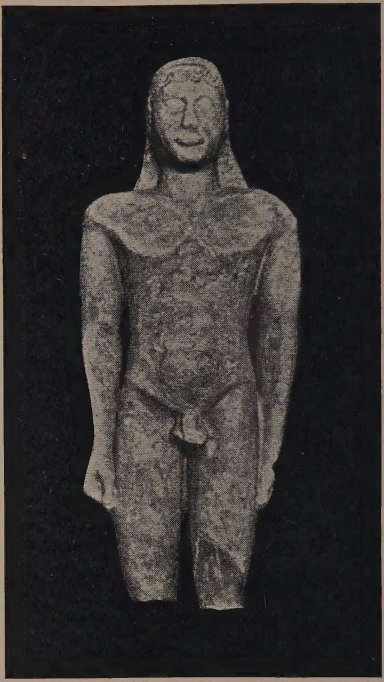

FIG. 29.—"Apollo" from Orchomenus in Boeotia (Athens, National Museum).

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[1] As to the name to be given to all these statues see § 18 above, "Inherited and Borrowed Types."

would in each case give an almost perfect circle. This is a great contrast to the square or rectangular form which we have seen in other cases, and which is probably due to a system of working parallel to the sides and front of the block of marble. We also see in all alike a stolidity of expression, produced mainly by the straight line of the mouth, which is in marked contrast with the "archaic smile." In the Apollo of Orchomenus we see some other features that are not repeated in the rest. In the rendering of the muscles of the abdomen there is an evident attempt to imitate nature, which has given to the surface a curious ribbed appearance; and the treatment of the back and the elbows shows a remarkably careful and naturalistic rendering of the texture of the skin. There is also a heaviness of build and squareness of shoulders about this statue which disappears in the later examples of the same type.

Our next example, the "Apollo" Ptous, may well be regarded as a direct development from the "Apollo" of Orchomenus. Almost all the characteristic features that we have noticed are essentially the same, though there is a greater lightness and elegance of form and proportions. But there is another resemblance here which must be noticed. One of the female figures found on the Acropolis at Athens, and certainly not of Attic style,[1] is in expression and shape of face and in treatment of eyes and hair extremely like this Apollo, while her drapery resembles in treatment the columnar figure from Samos, dedicated by Cheramyes to Hera.[2] There is not here enough evidence for any wider inferences; but the resemblance is too close to be a mere coincidence, though its explanation is still to seek. Some other torsos from the Ptoan sanctuary[3] show the same forms that we have already noticed, but rendered with more truth to nature, muscles and even veins being carefully studied. But the same round, almost conical, shape of the chest remains.

Another statue from the same shrine is of an entirely different nature. It has a Boeotian dedication inscribed on its thighs which dates from the earlier part of the fifth century, but body and face alike show a style which is certainly foreign. The treatment of the body, with its square and compact form

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[1] See above, Fig. 12.

[2] See above, p. 120.

[3] *B.C.H.*, 1887, Pl. viii.

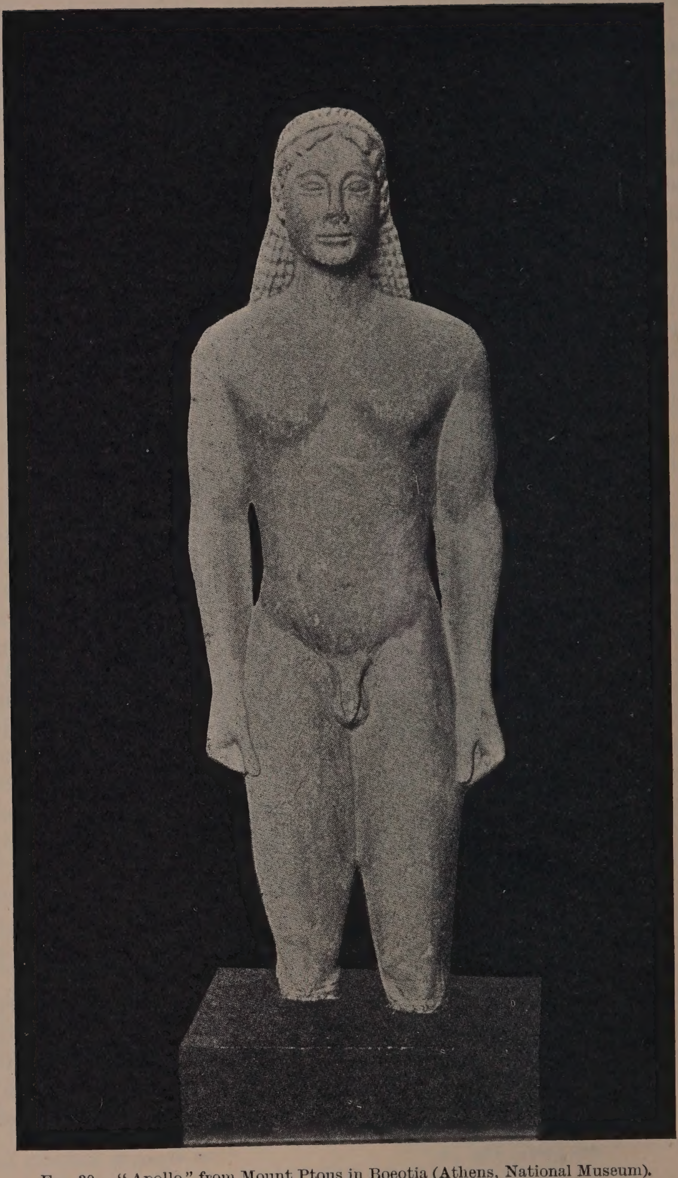

Fig. 30.—“Apollo” from Mount Ptous in Boeotia (Athens, National Museum).

and clearly cut muscles, closely resembles that which we see in the Strangford Apollo and the Aeginetan pediments;[1] and in the head, too, we see in the treatment of the hair, the shape of the face, and the expression of the mouth with its exaggerated smile, the unmistakable signs of Aeginetan or Attic influence.

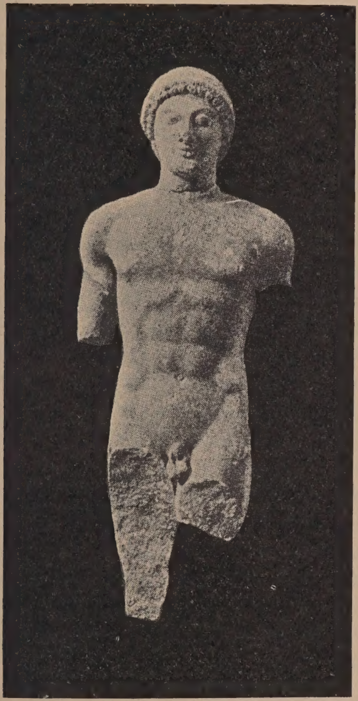

FIG. 31.—"Apollo," showing Aeginetan influence, from Mount Ptous in Boeotia (Athens, National Museum).

Nor is this the only case in which we see foreign art introduced into Boeotia. Another head from the same excavations[2] is clearly an imitation of the Attic statues which were found on the Acropolis; and at Orchomenus has been found a tombstone with a man and a dog carved in relief upon it which bears the inscription of the Naxian artist Alxenor.[1] We see, then, that Boeotia was at first subject to foreign influence, and reproduced clearly the characteristics of Egyptian models.[2] Then an independent local school of sculpture seems to have grown up during the sixth century, which attained considerable excellence in the development of the nude male type of statues commonly called "Apollo." But again in the fifth century this local growth seems to have been swamped by a new influx of foreign influence from Athens, Aegina, and other Aegean islands.

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[1] See below, § 26.

[2] For an account of these, and illustrations and descriptions of all the works found by M. Holleaux see *B.C.H.*, 1886-87.

§ 23. *Literary Evidence: Relations of Archaic Schools.*—The last section has been taken up with an enumeration of the extant works of sculpture found in various parts of Greece. If we next proceed to notice the literary evidence which applies to the same period, we shall then be in a position to see how far the two supplement or correct one another, and what inferences it is safe to draw from either or from both combined.

The literary evidence which applies to artists of the sixth century is but scanty. We have already, in § 20, seen the nature of the information which is given us about the invention or the first beginning of sculpture in Greece, and the families or schools which were associated with it. We shall in the following sections have to deal with what we learn, from literary evidence as well as extant remains, about the schools of Athens, of Argos and Sicyon, and of Aegina. Apart from these, we hear but little from ancient authorities about the artists to whose work is due the advance from the rude beginnings and primitive types of the earliest Greek sculpture to the time just before it began to produce statues that were the admiration of all subsequent ages. Probably there were among them few, if any, of distinguished genius; but the slow and patient progress which lasted for nearly a century prepared the way for the brilliant and rapid advance which marks the beginning of the next period.

In Sparta there existed a school of which the foundation was attributed to the Cretan sculptors Dipoenus and Scyllis. Works of the Spartan masters Dontas and Doryclidas, Hegylus and

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[1] See § 21, p. 129.

[2] In connection with the rather indirect connection with Samos which we have seen in one instance, it is interesting to remember that Rhoecus and Theodorus of Samos were the artists who, more than any others, brought Egyptian influence into Greece. See above, § 20.

Theocles, were shown at Olympia in Pausanias' time, mostly in the Heraeum and in the treasuries of the Megarians and of the Epidamnians. These are all similar in character; they were made, some of cedar wood, varied by gilding, some in the fully developed gold and ivory technique. The subjects in each case are extensive groups of mythological figures, so far independent of one another that they could be moved away; thus we hear that the Hesperids, belonging to a group with Heracles and Atlas, and an Athena, who came from a group with the combat of Heracles and Achelous, were later kept in the Heraeum. An enumeration of many other figures, separate or grouped together, seated or standing, only shows us how much of the work of these artists was preserved at Olympia, but gives us little more knowledge of their style. They seem in every way similar to the group by Dipoenus and Scyllis at Argos, which was made of ebony with details in ivory. From their material we cannot hope to find any works of this nature preserved in Greece; nor have we any certain copies in more durable material to enlighten us as to their style or their composition. But the ambitious attempt to make what seem such complicated groups is really a survival from the earlier technique of decorative work in relief, and so does not imply a great advance in sculptural composition.

We hear of another artist, probably of the same school, the Cretan Chirisophus, who made a gilt statue of Apollo at Tegea, and also a marble statue of himself. His name makes one more link between Crete and the Peloponnese. Another Spartan sculptor, Gitiadas, probably belongs to a rather later period; his work may even be placed as late as the beginning of the fifth century, since he made two tripods at Amyclae, with figures of Aphrodite and Artemis underneath them, which matched a third made by Callon of Aegina. This fact need not imply that he was a contemporary of Callon; but his great work, the temple of Athena Chalcioecus at Sparta, was decorated with a series of reliefs which are not likely to be earlier than the similar work done by the foreign sculptor Bathycles at Amyclae. He also made the bronze statue of Athena Chalcioecus or Poliuchus.

Another clear example of a temple statue made by pupils of the Cretan Dipoenus and Scyllis is the Apollo of Delos, the work of Tectaeus and Angelion. The god held the three Graces on his left hand, a peculiar attribute which has made it possible to identify this statue on a coin of Athens,[1] which, however, reproduces it on too small a scale to give us much more than a general notion of the type. The god stood in the usual archaic attitude, with the left leg advanced; both his arms were bent at the elbow.

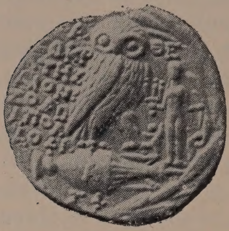

FIG. 32.—Coin of Athens, with the Apollo of Delos by Tectaeus and Angelion.

As to the works or the style of other sculptors of this period we know still less. Three Corinthian artists, Diyllus, Amyclaeus, and Chionis, made a group for Delphi, of Apollo and Heracles struggling for the tripod, supported by Artemis and Athena respectively.[2] The character of the work may well have been similar to that of the groups made by Dipoenus and Scyllis and their Spartan pupils.

Clearchus of Rhegium has already been mentioned from the anomalous position he holds in literary evidence as a pupil of Daedalus on the one hand, and the master of Pythagoras on the other.[3] He made a bronze statue of Zeus at Sparta which was not cast, but made of plates of metal beaten out into the required shape and riveted together. The more historical date is probably the correct one; according to one version, his master Eucheir, was the pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis, and this might well bring him down to the beginning of the fifth century, when Pythagoras was young. We must suppose that his statue was for some reason executed by a more primitive technique than was usual in his time, and hence may proceed the stories as to his extreme antiquity.

The artistic connection shown in this case between the Peloponnese and Sicily or the region immediately adjoining it is attested by other examples. Thus Polystratus of Ambracia—probably a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis—was employed by Phalaris, a famous tyrant of Agrigentum. Later on, another Peloponnesian artist, Callon of Elis, was employed by the people of Messina to make a bronze group, commemorating a chorus of boys, with their trainer and flute player, who were lost at sea on their way across to Rhegium; Callon also made a Hermes for a man of Rhegium; both these works were set up at Olympia.

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[1] P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. xv. 29.

[2] The treatment of the same subject on the pediment of the treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi is probably different; in it Athena appears as arbitress in the middle.

[3] See above, p. 107.

Another statue which is recorded on coins is a huntress Artemis, made by Menaechmus and Soidas of Naupactus; she appears on coins of Patras, whither Augustus sent the statue.

It is clear from this brief enumeration of the literary evidence as to artists of the archaic period, that it is too scanty in amount and of too partial a character to supply any framework into which we can fit the monumental evidence. It is, indeed, insufficient even to test the inference which we might be inclined to draw from the extant remains. But we have another method in which we can test those inferences. There is a large number of archaic statues, mentioned by Pausanias or other writers, which we can classify with ease and certainty according to the type which they represent: the consistency with which the customary types were followed by early sculptors makes this possible. The nude male and the draped female type—at once the simplest and the commonest—offer us the easiest comparison with the monumental evidence. Here what strikes us first of all is the very great number of archaic statues recorded in the Peloponnese belonging, artistically, mostly to Sparta or Argos; among them the large majority conform to one of these two simple types, and there is about an equal number of each. In Athens, on the other hand, there are comparatively few archaic works recorded; the number is too small for us to be able to depend upon the results offered by a classification, but it may be noted that here also the examples of the two types are about equal in number.

We find that sometimes a large number of statues have survived to the present day in a place where but few are recorded by ancient writers; in some places, on the other hand, we find but scanty remains of the numerous statues recorded by Pausanias or other writers. This may often be the result of accident, but sometimes we can find a historical reason. Thus, in the case of Athens, the destruction of the early statues by the Persians, which caused their burial and therefore their preservation to the present day, is also the cause why so few of them were left for Pausanias and others to record. But, as regards the proportion of the various types recorded or preserved, no such causes were likely to operate, and so, where the numbers are large enough to offer any test, we may accept the results with some confidence.

The way in which a knowledge of the types preferred by various schools is of value to us is twofold. In the first place, types may be characteristic of schools; thus it can hardly be a mere accident that so many examples of the draped female type have been found in Athens, and so many of the nude male type in Boeotia. But then, again, there is no doubt that the type represented affected the style of the sculptor; perhaps even the same man would use a severer and harder modelling for a nude male athlete or Apollo, and a softer and more graceful style for a female figure with its elaborate drapery; and certainly various artists of the same school would be influenced by the type which they preferred; still more so different schools, which specialised upon the study of one or another type.

When, therefore, we contrast the grace and delicacy of early Attic sculpture with the severe and vigorous style of contemporary Peloponnesian work, we must remember that the contrast may be exaggerated for us by accident, and that we very likely should not feel it so strongly if we had more Attic works of athletic type, or any early Peloponnesian works of the draped female type, to enter into the comparison. But although these considerations may modify our criticism to some extent, I do not think they need either annul or invert it; for it is borne out by the characteristics of the various schools when we meet them later on in a more fully developed stage.

In the last sections, §§ 21 and 22, the order of provenance has been followed almost exclusively, because we cannot distinguish the different local styles with certainty enough to enable us to classify early works of sculpture according to their schools; almost the only exception has been made in the case of statues identified by inscriptions or other certain evidence as belonging to a different place from that where they were found, as in the case of the Naxian colossus, or the statue dedicated by Nicandra at Delos, or the sculpture from the treasury of the Megarians at Olympia. In other cases, especially when the site of discovery was not one of those practically common to all Greeks, even works certainly of foreign origin have been described according to the place where they were found; an imported work in such a case may show as much about the local artistic influences as one made by a local sculptor. It is, for example, of no small import for the history of art in Boeotia to know that a stela found at Orchomenus was made by a Naxian artist, and that a statue dedicated to Apollo Ptous was the work either of an Aeginetan artist or of one who had been trained in Aeginetan traditions.

A very difficult problem in local classification is offered by a group of works which has been described mostly under Samos, because the typical example is the statue dedicated there by Cheramyes;[1] and two similar statues found on the Acropolis at Athens, and representing also the most primitive variety of the female draped type, could hardly be separated, for they certainly are not Attic, though it may well be doubted whether they are Samian. A statue of the male type, which, in the face, shows a remarkably close affinity to one of the examples from Athens, the only one of its type with a head, was dedicated to Apollo Ptous in Boeotia, and has been described in its proper place.[2] The term Samian has been applied to this class by some authorities; but when we remember that for one example in Samos we have two in Athens, and that the Heraeum at Samos was quite as likely a place for foreign styles to appear as the Acropolis at Athens,[3] the Samian attribution is far too doubtful for us to make any inferences from it. It is safest to recognise the class and its characteristics, and to acknowledge that at present we do not know its local origin. It is possible that future excavations may decide the question.

If it is difficult to ascertain the origin of a group of works so well defined as this, we may well hesitate in other cases, where the evidence is no clearer and the affinities are less clearly marked. In the present state of our knowledge it seems wiser to be content to notice the style of the various statues that we have recovered, and the place where they were found, and to reserve further theories, however interesting and instructive, as to local schools, except in cases where the evidence is clear enough to save us from possible error. We may, perhaps, in this way miss some clues that would lead us to the truth; but, on the other hand, we shall escape from many misapprehensions or preconceptions which may hinder us from giving its due weight to the new evidence that is constantly offered to our study.

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[1] See p. 118.

[2] See p. 167.

[3] The dedication by Cheramyes seems to imply an Ionic origin; the name looks like a barbarian one, probably from the neighbouring district of Asia Minor. But there is really nothing to build on in this.

§ 24. *Athens.*—We have already glanced at the position of the Attic school as an offshoot of the Ionic style of sculpture. We must now consider somewhat more in detail the history and the extant remains of Athenian sculpture, which, owing chiefly to the discoveries of the last few years, are remarkable both for their number and for the excellence of their preservation. Indeed, this Attic school, which a few years ago was only known to us from a few names recorded in literature, two or three more or less fragmentary statues, and two or three certain or probable copies of later date, is now represented in the museums of Athens with a completeness which makes it, for us, the most interesting of all those which flourished in early Greece. The way in which the remains of the early Attic school came to be buried and preserved to our day is described in § 28, as an illustration of the result of the Persian invasion, both as it affected the Greeks themselves and as it has led to our possession of their productions.

Among the numerous fragments found in the excavation of the Athenian Acropolis[1] is a series to be distinguished by the nature of its material, a soft brown limestone or calcareous tufa; this was usually called πώρινος λίθος by the Greeks.[2] This series has been mostly found in the terrace immediately to the south of the Parthenon, and was probably buried before the Persian wars. The surface of this coarse stone was always completely covered by a thick layer of paint, and thus the sculptures executed in it are to be distinguished from those made in any material meant to show. As the colour has to a great extent disappeared, what we now possess must be regarded merely as the core upon which the visible surface was to be overlaid. Before judging artistically of any such work, we must restore in our imagination, with the help of the vestiges of colour that still remain, the varied polychromy of its original state. When thus considered, it resembles work in glazed or enamelled brick or in painted terra-cotta, rather than any sculpture in stone or marble with which we are familiar. The colours most commonly used are dark red, light red, or pink (often for flesh colour), dark blue, a lighter blue, and green. We see that there is no affinity between the polychromy of early sculpture and the strictly limited colouring of early vases, with which are to be compared the four colours of Polygnotus; on the vases we usually find only white and a scale of colours exclusively brown and red, varying from cream colour to dark purple; in them blue is most unusual,[1] and green, so far as I know, is not used at all.

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[1] For a full and careful description of all these early Attic sculptures, see Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.*

[2] Known generally as *poros* in German; in French it is usually called *tuf.*

Most of the sculptures in this rough material were decorative or architectural in character, the buildings to which they belonged being usually built also of the same stone, but covered with stucco. The remains of several pediments more or less complete may be seen in the Acropolis museum at Athens. It is not possible in all cases to identify the temples for which they were made, but we can trace in their variations the development of architectural sculpture in Athens. All of them show a remarkable similarity in subjects and in composition, which may be partly due to the exigencies of the triangular space to be filled; but the devotion of so many pediments to the deeds of Heracles on the Acropolis of Athens is a fact which still awaits explanation. One of the earliest and also the most complete of these pediments represents this hero attacking the Lernaean Hydra with his club;[2] he stands near the centre of the composition, while the Hydra rears its snaky heads against him; its coils extend right back to the angle of the pediment. On the other side Iolaus appears with the chariot of Heracles—a device which we shall often meet with to fill out the space between the central figures and the ends of a pediment; and beyond it is the huge crab, associated with the Hydra, which fills the other angle. The design and composition of this pediment are excellently adapted to fill its space; the relief is very low, and there is little scope for modelling. Another pediment, of about the same size, but in much higher and bolder relief,[3] represents Heracles wrestling with Triton—the "old man of the sea" as he is called in the Argive relief,[4] which shows the same composition that is reproduced in all the later repetitions of the subject. We have already had occasion to quote this type as one of those inherited from the earliest times. At Athens there is yet another example, this time more than life size.[5] The pediment to which it belongs is the last and finest of these limestone groups; in the one half of this pediment, according to the most probable restoration, Heracles wrestles with Triton; the other half is occupied by a strange three-bodied monster, the Typhon, man-headed and snake-tailed. It has been conjectured with great probability that this pediment was placed over one end of the early temple of Athena before its peristyle was added; and for the other end a pediment has also been partially reconstituted, with its narrowing ends occupied by two huge snakes. Other early pedimental groups have been reconstructed with great ingenuity[1] by various selections from the extant fragments. One of these has a group of seated gods in the middle, and other figures which have been identified suggest that the subject was the admission of Heracles to Olympus. Another pediment contains a curious representation of a temple and enclosure containing an olive tree, with attendants; this has been identified as the old Erechtheum. There seems to be visible throughout these early groups a strange love for uncouth and monstrous shapes, such as seems at first very far from the usual conception of Greek art. But, in the composition, these fish-like or snake-like forms are used with great skill to meet the chief difficulty of pedimental sculpture. They fill up most naturally the corners of the pediments, and thus the artist escapes from the awkward or conventional devices which we so often meet with in these places. And the tails are also treated in themselves so as to make the most of their scaly decoration, the artist exhausting all his invention in devising various schemes of form and colour to adorn them, from the broad fish-tail of the Triton to the three intertwining snakes in which the three human bodies of the Typhon are continued.

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[1] It occurs on the Polledrara vase (probably made in Etruria; see *J.H.S.*, 1894, Pl. vi. and vii., and p. 206).

[2] ’Εφ ’Αρχ., 1884, Pl. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*; also *Mittheil. d. D. Inst. Athen*, xi. Taf. ii.

[4] Fig. 2.

[5] *Mitth. Ath.* xv. Taf. ii.

These pediments show a continuous development from the earlier to the later, but all have the same characteristics. The forms of the body are heavy and massive, but not unnatural in their general proportions. We find another feature which reminds us of what we have seen in Ionic work. The muscles and sinews are rendered, not so much by modelling, properly so called, as by the use of broad and shallow lines, usually cut with a round chisel. These follow the lines or shadows, and so produce at a distance an effect of true modelling which, on a close examination of the surface, is seen to be produced rather by incised drawing. The faces also are fleshy and heavy in form, though often remarkable for the vigorous and life-like expression. The types show but little resemblance to the severe, to some minds too conventional beauty that is generally associated with the idea of Greek sculpture;[1] they seem rather naturalistic studies from life; and even in the details we find a great variety of treatment, as if the artist were making experiments in different effects. The eyes are usually wide open, round and prominent, according to the primitive method of giving life to the face by an actual projection of the eye itself, instead of a skilful manipulation of the muscles that surround it.[2] The outline of the pupil is usually, but not always, incised with a compass; doubtless it was always represented by colour. The hair too is treated with a good deal of variety, and with a remarkable freedom from the conventional spirals or other systems commonly found in archaic art.

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[1] Mainly by Dr. Schrader and Dr. Heberdey.

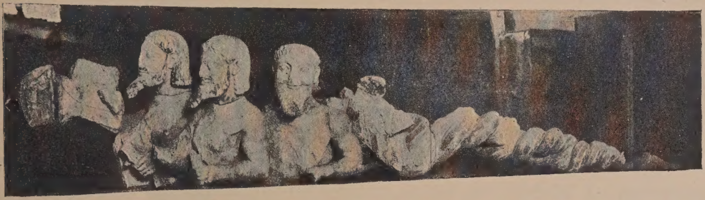

FIG. 33.—Half of pediment in rough limestone, representing Typhon (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

Perhaps the most impressive and successful of all this series is a splendid group, which does not seem to have had any directly architectural purpose; it represents two lions pulling down a bull; the colossal size of this may be estimated from the fact that the bull, from his extended hind hoof to the broken base of his horn, measures 12 feet 8 inches. The two lions have dug their claws into his back, and the blood flows from the wound in broad red streaks; the bull is coloured dark blue—doubtless a conventional substitute for black, as in the hair and beards of the Typhon and in the horses of Heracles in the Hydra pediment. Here again we see a great vigour of composition; there is no fine anatomical modelling of details, but, on the other hand, there is a treatment of surface which often gives the same effect at a distance as the finest modelling, for instance in the series of deeply cut lines on the bull's neck, or the holes cut in his muzzle, giving it a porous, velvety appearance. The lions are so fragmentary that it is difficult to judge of their general effect; but the last convulsive struggle of the bull is rendered with wonderful power, and shows a study of animal forms which, if it did not attain anatomical accuracy, is still hard to surpass in its lively and sympathetic appreciation.

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[1] It is true that the heads preserved are mostly those of monsters, but I do not think there is any attempt on the artist's part to represent them as other than human.

[2] See Conze, *Darstellung des menschlichen Auges in der griechischen Skulptur.*

There were other early pediments, which cannot here be described in detail. To take them altogether—and they certainly seem to have a peculiar style of their own—these sculptures in soft Piraeic limestone (*poros*) are remarkable both for choice of subject and for the manner in which it is treated. It can hardly be an accident that almost all the groups contain some monstrous form, and that the treatment in detail is such as to increase rather than to diminish the grotesqueness of the subject. Though we must doubtless allow a good deal for the naïve attempt of the artist to produce a vigorous and life-like impression, I think we must recognise in some of these works a consciously humorous intention. It is true that, as has often been remarked, when an early Greek artist attempts to represent what is terrible, he often only succeeds in attaining to the grotesque, and that expression of face often has little relation to dramatic propriety. Yet when we look at the Typhon, at once the most characteristic and the best preserved of all this series, it is almost impossible to resist the impression that the sculptor must have revelled in the absurdity of the monster he was creating. Nor need we resist this impression on archaeological grounds. A humorous treatment of the subject, sometimes tending to caricature, is by no means uncommon upon early vases, and especially upon a class of vases which, though found in Italy, almost certainly come from Asia Minor, and which otherwise show many affinities with these architectural sculptures.[1]

At the same time it is to be observed that, in spite of their grotesqueness, these monsters show a skill in the combination of human and animal forms which shows an accurate and intelligent observation of the different elements to be combined; we see in them both study of nature and creating after nature, just as in the wonderfully successful treatment of the Centaur which we see in later Attic art. Such composite monsters may be an absurdity, yet one cannot help feeling that, if they did exist, this is what they must be like, and that all organic difficulties in the combination are solved or concealed with the utmost ingenuity.

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[1] Dummler, *Mitth. Rom*, 1888, p. 166.

If we proceed next to sculpture in marble, we shall find many differences, due to the influence of the material, and also many similarities, due to the influence of the earlier technique. The marble mostly used in Athens during the sixth century came from the islands of Paros and Naxos; for the beautiful local marble of Pentelicus was not yet worked. It is not to be imagined that so precious a material would be imported in order to be so completely covered over with paint that its texture could not be seen; nor, indeed, can we imagine the Athenian artists to have so far failed to appreciate the beauty of their favourite material, even if it had been more readily obtained. Yet the habit of painting sculpture continued; and there are two ways in which this is possible, without completely hiding the texture of the marble. Either the colour may be applied only here and there—on eyes and hair, or on borders or patterns of the drapery, for example, or over the whole surface of a garment of which only a small portion is visible; or else it may cover the whole surface of the statue, but in a tint or stain, by whatever method applied, which only discolours the marble without in any way obscuring its texture or impairing the effect of the most delicate modelling. Both methods were used by the Greeks, and even in sixth-century sculpture we can see traces of both preserved at Athens; but the former is by far the more conspicuous, especially in the series of female statues in the Acropolis museum. In these the nude parts (face and neck, arms and feet) are always left in the pure white of the marble, just as in early vases the nude parts of female figures are often painted white by a convention probably not far removed from reality. Thus in this first step toward the use of uncoloured marble there is no real innovation; the natural colour of the material is merely allowed to serve instead of a pigment which the artist would otherwise be obliged to apply. The same is the case with the drapery, where the white marble may well represent a white stuff, decorated with woven or embroidered ornaments.

The first marble work which claims our attention was, like the coloured limestone groups, of an architectural character. It filled the pediment of the early temple of Athena, of which the foundations are now visible to the south of the Erechtheum. The subject was a gigantomachy;[1] the best preserved portions are three fallen giants, which show a bold and vigorous, though

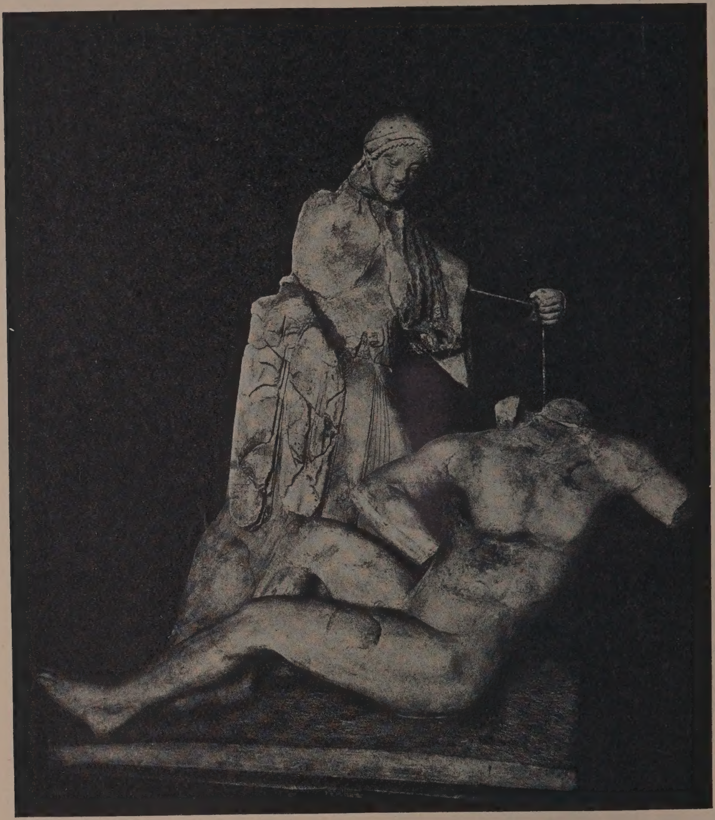

Fig. 34.—Athena and a Giant, from the pediment of the early temple of Athena (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

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[1] To Dr. Studniczka's ingenuity the piecing together and identification of this group are due. *Mitth. Athen*, 1886, p. 198.

not always correct modelling, and the upper part of a figure of Athena, with extended aegis, striking one of them with her spear. To this figure belongs the head of Athena,[1] which has long been known, and is quoted in all histories of sculpture as one of the typical examples of Attic art. While it remained almost isolated in its kind, it could not be assigned to any definite place in the history of Attic sculpture; but now that we possess so numerous a series of Attic statues, coming from the half-century or so preceding the Persian wars, we can judge of its relation to other works of the same school. Its full and heavy form, its round projecting eyes, and the simple curve of its mouth, with the conventional "archaic smile," remind us more of the Typhon than of most of the other marble heads on the Acropolis; and a similar impression is conveyed by the aegis, which, with its gorgeous decoration of red and blue (and green) scales, reminds us of the richly variegated tails of the earlier monsters. On purely artistic grounds, we shall therefore be inclined to place this pediment among the earliest of the marble works destroyed by the Persians, and to assign it to about the middle of the sixth century—a date which accords excellently with the theory above mentioned that it belongs to the early temple of Athena, which was probably supplied with its peristyle by Pisistratus.[2]

Perhaps the most remarkable discovery of recent times is the series of female draped statues found on the Acropolis of Athens—many of them together in a pit N.W. of the Erechtheum, others scattered over different parts of the Acropolis. There is no doubt that they were thrown down when the Persians sacked Athens, and were buried where they have been found when the Athenians returned to their city. It is not too much to say that these statues have revolutionised our knowledge of early Attic sculpture, of which they are the most characteristic products. The first and most natural question is to ask whom these statues represent; their number and their general similarity suggest that it ought to be easy to give an answer, if we know anything of the conditions under which they were made. We have already seen (§ 14) how universal was the custom of filling every shrine with dedicated statues, sometimes representing the divinity to whom they were dedicated, sometimes the worshipper himself. And we have also noticed (§ 18) how a limited number of types, with but little variation in early times, served the sculptor to represent different subjects; he depended mostly on the attributes or accessories to make his meaning clear. Thus we have already met with the same difficulty in identifying many statues of the nude male type; some are clearly meant to represent Apollo; others as clearly are human athletes; but in many cases we must be content to remain in doubt. In the case of these statues from the Acropolis we at least have the advantage that they cannot well be meant to represent Athena, whose attributes are well known and could not have been lost without a trace; and it is very unlikely that we should find so many similar representations of any other divinity within Athena's chosen shrine. The obvious alternative is to regard them as representing worshippers, who dedicate themselves symbolically to the goddess. Some go farther, and identify them as priestesses of Athena, or as maidens who had performed some sacred office. But no such definite record is necessarily implied: that a statue like this could be a purely conventional offering—a survival of actual sacrifice perhaps in primitive ritual—is shown by an inscription from the Acropolis, recording the offering of "a maiden" to Poseidon from a fisherman. Such offerings were probably far more commonly made to the "Maiden Goddess" herself.

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[1] There is happily no doubt whatever about this join. The head is reproduced in Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, Pl. i.

[2] Dörpfeld, *Mitth. Athen*, 1886, p. 310.

To pass from the subject to the style, these statues may seem at first to be but monotonous repetitions of the same type; if we regard them in this light, we may be inclined to wish we could exchange so many examples of one kind for a selection more varied in subject. But, for the development of sculpture, which we are here trying to follow, nothing could be so instructive as a series of this sort, a series which offers exceptionally definite evidence both as to the time and the place to which it must be assigned. For a more careful study shows that, in spite of their general similarity of type, these statues are not really very like one another, much less identical; every one shows, within the prescribed limits, the most remarkable individuality of treatment. It is a difficult question how far we must regard this series as the work of a local Attic school, how far the statues should be considered as foreign importations, or at least as imitations of a foreign style. There is no doubt that, as compared with the earlier Attic sculptures in limestone or marble, they show the introduction of many characteristics that may be traced to an Ionian origin, and that are commonly assigned to the influence of the Chian school. These may be seen most strongly in Figs. 35 and 36, with their excessive elaboration and delicacy in the treatment of hair and drapery, and the exaggeration of expression in the face. On the other hand we see a simple and severe style which is a survival of the old Athenian traditions in such a statue as Fig. 37. The two are combined in the more advanced examples which follow; but there is a certain continuity of development in the whole series, and a difference from statues of a similar type found at Delos and elsewhere, which seem to imply that all of them may rightly be classed as Attic, even if we admit that some may be the work of Chian or other Ionic artists working in Athens.

To follow out in detail the individual peculiarities of the different statues would lead us much too far, and would require most elaborate illustration. Here we are rather concerned with such features as are common to the whole series, though we can also trace a decided development from the earlier to the later—that is to say, from those which show a more primitive character to those of a more advanced style; in an age of so rapid development it is always possible that a statue which appears at first sight the earlier may actually have been made later, by an old sculptor who clung to the traditions of his younger days, or under the influences of religious conservatism.

The type, as distinguished from its treatment, varies very little throughout the series. All alike stand erect, looking straight to the front. The left foot is slightly advanced, and both soles are planted firmly on the ground. The right arm is usually bent forward at the elbow so that the lower arm is horizontal; the hand probably held some offering or attribute. The left hand usually gathers together the loose drapery of the skirt close to the left thigh, and stretches it tightly so as to cling close to the legs, thus producing a marked contrast to the rich folds of the drapery that surrounds the upper part of the body and hangs down at the sides. In some cases there are slight varieties of pose, the action of the two arms for instance being

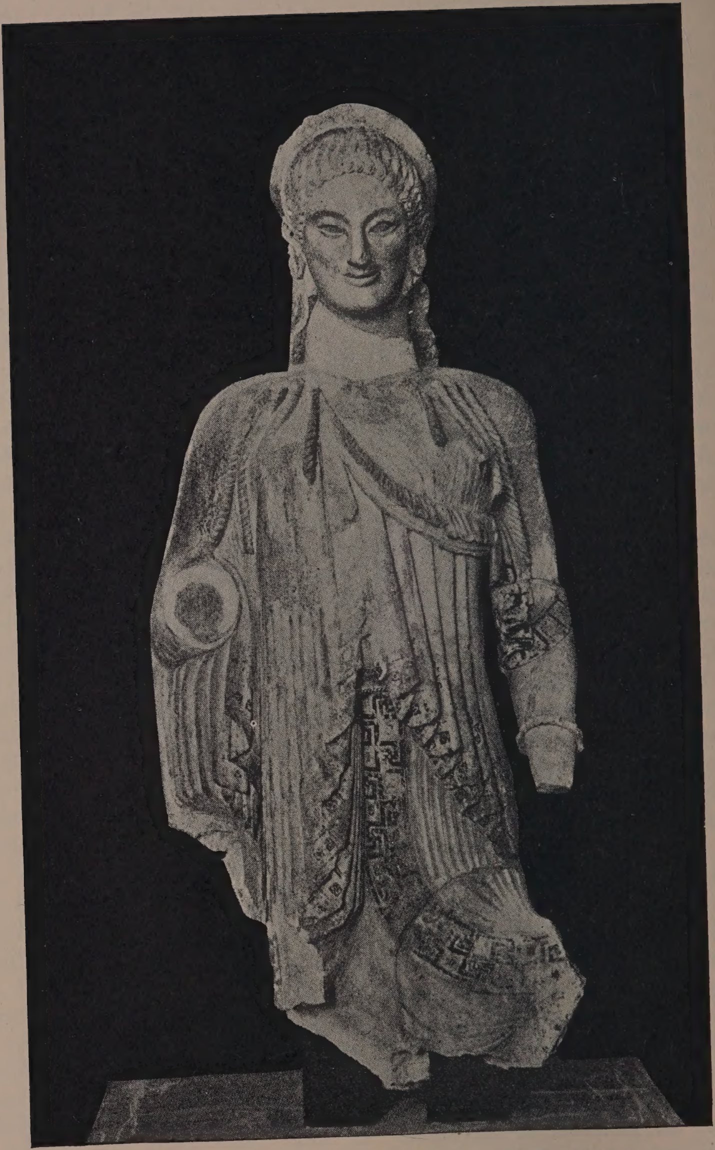

FIG. 35.—Draped female statue (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

reversed,[1] or both being raised from the elbow. Such varieties need in no way surprise us; they occur also in the corresponding nude male type; a greater constancy in the pose of the female draped type is due chiefly to the motive of the hand supporting the drapery at the side.

One of the chief attainments of the early Attic school is an extraordinary elaboration and delicacy in the arrangement and treatment of drapery. The garments represented are not the same on all the statues, but most of them conform to one or other of two or three usual schemes. In the commonest of these, followed by a great majority, the chiton is secured by a series of brooches or buttons, so as to form sleeves from shoulder to elbow, and is ornamented with bands of embroidery or woven borders. Over this is a peplos, often folded over at the top to form a diplois,[2] which is passed under the left arm and fastened, often, like the chiton, by a series of brooches or buttons on the right shoulder. It falls in ample folds on both sides, and it is in the rendering of these that the Attic artist spends so much skill. The band from which the peplos hangs across the breast is usually elaborately decorated, and is arranged in a manner impossible for a simple garment, such as we are accustomed to expect in Greek drapery (Fig. 35). Unless the artist has departed, in his artistic convention, much farther from his models than is probable, we must suppose the peplos, however simple in its origin, to have been worn according to some elaborate and artificial arrangement by Athenian ladies in the sixth century. This is but one more indication of the artificial and over-elaborate tendencies of Attic taste at this time, which contrast so strongly with the reaction in the next century, under Doric influence, towards severity and simplicity.

We can only notice here one or two other varieties of dress. The smallest modification of the ordinary scheme is to fasten the peplos on both shoulders instead of only one; then if the artificial band at the top be omitted, it becomes practically indistinguishable from the Doric chiton. In another arrangement there is no over-garment, or only a small shawl thrown over the shoulders; then the chiton, which, as in all the other cases, is represented as being of a ribbed or crimpled texture where it fits loosely over the breast, is usually drawn up through the belt so as to hang down in an ample fold or κόλπος, while below this it is strained tight over the legs by the hand that supports it at the side, and thus its crimpled texture disappears (Fig. 36). The arrangement of the drapery, in its zigzag folds and in the variety of texture in different parts, is a mass of conventions; but within the established schemes we often find here and there a piece of very careful study after nature. Here, as throughout the history of archaic art in Greece, freedom and accuracy of work in detail precedes any general advance towards freedom of type and of composition.

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[1] This point has by some been made a criterion of origin, but without sufficient reason.

[2] The identity of patterns on the lower part and the diplois proves that the whole is one garment, not two, as has often been supposed.

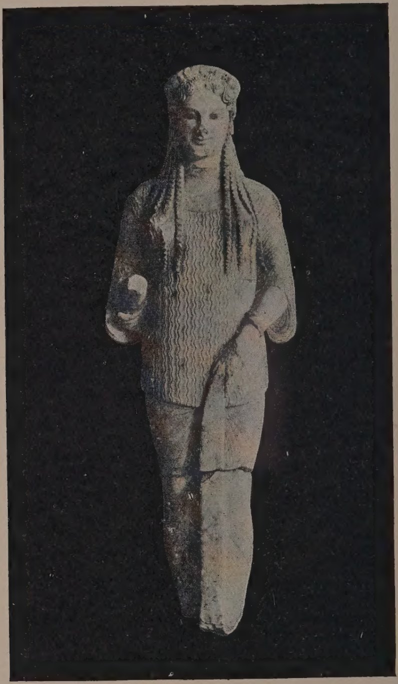

Fig. 36.—Draped female statue (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

But if the sculptors in marble of the early Attic school are remarkable for grace and delicacy in their treatment of drapery, the care and skill which they devote to the modelling of the faces are yet more worthy of observation. Indeed, we may say without exaggeration that while the artists of the athletic schools were devoting themselves to the study of the nude, and learning to render with accuracy the muscular structure of the human body, the sculptors of the Acropolis statues were already seeking, however inadequately, to make the outward form an expression of the mood or character. It was only to be expected that the more ambitious nature of the attempt would often lead to failure, or to only partial success; and, indeed, it must be acknowledged that it came too early in the development of art; but it is none the less instructive for that, in the light it shows on the tendencies of the Attic school during this early period. Had the early Attic sculptors been completely isolated, these tendencies might well have led to a too rapid development in the direction of grace and facility, leading probably to a premature decadence, of which we may even see some traces in those artists who preserved in an uncontaminated form the traditions of the school; but we shall see how, in fact, the outside influence of an art severer and less refined arrested this luxuriant growth, and added the strength of the athletic schools to the refinement and delicacy which were always pre-eminently characteristic of Attic art. It was not without good reason that tradition called Phidias the pupil of Ageladas of Argos, as well as the fellow-countryman of Calamis.

The treatment of the face in the earlier marble statues is not far removed in character from that which we have noticed in the early sculptures in rough limestone. We see the same wide-open and staring eyes, but they are already treated with more moderation; though they are not sunk in beneath the brows, they do not project unnaturally, like the eyes of the Typhon or of the Athena in the early marble pediment (Fig. 34). The mouth too is a simple curve, and the lips are terminated in a vertical line, without any transition to the modelling of the cheeks, which is also simple, and without much play of surface. In fact, we can see, in the treatment of the face as well as of the rest of the body, very little difference between these early examples from Athens and other specimens of the draped female type. It seems merely to have been adopted at Athens as elsewhere, without the addition of any peculiar stamp to

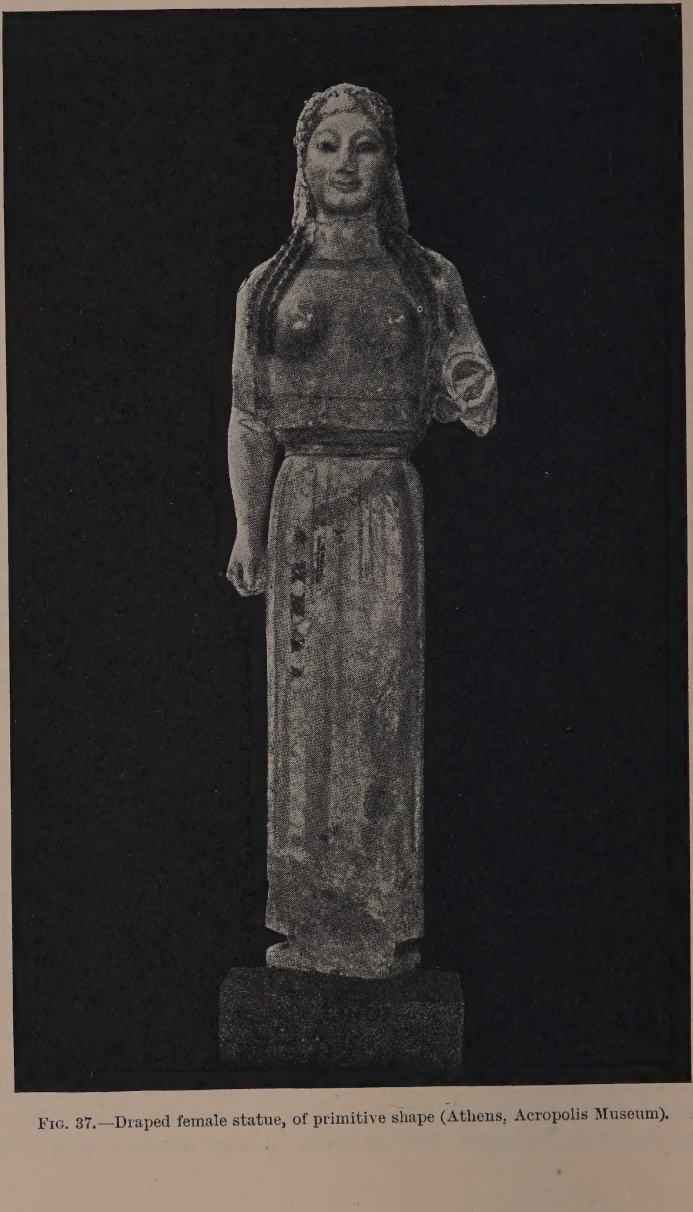

FIG. 37.—Draped female statue, of primitive shape (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

distinguish it as belonging to the local school. The whole number form a single connected series, and we are certainly justified in assigning all alike to the place where they were found. Within the series a gradual development is visible, not always along the same lines, but always in accordance with the same tendencies. The desire of the artist seems always the same, to modify the stare or grimace of archaic work into an expression; and in order to do this he is constantly introducing new refinement and delicacy into the rendering of various details, without ever giving up the general character of the type. The first step is the narrowing of the eyes from the round wide-open stare of the early statues, sometimes they become almond-shaped; in the more extreme cases we find a conventional affectation in the S-shaped curve of both lids (Figs. 35, 36). The change is analogous to the one which we see on early Attic vases, where the eyes of women become almond-shaped, while those of men remain round and staring. It implies that the artist has, in part at least, realised a most important fact—that the expression of the eye depends not on itself but on its surroundings. The large and prominent eyes of primitive sculpture are a naïve recognition, on the part of the artist, that the eye is a prominent feature in any face. In the next stage he has observed that the glance becomes more concentrated, and the expression more lively, when the space between the lids is narrowed. But it is not until far later that he realises how the eye becomes most impressive when deeply overshadowed by the brow; in early statues, even when narrowed, it still remains but slightly sunk beneath the brow, and is not set deep enough to be true to the actual form, far less to gain any effect of shadow. Another treatment of the eye is to leave it as a roughly shaped projecting mass, without attempting to indicate the eyelids or to add any detailed modelling; the effect must have been left entirely to the colour which was applied, and as we have no example in which the colour is well preserved, the success of the experiment cannot well be estimated. In the treatment of the mouth we see much the same tendency as in the treatment of the eye. Here again the artist seems to feel that in the type as used by his predecessors there is a grimace rather than an expression, and tries to escape from this by elaboration and delicacy in the modelling of details. He complicates the curve of the mouth; it is no longer of a simple shape, varying from a straight line turned up at the ends to an arc of a circle, but is divided into three curves; the central bend is supplemented by a smaller and shallower one at each side. The extrémities of the lips offer another point of the utmost difficulty to the early sculptor, and here too the Attic artist displays all the subtlety of his skill. He is no longer content to let the lips be cut off at the end by a vertical line, but he works them off by an imperceptible transition into the surface of the cheek, usually with the help of a small subsidiary curve beyond those we have already noticed. The whole modelling of the face, too, is softer and rounder, and the result in some instances, where the narrow eyes seem to have almost too intense a glance, and the fulness of the curved lips adds to the expressiveness of their smile, is an exaggeration no less than that which the artist was striving to avoid by the delicacy of his finish. It is in a sense realistic, but after an unpleasant manner, and we are fully prepared for the reaction which we shall find in the next century, under the influence of a severer and stronger if less graceful style.

But before this reaction came, what we may reasonably call the pure Attic art of the sixth century produced some works which are of great beauty, though not free from archaic stiffness. The most remarkable of these is a head discovered on the Acropolis just before the great find of 1886 (Fig. 38). It belongs undoubtedly to the same series, of which it is the most advanced example. Here we see all the tendencies which we have noticed in the rest, but entirely free from the exaggeration which they sometimes display. The eyes are not yet sufficiently thrown into shadow, though their form is natural and free from affectation; but it is above all in the modelling of the mouth and cheeks that the sculptor has excelled; there is an extraordinary delicacy and skill in his treatment of the archaic smile, which, in his hands, has really become a half-conscious expression, and in the modelling of the cheeks, especially round the end of the lips, there is a delicate play of surface which shows that skill in the working of marble peculiarly characteristic of Attic sculptors.

So far we have treated the whole of the Acropolis statues as forming one series, the product of a single school, though varying in period, and so showing a considerable advance from the earlier to the later. This view is in the main correct; but at the same time it is possible to classify the various statues within

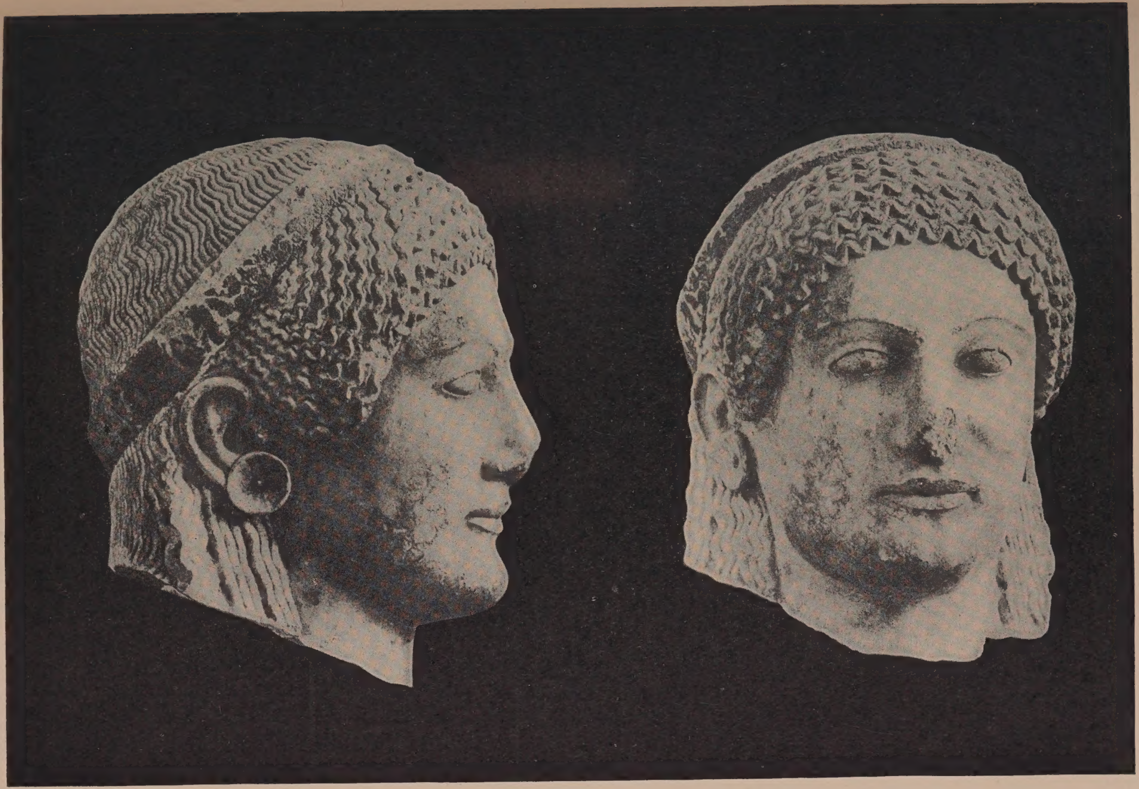

Fig. 38.—Head of draped female statue (Athens, Acropolis Museum). After *Musées d'Athènes*, Pl. xiii.

the series, and so to distinguish different subdivisions of the school. To attempt a classification by any one detail of treatment, of hair, eyes, mouth, or drapery, or even by the general proportions of the figure, would be fallacious; in an age when all were learning rapidly from their models both in nature and in art, and also from one another, any successful experiment or new observation must often have been transmitted by one sculptor to another, or borrowed in imitation of an exhibited work. But if we classify them according to several different indications, and then find that the different classifications coincide, we may conclude that we really have found a distinction beyond the influence or caprice of the moment. Such a distinction comes out most clearly in the case of some of the earlier examples. Thus there are two or three figures remarkably square in shape,[1] which also have wide-open staring eyes and a peculiar treatment of the hair in the long tresses that fall on the shoulders (Fig. 37); these tresses zigzag slightly from side to side and are divided by wavy lines which follow their length. This class has in many ways the most primitive appearance, and in it we can see many survivals of the old Attic tradition. We may safely conclude that it shows us the common type as it was first taken over and reproduced by Attic artists. Again, the most exaggerated form of the type showing Ionic influence, with the full and richly carved lips and the narrow, almost leering, eyes, is found in combination with other characteristics in detail, such as a rendering of the tresses on the shoulders by alternating cuts at the side and on the front, across their length (Fig. 36). It would be easy to follow out such points as this on a scale far beyond the limits of the present work; hardly anything is more instructive than a minute study of an extensive series of works like these, which at first sight impress the spectator with their general similarity, but are constantly revealing new differences upon closer observation. What we see above all in this set of female statues is the growing skill of the Attic sculptors, by whose hands the working of marble was brought up to the highest perfection it has ever reached. It is true they worked in imported material, mostly from Paros, and had not yet adopted the almost, if not quite, equally beautiful marble of their own Pentelicus; but in the finest examples even of this early marble work we can see a soft and delicate modelling and a play of light and shade upon the surface which show that they had already completely realised the possibilities of the material, though it is only treated here and there with perfect skill. The early Attic artists also devoted themselves especially—at least so far as we can judge from this set of statues—to two things: the study of an extreme refinement and delicacy in the arrangement and rendering of drapery, and the modification of the archaic smile into an expression full of life. But in both cases there was a tendency to exaggeration or to over-elaboration in their work which led not unnaturally to a reaction, early in the fifth century, towards simpler and severer models. The first traces of this reaction will meet us before the end of this section; but before we come to them we have still to notice the treatment of some other types by this early Attic school, though what we have already observed probably shows its most characteristic work.

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[1] This statue (Fig. 37) approximates in the flatness and squareness of its lower drapery to a figure like the primitive one from Delos (Fig. 14). But I do not think the general character of this statue is archaistic. In the treatment of face, and texture of hair and drapery, it finds its natural place among the earliest of the Acropolis series.

So far we have been concerned exclusively with female draped figures; but these are not the exclusive product of the Attic school, even in what is preserved to us. The earliest statue in marble on the Acropolis represents a man, nude but for a chlamys thrown over his shoulder, on which he carries a calf, holding its fore and hind legs with his hands in front of him. The material is Hymettian marble, and the work is rough and coarse, with none of the refinement that seems to have been induced by a finer material like Parian. The artist evidently trusts a good deal to the addition of colour, as in the rough limestone sculptures. The eyes, of which the iris and pupil are hollowed out for the insertion of other materials, are wide and staring, and the mouth a simple curve. The proportions are not so heavy as in the Typhon and other works more directly under Ionic influence; the muscles of the body are rendered by conventional divisions of the surface, without much attempt at modelling. The calf is rendered, on the whole, with more success than the man, but the anatomy of its joints seems to have been misunderstood. The basis of this statue has recently been discovered, and contains a dedication in very archaic letters, which shows it to belong to the first half of the sixth century. Its subject has been a matter of some dispute; here, as in other cases, it is possible to doubt whether the sculptor intended to represent a god, or a worshipper bringing his offering for sacrifice. The latter seems the more probable theory; and, if so, the statue may be regarded as either a record of an actual offering, or a symbolical substitute for one. But such figures were sometimes used, whatever be the origin of the symbolism, to represent the god and the object of his care, as in the case of Hermes bearing a ram (Criophorus), as the patron of flocks.

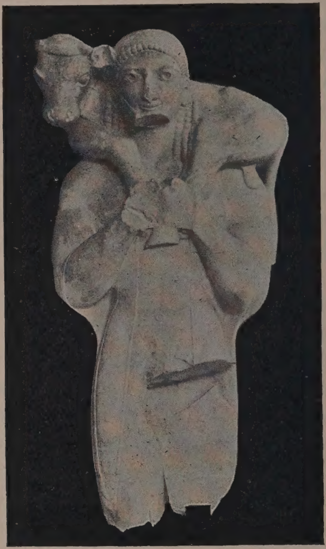

Fig. 39.—Statue of man carrying calf, dedicated by (?) Conbos (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

One of the most remarkable examples of early sculpture found in Attica is the colossal "Apollo," more than double life size, which was discovered in a cleft of the rock at Sunium. This statue shows some of the uncouth appearance due to a translation of the familiar forms into colossal size. In the front of the body we can see an extreme example of the system of rounding the muscles by incised outlines, the vertical linea alba being crossed by four horizontal lines between the outline of the ribs and the navel; the muscles of the thigh and the knee-caps

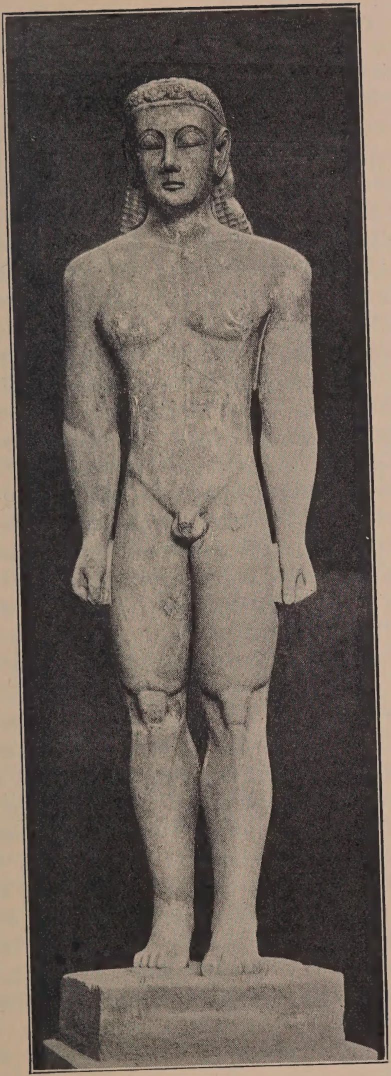

Fig. 40.—Colossal "Apollo" from Sunium
(Athens, National Museum).

are strongly emphasised. The head is square, the eyes very large and flat, with straight lower lids, the cheeks flat and devoid of modelling, the mouth small and straight, as in the Boeotian and Samian figures.

Two male heads, one in Paris and one in Copenhagen, may be taken as typical examples of the treatment of the male type by early Attic artists at different periods. Both come from Athens. The first, commonly called from its owner the Rampin head,[1] corresponds in period to the earlier of the female statues on the Acropolis, and is clearly a product of the same school. The eyes are wide open, the mouth a simple curve, and the hair is arranged after a system which finds its nearest analogy in some of the same figures, but the manner of rendering is somewhat different, and more like that we see in the man with the calf; it resembles long fillets, bound in at intervals; the beard is simply a closely packed mass of small knobs. The other head, in the Jacobsen collection at Copenhagen,[2] is a work much freer and later in style; but it is interesting to notice that although the curve of the mouth is more complicated, the eyes still remain wide open, and are not narrowed as in the female statues—a distinction of sex apparently kept up in sculpture as well as in early Attic vases. The hair forms a simple roll over the forehead, as in later works; but this head is clearly a work of the purely Attic school, untouched by foreign influence.

Another early work is a torso found in Athens, though not on the Acropolis, and representing the common nude male type;[3] it is chiefly remarkable for the exaggeration of a characteristic which we have already observed in the modelling of the nude by early Ionic and Attic sculptors. Here, on the lower part of the body, the division of the muscles is indicated in the crudest possible manner by a mere vertical cut, crossed by three horizontal ones; there is not the least attempt even to soften it into a groove. Otherwise the form of the body is almost without modelling in detail; it is nearly square in section. On a figure of a rider[4] found on the Acropolis there is a similar rendering, by mere incised grooves, of the outside of the false ribs and of the abdominal muscles. This is the earliest of a whole series of horsemen, in which it is possible to trace a continuous development in the treatment both of rider and horse. Another example, which from its style is also among the earliest, shows a rider with close-fitting and brilliantly coloured leggings, decorated all over in a lozenge pattern; he is evidently a barbarian, perhaps meant to represent a Scythian or Persian archer [1] (Greek artists were not careful as to the accuracy of national costume in barbarians). The pattern reminds us of the scales on the tail of the Typhon and other monsters, and on the aegis of the Athena from the early marble pediment. In later examples,[2] both horse and rider rapidly improve in life and truth to nature; the choice of subject again seems characteristic of the early Attic school, which here once more leads up to its culmination in Calamis, whose skill in the rendering of horses was equal to that he showed in the faces and drapery of women.

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[1] *Monuments grecs*, 1878, Pl. i.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1877, Pl. i.

[3] 'Εφ 'Αρχ., 1887, Pl. i.

[4] *Mus. d'Athènes*, Pl. xii.

There have also been some isolated finds in Attica itself in recent years, among which perhaps the most interesting is a male statue set up over a tomb, in good preservation.[3] This statue is remarkable for its close resemblance to one of the female figures from the Acropolis (Fig. 35); it has the same pointed angles and upward-sloping lines of eyes and lips, the same long and rather sharp nose, even the same curious flame-like treatment of the hair above the forehead. It seems as if it must be the work of the same hand; and, if so, it shows us that the sculptors who made the richly draped female statues on the Acropolis did not restrict themselves to this type, but made nude male figures also. The body and limbs are finished with delicacy, and with a tendency to slope in the main lines similar to that we see in the face; the standard of execution is nearly on a level with that of the Apollo of Tenea, and suggests similar influences. For the Apollo of Tenea, though found in the Peloponnese, shows no anticipation of the Argive severity, nor does the new Apollo from Attica show any foretaste of the athletic vigour of the Tyrannicides. Both alike belong to the later examples of the conventional type, which was gradually being refined and improved in detail, but had not yet given way to a more direct and independent advance in invention and in observation of nature.

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[1] *Jahrb.*, 1891, p. 241. By some this has been called an Amazon; but, though the upper part of the figure is lost, enough remains to show it is intended to be male.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1894, pp. 135-156.

[3] Found near Chasiá. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1902, Pl. iii., iv.

We possess also several reliefs of this same early Attic school, which are of less value to us now that we have so many free statues by the same masters, but which in some instances are still among the best examples of their style. For Attic relief work, the slab representing a man mounting a chariot[1] is still characteristic. It shows a careful, almost over-elaborate study of drapery, here in a figure in gentle motion; and the rich curving folds of the cloak, which indicate also the limbs below them, are another indication of the excellence in such effects which the Attic school would later attain; a somewhat similar, though much simpler effect is seen in a draped male figure on the Acropolis; both have the same convention, not uncommon in early work of the more advanced schools, by which a mass of drapery is covered with a large number of parallel folds, serving to indicate or emphasise its modelling.

Some of the early tombstones with reliefs are also valuable for their artistic style; and there is less difference between them and dedicated or other statues in early times than in the fourth century, when their manufacture was a regular trade, mostly left to an inferior class of artists. A head of a youth carrying a large round disc (or quoit) on his shoulder,[2] so that it forms a quaint background to his head, almost like a nimbus in effect, is among the earliest of these monuments. It shows us the early Attic profile in a pronounced form. The eye is wide open, and represented as if full face; the nose very prominent and swollen at the end, and the mouth drawn up into a crude smile; while the angular modelling of cheek-bone and chin give a more vigorous, though less soft, effect than most other early Attic works in marble. But the most interesting of all these monuments is the stela with the standing figure of Aristion in relief, the work of the sculptor Aristocles. The inscription shows this relief, which was found on a tomb near Marathon, to belong to the latter years of the sixth century; and it shows just the same character of work as the finest of the female statues on the Acropolis. The mistakes in it, such as the incorrect drawing of the right hand, and the representation of the eye as if full face, are simply due to an imperfect mastery of the exigencies of relief; but the grace and dignity of the general effect are so impressive as to have induced Brunn, forty years ago, to infer from this stela alone that these characteristics belonged in a peculiar degree to Attic work, as opposed to the finer study of nature in details which marks the Aeginetan style. In the modelling of the right arm there is a delicate finish of the surface, and a play of light and shade such as can only be paralleled at this period, or indeed at any other, among the work of the Attic sculptors in marble. The finish is so subtly adapted to the material as to be practically invisible in a plaster cast. In the expression of the face, and especially of the mouth, there is again a strong resemblance to the finest of the purely Attic female heads on the Acropolis. While the archaic smile appears, so far as mere form goes, to be preserved, its effect is entirely changed; and the gentle, almost melancholy expression of the warrior who stands fully armed on his tombstone is strangely inconsistent with the apparently inadequate type into which it is infused. Aristocles may still be classed among the most representative of the early Attic masters, who aimed at grace and delicacy of detail, at expression in the face, and harmonious effect generally, without any daring innovations or violent departures from the simple types of archaic art.

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[1] Not, as some have supposed, a woman. The rich drapery is the origin of the mistake. Cf. *Jahrbuch*, 1892, p. 54, where Hauser identifies it as Apollo.

[2] *Att. Grabreliefs*, iv.

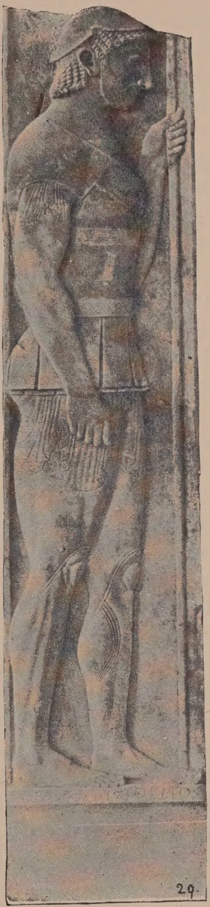

Fig. 41.—Stela of Aristion, by Aristocles (Athens, National Museum).

The early sculptures of the Attic artists, which were discovered in great abundance in the excavations of the Athenian Acropolis, have received further accessions from the discoveries made at Delphi. These belong to two buildings, the temple of Apollo and the Treasury of the Athenians. The story is a well-known one, how the exiled Alcmaeonidae undertook to rebuild the temple at Delphi of limestone (*poros*), and were better than their word by building the east front of

Parian marble.[1] The temple which they thus built has almost entirely disappeared, but enough architectural fragments have been found to prove the truth of the story, and, together with them, portions of the pedimental sculptures and of the acroteria. These sculptures, which are for the most part very fragmentary, are chiefly of interest from their resemblance, both in subjects and treatment, to the architectural sculptures made at the same time in Athens for Pisistratus. We find here again winged figures of Victory as acroteria; groups of beasts, panthers and stags among others, form the marble front, and portions of a gigantomachy in limestone form the west pediment. All these find an analogy in the groups discovered in the Acropolis, and seem to show that the exiled Alcmaeonidae must have kept in touch with the progress of art in Athens, and that they must have summoned to assist them in their enterprise at Delphi some of the same artists who were working for the beautification of their native city.

While the early temple of Apollo at Delphi testified to the munificence of an Athenian family and to the skill of the sculptors they summoned from Athens, the Treasury of the Athenians was the characteristic monument of the glory of the Athenian people. It was dedicated from the spoils of Marathon, and must have been erected immediately after the battle. It was situated just above the first turn in the Sacred Way, facing almost directly the open space below the terrace of the temple; and this terrace was masked in front by the portico of the Athenians, another monument, of somewhat uncertain date, commemorating an Athenian victory. The sculptures of the treasury consisted of a series of metopes placed all round the building—on the north side, in all probability, the labours of Theseus, on the other three those of Heracles. The series has been almost completely recovered, though many of the metopes are in a fragmentary condition. The way in which the subjects are treated suggests at once a comparison with contemporary vases, as was the case with the Sicyonian metopes; but here the comparison is with the finest Attic vases of the severe red-figured style, and we see in the sculptures a delicacy and precision of work that stands even such a test. The exploits of Theseus are well known to us on the vases. In the metope here selected for

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[1] The two pediments made by Praxias, the pupil of Calamis, cannot have been contemporary with this temple, nor with the later one which is still extant.

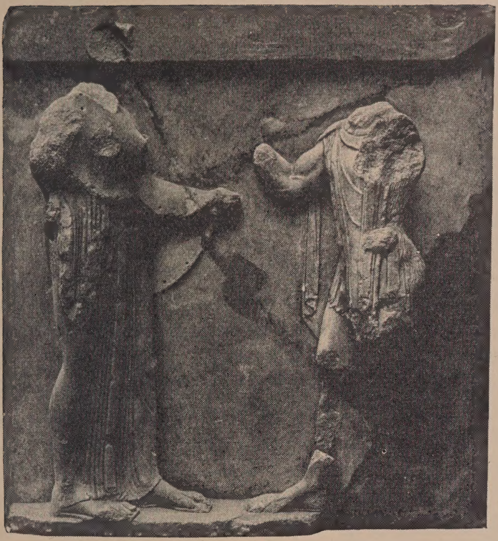

FIG. 42.—Athena and Theseus.

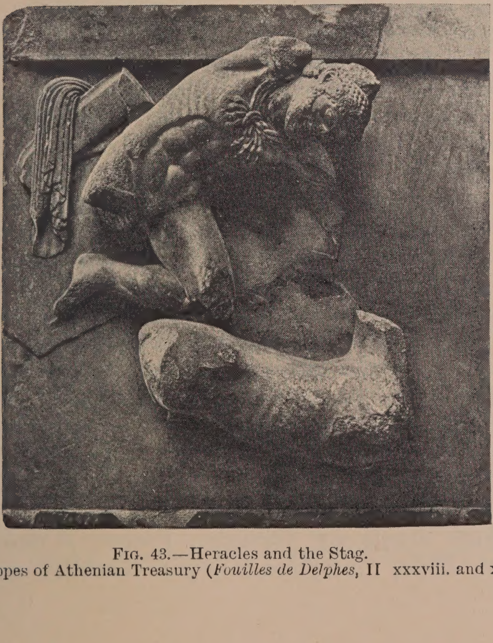

FIG. 43.—Heracles and the Stag.
Metopes of Athenian Treasury (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II xxxviii. and xli.).

illustration we see the boyish hero standing before his patron goddess Athena, in a group which reminds us irresistibly of the beautiful vase of the potter Euphronios, representing the presentation of Theseus to Amphitrite by Athena. In both alike we see a slight, boyish form, clad in a short light chiton of wavy texture, which contrasts with the rich drapery of the goddess. In other metopes we see his struggles with the various robbers and monsters who beset his road from Troezen to Athens; they represent the young athlete and wrestler much as on the Attic vases, and anticipate, in a sense, the treatment of similar subjects in the age of Pericles. But they belong to the sphere of delicate and decorative art, such as we see also in the decorative bronzes of the Acropolis, rather than to the vigorous athletic school which we meet later in the metopes of the Parthenon and the Theseum. The same criticism applies to the larger series which represents the labours of Heracles. Here one of the finest, in execution as well as preservation, is that which represents the capture of the stag (Fig. 43). The strained and angular position of the hero, the clear-cut outline of his muscles, especially on the front of the body, even his chlamys and weapons hung on a bush beside him, all find their counterparts in the red-figured Attic vases. In another case, indeed, that of Geryon, the composition suited to an elongated field on a vase is curiously ill adapted to the metope form; Heracles is in one metope, and Geryon in the next, as on the Theseum; while the cattle, which serve merely as accessories to fill the rest of the field, are here actually spread over several metopes.

Before we proceed to the new development of the Attic school, which took place at the beginning of the fifth century, partly under foreign influence, partly in the new outburst of political and artistic activity at home, it will be as well to give a brief review of the literary evidence, so far as it concerns the earliest Attic school. The only artist's name we have yet mentioned is that of Aristocles, appended to the stela of Aristion. Other names of sculptors that appear on bases found on the Acropolis are partly those of known foreign artists, such as Theodorus (probably of Samos), Archermus of Chios, and Callon and Onatas of Aegina. Endoeus also uses an Ionic ≤ at so early a period that he has been supposed to be an Ionian. Among Attic artists are Thebades, Euenor, Antenor, Hegias, Eleutherus, Philo, Euthycles, Gorgias, Leobius, and perhaps

Alcmaeon. None of these except Antenor and Hegias were even known to us by name before; nor do the mere names inform us of much except the scantiness of our sources of literary evidence. Of Endoeus, Antenor, and Hegias there is more to say.

We have already met with Endoeus as a companion of the mythical Daedalus.[1] His name must have come into this connection as representative of early Attic art; at any rate his historical existence is now amply proved. He made the statue of Athena Alea at Tegea, which was entirely of ivory, and the seated image of Athena Polias at Erythrae of wood; in front of her temple stood Graces and Hours, which Pausanias asserts to offer by their style the clearest proof of the workmanship of Endoeus. The image of Artemis at Ephesus is attributed to him also, probably by mistake. He made a seated Athena dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens by Callias; and an archaic seated Athena found on the Acropolis[2] may be this identical work, but the identification is very conjectural, since more than one seated figure answering to the description has been found. In any case, however, these seated Athenas may give us a notion of the kind of work we might expect from Endoeus. In general treatment of figure and drapery there is a pretty close resemblance to the standing female figures; but the seated position suggests a contrast with other early seated figures, such as those of Branchidae. This Attic Athena no longer seems part of a single block with her throne, but she seems to have an independent existence, "to have sat down on it and to be able to get up again," as Brunn puts it. The advance is due partly to a more complete realisation of the forms beneath the drapery, in part also to the careful study of texture, and the various rendering of the surface of different materials which is so marked a characteristic of Attic art even at this early date, as well as during later periods.

We have seen that tradition represents Endoeus as a typically Attic sculptor, nor is his wide artistic activity, in Ionia as well as the Peloponnese, inconsistent with an Attic origin; he may have become familiar with the Ionic alphabet abroad, and so have merely anticipated in one instance[3] the introduction of the

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[1] See above, § 20.

[2] Lebas, *Mon. Fig.* i. 2; Overbeck, Fig. 24.

[3] He only uses it in one of his two inscriptions, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, 1888, p. 208; but the other contains an epitaph to a foreign woman in Ionic dialect though Attic alphabet.

Ionic ≤ which so many artists used in the fifth century before its official recognition. And the sculptors of the neighbouring island of Aegina were often employed on even more distant commissions. Still, if he was really an Ionian, his presence in Attica is not hard to explain. We have already seen that Attic art is a branch of Ionian in its origin, and the presence of other Ionic artists in Athens is well attested; Endoeus must at least have made Athens his adopted country.

Antenor was the sculptor who made the original bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the slayers of the tyrant Hipparchus. To these we must soon recur. But we must first notice the inscription bearing his name on the Acropolis at Athens; it occurs on a basis which shows, from the shape of its socket, that it supported one of the draped female statues of which so many have been found. It is very interesting to learn that Antenor was among the sculptors who made these statues, and we can infer the nature of his style, in a general way, from what is common to all of them. Perhaps it is possible to go even farther: the largest and one of the best preserved of them has actually been mounted on the basis with the name of Antenor; and though there are some grave objections to the connection of the two, their exceptionally large size and general correspondence in shape have led to its general acceptance.[1] The statue is a simple and dignified figure, with more breadth and less elaboration than most of its companions. One would gladly recognise it as the work of one of the best-known artists of the early Attic school; but in the uncertainty of its identification, it is best not to argue from the characteristics of this particular figure as to the style of Antenor, though we may safely assert that he must have made a statue not very different in character.

The bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton by Antenor were carried off by Xerxes when he sacked Athens in 480 B.C. When the Athenians restored their ruined city, they had new statues of the heroified slayers of the tyrants made by Critius and

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[1] For reproductions of this statue, see *Berlin antike Denkmäler*, i. 53; *B.D.* 22. That the connection, first suggested by Dr. Studniczka, is probable, but not certain, is the conclusion of Dr. Wolters, who sums up the controversy in his publication of the statue in the *Berlin antike Denkmäler*, I. v. p. 44. See Studniczka, *Jahrb.*, 1887, p. 135; *Builder*, 1888, p. 261; *J.H.S.*, 1889, p. 278, and 1890, p. 215; and *Mittheil. Ath.*, 1888, p. 226, and 1890, p. 126.

Nesiotes; the original group by Antenor was restored to Athens by Alexander the Great or one of his successors, and the two appear to have stood side by side in the days of Pausanias. We have various copies of this group, on the shield of Athena on a Panathenaic vase, on a marble chair from Athens,[1] and on an Athenian coin; in all of them we see two figures in rapid advance against the tyrant, the younger impulsively rushing forward with upraised sword, the elder, who is bearded, seeming to support and to protect him, holding his chlamys advanced as a shield on his left arm, while his right holds his sword in reserve. With the help of these reproductions, Friederichs recognised a full-size copy of the two figures of Harmodius and Aristogiton in a marble group at Naples, which had been restored as two combatants fighting one another. As soon as they were placed side by side the resemblance to the smaller copies could not be mistaken. And so we possess a good copy of this group, complete all but the bearded head of

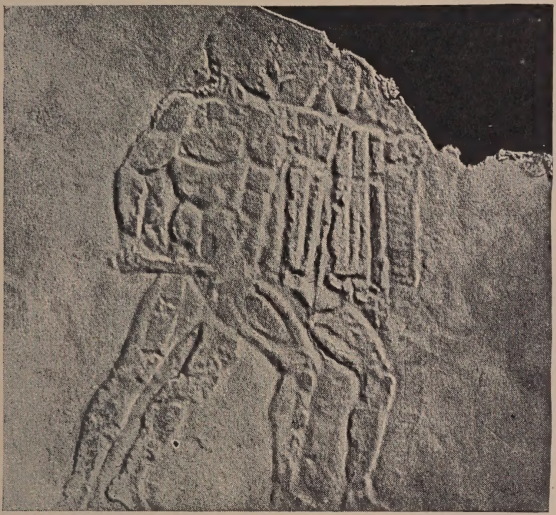

FIG. 44.—Relief on a marble throne from Athens, representing Harmodius and Aristogiton (Broomhall).

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[1] Brought by Lord Elgin to England, and now at Broomhall.

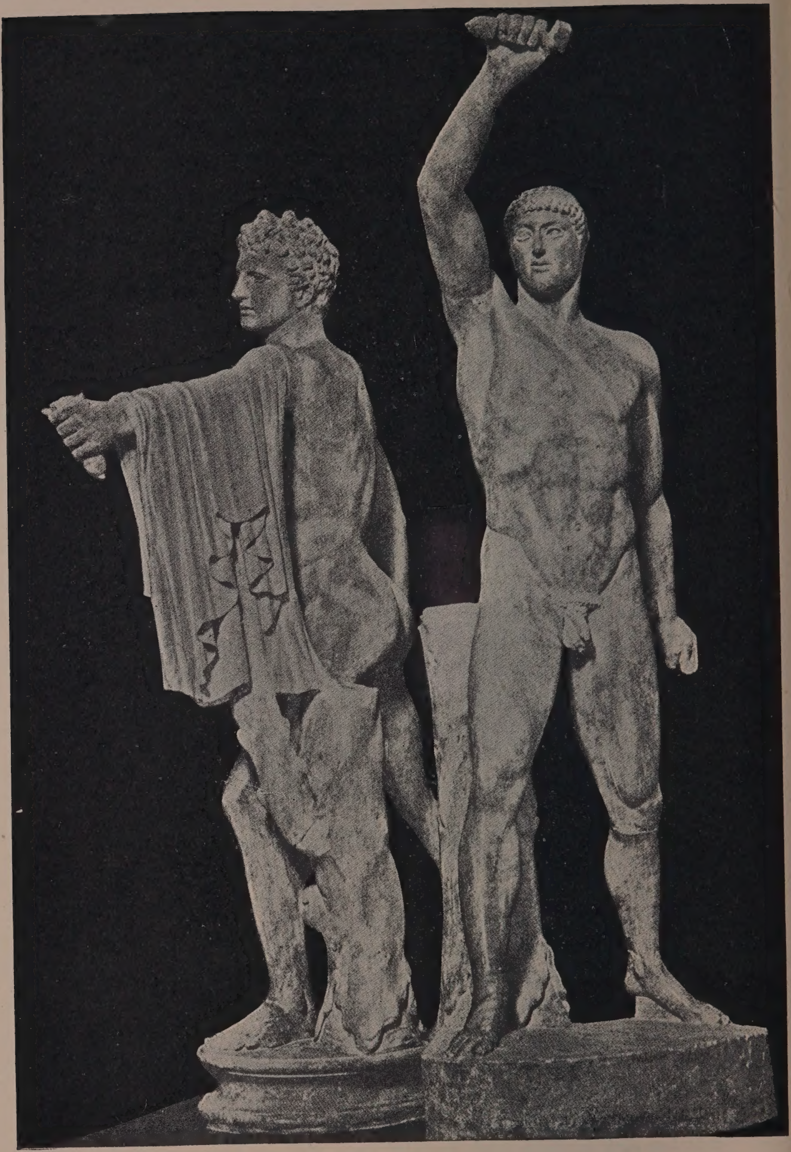

FIG. 45.—Copy after group of Harmodius and Aristogiton, probably by Critius and Nesiotes (Naples).

Aristogiton, for which in modern times a fine but most inappropriate Lysippean head has been substituted on the Naples statue. The next question to be considered is whether these copies reproduce the work of Antenor, or that of Critius and Nesiotes; and we must, I think, assign them to the latter pair of sculptors. Unfortunately it appears impossible to prove that the date of any of the copies is earlier than the restoration of Antenor's figures, and so this evidence cannot be used. But the group by Critius and Nesiotes, set up in one of the most conspicuous places in Athens, was so familiar from 477 B.C. until Hellenistic times that it probably had established a type for the tyrannicides which could not be superseded even by the return of the earlier group. So bold and vigorous a composition seems improbable in the cycle of Antenor and his associates, as far as we can judge from their extant works; but it is fully in accordance with the new life which was inspired into Attic art at the beginning of the fifth century by both home and foreign influences, and of which Critius and Nesiotes appear to have been among the most active exponents.

Lucian's description of the style of Hegias, Critius, and, Nesiotes, is completely borne out by the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. The works of these sculptors, he says, are "concise and sinewy and hard, and exact and strained in their lines." It would be difficult to improve on this brief criticism. The Naples tyrannicides are not compact and neat in figure like the Aeginetan sculptures, but they show the same dry and accurate rendering of the muscles. The athletic training seems here also to be carried to such a pitch that there is not only no superfluous flesh, but hardly enough to cover the sinews and veins, which show clearly through a mere envelope of skin. The positions of the two statues are stiff and angular, in spite of their vigorous motion; and this characteristic combines with the hard treatment of surface to produce a distinct severity of style. But the figures are largely, even grandly proportioned, so as to give an impression of heroic form and stature, even beyond what is implied by the scale of the statues, greater than life. In this respect we may recognise an idealising tendency which distinguishes the Attic work from that of Aegina, otherwise so similar. Even in rendering a subject so near to the life of their own day, Critius and Nesiotes seem to show a desire to make their heroes greater and nobler in form than the

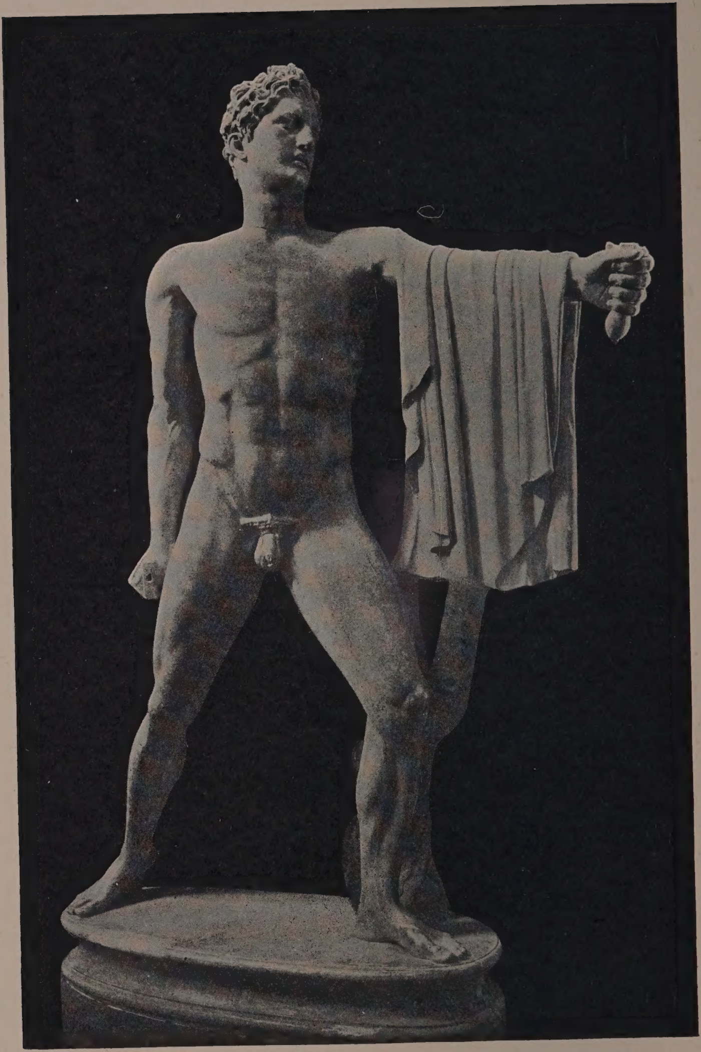

FIG. 46.—Copy after statue of Aristogiton, probably by Critius and Nesiotes ; the head from a later statue (Naples).

men they saw around them, while the Aeginetan sculptors, even when representing the mythical heroes of Troy, adopt a system of proportion and a style more finished and complete in itself, perhaps, but less full of promise in the artistic aspirations which it shows.

The head of Harmodius appears at first sight much less advanced in style than the bodies and limbs of the two tyrannicides, yet we cannot regard this as an argument in favour of attributing the group to the earlier of the two possible dates. For this head cannot be assigned to its place at all easily among the series of early Attic heads which we possess from the latter years of the sixth century. The severe and simple modelling, the heavy forms, the clearly marked outline of the jaw-bone, the eyes, not sunk in below the brow, but bordered by strongly projecting eyelids, which, again, are separated from the flesh under the brow by an incised curve, the almost straight line of the mouth, which bends, if at all, more down than up towards the corners—all these are indications which we meet again and again in Attic works of the earlier years of the fifth century, and which are certainly to be attributed to the influence of the severer Peloponnesian art—an influence the more readily accepted because of a natural reaction against the excessive elaboration and delicacy towards which pure Attic art was already tending. The various examples of this tendency do not resemble one another at all closely, though they all show the characteristics just enumerated; it is clear that several sculptors, of different artistic character and considerable originality, were all working in the same direction, at a time when Phidias and Myron, who were to succeed and perfect their work, were both beginning their artistic career by going to study under Ageladas at Argos.

One of the set of female statues from the Acropolis belongs distinctly to this new style. At first sight it may not seem so very different from the rest of the series to which it apparently belongs, but a closer study shows that it is really distinguished from them in every one of the points above mentioned as characteristic. Its charm is due to simplicity, not to delicacy and subtlety of modelling. The treatment of the mouth is clearly marked in its contrast to the wavy lines curling up to the corners that we see in the other female heads on the

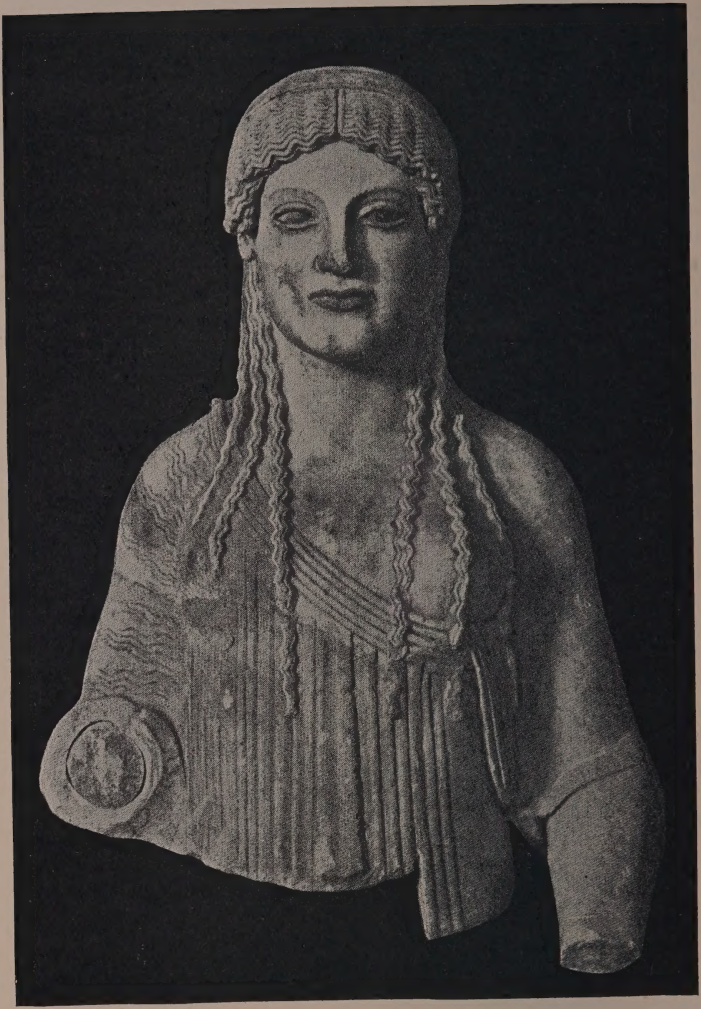

FIG. 47.—Draped female statue, showing Doric influence (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

Acropolis. Here it consists merely of two shallow curves, tending downward at the outer ends and at the middle, where the two are joined together at an angle. The projecting eyelids also offer a strong contrast to the other female heads. The application of colour to the dress is not in a merely decorative design along the borders, but consists of a procession of chariots, doubtless represented as being woven into the texture or embroidered on it.

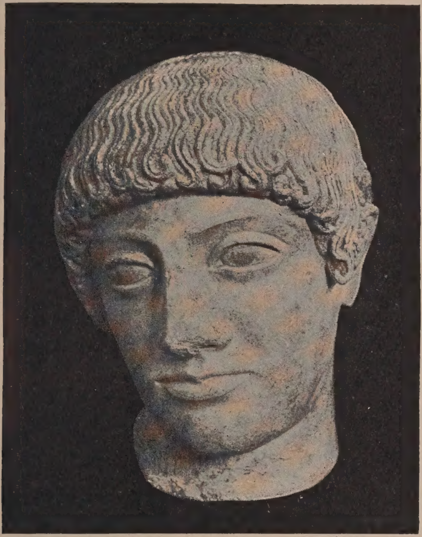

FIG. 48.—Head of Ephebus (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

A male head on the Acropolis, probably that of a youthful athlete, is in every way the counterpart of this female head. The style is extremely similar, though not identical; the chief technical difference is in the treatment of the eye, which is still under the shadow of a strongly projecting eyelid; but the eyelid projects in one piece from beneath the brow, instead of being bordered by an isolated ridge which, in effect, would rather represent the eyelashes than any modelling of flesh after nature. In all these varieties we see the attempts of the artist to throw the eye into shadow; he has realised that his predecessors erred in making it too prominent, but has not yet hit on the device of sinking it deeper in under the brow. The hair is arranged according to a characteristic athletic coiffure of the period; it is drawn from the back in two long plaits, which encircle the head and are joined over the forehead, and a kind of fringe of short hair covers them in front, a device for shadowing the forehead, as the eyelids shadow the eyes.

A third head of the same class, according to the characteristics we have observed, but again very different in effect, is a small one in bronze.[1] Seen from the front, the face is narrow and almost wedge-shaped, but the profile is full and rounded; the mouth is remarkably like that of the simple girlish head in marble that we have just noticed. In impression and general effect, this head is like that of the Apollo at Olympia, and certainly shows a common influence. These few specimens will suffice to exemplify the simpler and severer style which becomes prevalent in Athens at the beginning of the fifth century, and which we are justified, both by monuments and literary authority, in attributing to Hegias, Critius, and Nesiotes, and their associates. Hegias [2] is coupled by Quintilian with Callon of Aegina as an example of the severe archaic style; we have already noticed the similar and more trustworthy criticism of Lucian, which associates him with Critius and Nesiotes. He was known at Rome by his statues of the Dioscuri, brought from some Greek site; he also made a Heracles at Parium, and statues of boys riding, which remind us of the horsemen from the Acropolis. Critius and Nesiotes also made a statue of the athlete Epicharinus, and inscriptions at Athens attest other works by their hands. Critius was also celebrated as the founder of a school which lasted through many generations, and included sculptors of various nationalities, including even a Sicyonian. Thus we see the influence of the Attic athletic school returning to the region whence it so largely was derived.

§ 25. *Argos and Sicyon. Athletic Art.*—There are many indications that the schools of Argos and Sicyon were among the most prominent and influential in early Greece. But we are at a great disadvantage when we attempt to reach any clear notion of their style and attainments, for we do not possess either in the original or in an adequate copy any statue which we can regard as characteristic[1] of their art, or can assign even with reasonable probability to one of their masters. The reason for this is partly to be found in the material of their statues, which was usually bronze, partly in geographical and political conditions, which never brought to Argos or Sicyon, or to Olympia, where so many Argive and Sicyonian works were dedicated, a destruction like that which has led to the preservation of many archaic works on the Acropolis at Athens. Probably, too, the monotony, which was noticed by ancient critics even in the athletic statues of Polyclitus himself, was also to be seen in the works of his predecessors of the same school; there would, if so, be the less inducement for a later imitator to copy any specimen of the type before it had attained to technical perfection; subject and composition would offer but little variety. And the same monotony would render it difficult for us to identify any particular work of these schools, even if we possessed in our museums an original or a copy which could safely be attributed to them. Under these circumstances all that we can do is to give a summary of the literary evidence, and to notice what traces of Argive or Sicyonian influence we can recognise in other schools which undoubtedly owed much to the sculpture which now seems to be irretrievably lost.

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[1] *Mus. d'Athènes*, Pl. xvi.

[2] For the question whether Hegias was the master of Phidias, see § 34.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence exercised upon the growth of Greek sculpture by the great athletic festivals. In the constant gymnastic training of which they were the culmination the artist found the best opportunity for study. In every Greek town there was a place where its youths and men were in the habit of practising their gymnastic exercises—running, leaping, wrestling, boxing, throwing the javelin and the quoit—and here it was possible to see constantly the nude human body in every variety of action and repose, without the necessity of posing a model. And the extraordinary, almost superhuman honours paid to the victors at the great national contests made them a theme for the sculptor hardly less noble than gods and heroes, and more adapted for the display of his skill, as trained by the observation of those exercises which led to the victory. We are told by Pliny that, while it was customary to dedicate at Olympia a statue to every victor, such statues were not portraits, except in the case of those who had won three times. This is in itself an admirable illustration of the usual nature of dedicated statues in Greece, which were in early times merely variations of a few types recognised as appropriate to the purpose. It is the refinement and perfection of these types, and their gradual approach to truth to nature in detail, which practically form the whole history of the athletic schools of the Peloponnese.

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[1] The "Apollo of Piombino" in the Louvre is by some regarded as such, but its Sicyonian or Argive attribution cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge. The metopes of the Treasury of the Sicyonians at Delphi are mentioned above (Figs. 23, 24).

The earliest athlete statues set up at Olympia, according to Pausanias, were those of Rhexibius the Opuntian and Praxidamas of Aegina, who won in 544 B.C. and 536 B.C. respectively; both were of wood, but we have no information as to the sculptors by whom they were made. Statues of earlier Olympian victors are also recorded; thus Arrhachion, who won twice before 564 B.C., had a very archaic statue in his honour set up at Phigalia. Even at Olympia were statues of Eutelidas of Sparta, who won the boys' pentathlon in 628 B.C., and of Chionis of Sparta, who won between 664 and 656 B.C.; but in the last two cases the statue was certainly set up later to record a remarkable or unique performance.[1]

The earliest sculptors who are recorded as making statues of victorious athletes are Eutelidas and Chrysothemis of Argos; but it is to be noted that they expressly describe themselves as *τέχναν εἰδότες ἐκ προτέρων*, as if the reputation of the Argive school in this kind of sculpture were already established; and at Delphi the French excavators have discovered two nude male statues, of the well-known archaic type, which bear the signature of an Argive sculptor;[2] perhaps one of those predecessors acknowledged by Eutelidas and Chrysothemis. The victors for whom they worked won in 520 B.C. and succeeding Olympiads. The next artist's name is one which has given rise to much discussion, from the extraordinary length of his career.

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[1] *S.Q.* 373, 549. The statue of Chionis was by Myron; it is only quoted here to show that a statue may be set up long after the victory it records, but those of Arrhachion, Rhexibius, and Praxidamas were probably contemporary with their victories.

[2] See Fig. 25.

Ageladas—or, as he spelt his own name,[1] Agelaïdas—of Argos made the statue of a victor who won at Olympia in 520 B.C.; nor is this an isolated example of an athlete who may have been honoured with a statue long after his victory, for it is the first of a continuous series. On the other hand, he made also a statue of Zeus Ithomatas for the exiled Messenians, who were established by the Athenians in Naupactus in 459 B.C. Nothing is more probable than that these Messenians should set up in their new home a statue of the god as whose suppliants they had been spared by the Spartans, and in the temporary alliance of Argos and Athens the veteran Argive sculptor might naturally receive the commission.[2] Nor is there anything incredible in the interval between the earlier and later dates. If Ageladas was eighty-five years old when he made the statue of Zeus, Sophocles was eighty-six when he brought out the *Philoctetes*, and after that he set to work on the *Oedipus Coloneus*.[3] Another statue attributed to Ageladas is that of Heracles Ἀλεξίκακος, the "Preserver from Evil," which was set up in Athens to stay the great plague in 430 B.C. But the statue may well have been an old one which was brought from elsewhere and set up on this occasion, or else it may, from its title, have been wrongly associated in later days with the famous plague; there is not in this case the same historical confirmation as in that of the statue from Naupactus, and so this Heracles may be omitted from the chronological evidence. Zeus and Heracles, both in youthful type, again offered a subject for sculpture in bronze to Ageladas in a commission he executed for Aegium. He also made, besides athlete statues, a group of horses and captive women dedicated by the Tarentines to celebrate a victory over the Messapians; and an epigram, perhaps of doubtful authority, describes a

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[1] This is shown by an inscription on a statue made by his son (Loewy, No. 30); perhaps the name was Hagelaïdas, but more probably Ἁγελαΐδα stands for ὁ Ἀγελαΐδα.

[2] Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, doubts this date, but the historical probabilities seem to favour it. The Messenians had no political existence before their revolt in 464 B.C., and between then and their establishment at Naupactus in 459 B.C. they would have no opportunity of giving a commission for a statue. The tradition must have recorded their bringing the statue back with them from Naupactus under Epaminondas; they would not have forgotten it in the few years of their wandering which preceded their restoration.

[3] A sculptor of the standing of Ageladas would of course be surrounded by pupils. The attribution of the statue to him need imply no more than that it was made in his studio and under his supervision.

Muse which he made to match two others by Aristocles and Canachus.

All this tells us but little about Ageladas, except that he occasionally deviated from the athletic type which was the chief product of his school. His chief interest for us must lie in the tradition that he was the master of three illustrious pupils, Phidias, Myron, and Polyclitus. This tradition has of late been somewhat discredited,[1] but I think without sufficient reason. The three pupils could not, of course, have been contemporary, since Polyclitus belonged to a younger generation than the other two. But if we are right in our chronology of Ageladas, the two Attic artists may have been the pupils of his maturity, and Polyclitus, who was to succeed him at the head of the Argive school, may have worked under him in his extreme old age. The connection in this last case has everything but the difficulty of the dates in favour of its probability; in any case the succession of Polyclitus, whether immediate or not, gives colour to the story. With the two Attic artists the circumstances are different. Great as is the contrast between the subjects and style of Myron and the Attic sculpture of the later part of the sixth century, we can see anticipations of his attainments in the works of Critius and Nesiotes, and of the Aeginetan sculptors whom we know to have worked at Athens in his youth, even more than in the Argive school. But, on the other hand, there is a mastery and a moderation in his treatment of anatomy which perhaps implies study under a master whose energies had been more entirely devoted to this branch of sculpture, though Myron's motives are all his own. The relation of Phidias to Ageladas does not seem likely to be a late invention. And we have already seen, in tracing the history of the Attic school at the beginning of the fifth century, how strong is the Peloponnesian influence which affects it at this period. In the reaction of Attic art towards Argive strength and severity, it was likely enough that a young Attic sculptor, thoroughly in sympathy with the tendency of his age, should go directly to the source of this Argive influence for his instruction. The monuments alone suffice to prove that Phidias and the school of artists by whom he was surrounded combined the dignity and accuracy of the Argive style with the grace and delicacy that they inherited from the earlier Attic sculptors.

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[1] Especially by Robert, *Arch. Märchen.*

The two Sicyonian sculptors whom we have already seen associated with Ageladas in making a set of three Muses, the brothers Canachus and Aristocles, seem to have enjoyed great fame and influence. The best-known work of Canachus was the bronze Apollo of Branchidae near Miletus, who carried in his hand a stag.[1] This statue is reproduced on Milesian coins of Roman period,[2] and by their help a bronze statuette in the British Museum[3] has been shown to reproduce exactly the type of the Apollo of Canachus. This statuette is not, however, large enough in size or accurate enough in execution to give us any very good notion of the style of Canachus; it may, indeed, be no more than a reproduction of the conventional mythological type of the Apollo of Branchidae which Canachus also followed in his statue. When Darius sacked Miletus in 494 B.C., he also carried off the Apollo from Branchidae;[4] it was restored to the Milesians by Seleucus. The statue of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes, which was made of cedar-wood, was so similar that Pausanias says nobody who had seen the statue at Branchidae could doubt that the one at Thebes was also by Canachus. It is not clear in this passage whether he is giving the confirmation of his criticism to an accepted tradition, or merely expressing an artistic theory of his own, to which perhaps we should attach less weight. The way in which he mentions the two statues elsewhere seems to imply that they were both generally recognised as works of Canachus. He also made an Aphrodite of gold and ivory at Sicyon, wearing a πόλος on her head, and holding in one hand a poppy, in the other an apple. Pliny says he worked in marble too. The variety of the materials used by Canachus, as well as of the subjects which he represented, is very remarkable, especially when contrasted with the somewhat monotonous series of bronze athletic statues which are usually considered the most characteristic of his school. But Canachus, like his greater successor Polyclitus, evidently rose above his surroundings, and devoted his highest powers to statues of the gods, though it is probable that he also studied athletic sculpture. We have only three[1] works of his recorded, and one of these is merely a replica of another; in the case of an artist of so high reputation, this evidence is very inadequate, and unfortunately there are no means of supplementing it from other sources. As to his style, we have only the vague and unsatisfactory criticism of Cicero, who says his statues were too stiff to be natural, and less advanced than those of Calamis. There is really no artist of equal eminence of whose individual characteristics we know so little. His brother Aristocles is practically only mentioned as the founder of a definite artistic school which was recorded through seven generations. His pupils devoted themselves almost exclusively to the making of athletic statues, and so we may safely assume that this was the branch of sculpture in which he also excelled.

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[1] Pliny has some remarks which are difficult to understand about the way this stag was balanced. Probably the peculiarity he describes was due to accident rather than to the artist's intention.

[2] There is another very fine copy on a gem in the Hermitage at Petrograd.

[3] Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik* (1893), Fig. 24.

[4] Pausanias says Xerxes, but this is clearly a mistake; cf. Herodotus vi. 19.

It is probable that the influence of the allied schools of Argos and Sicyon might have been traced in many other works of this period. Thus the artist Laphaes of Phlius made a statue of Heracles at Sicyon, where he would doubtless have fallen under the influence of the local school, as well as a colossal Apollo at Aegira, if we may trust the judgment of Pausanias, who expressly says that his only evidence for the attribution was its resemblance to the Heracles at Sicyon. Ascarus of Thebes, too, who made a colossal statue of Zeus at Olympia, is said to have worked under some Sicyonian master, though a gap in the text of Pausanias prevents our learning more.

If any extant works could be attributed with certainty to the Argive and Sicyonian schools, it would be possible to fill in this meagre outline with some account of their style and characteristics; but in such a case as this conjecture is worse than useless, and we must be content for the present to recognise their influence, and to trace it, where possible, in the remains of contemporary or later sculpture which we know to have had some artistic dependence upon Argos or Sicyon. We may, however, obtain some notion of the appearance of their statues from a statuette found at Ligourio, near Epidaurus, which, although on too small a scale to count as a characteristic example of their work, is so finely finished as to afford very valuable evidence. In the face we see the strongly marked eyelids, straight mouth, and heavy rounded jaw that mark Peloponnesian style; but the most remarkable thing is the modelling of the body, which, in its accuracy and moderation, could hardly be surpassed. A work like this implies a mastery both of subject and material such as we could only expect from the athletic schools of Argos and Sicyon; and if we find such excellence in a statuette, we may well imagine the perfection, in this respect, to which their statues had attained.[1] The figure has a remarkable resemblance to certain imitative works made in the first century B.C. by Pasiteles and his scholars;[2] and thus it offers confirmation to the theory that we must recognise in these works copies after the Argive masters of the early part of the fifth century. It seems safer,

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[1] Or four, if we include the Muse mentioned above.

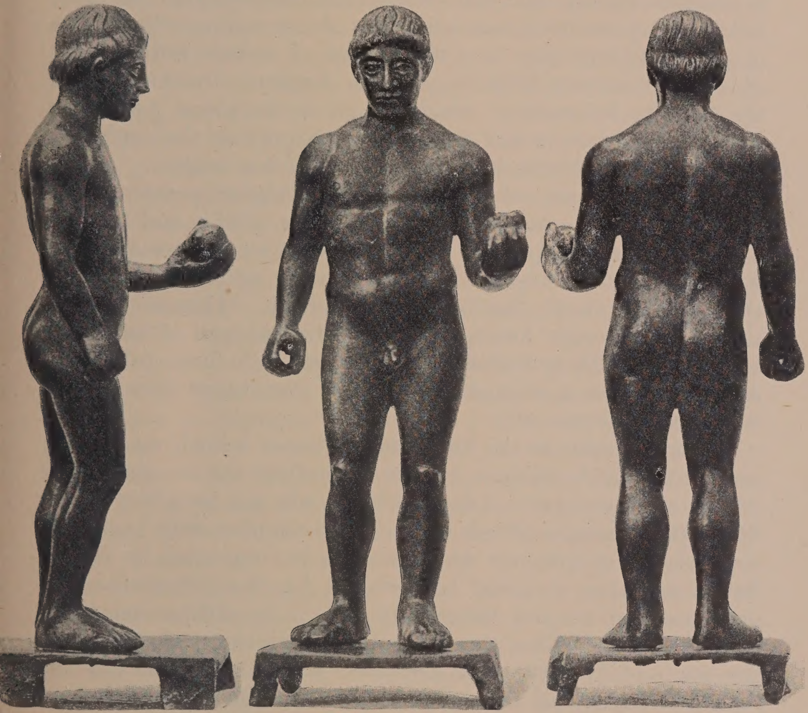

FIG. 49.—Bronze statuette from Ligourio, near Epidaurus (Berlin).
After *50es Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin.

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[1] See Furtwängler, *50es Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin.

[2] See § 79.

however, to reserve them for the period during which they were unquestionably made, than to attempt to assign them to the time from which they may draw their inspiration.

§ 26. *Aegina.*—Whether we consult the literary tradition or examine the extant remains of early sculpture, the school of Aegina stands out with remarkable distinctness. It was, indeed, so prominent that the name Aeginetan was sometimes applied by later critics to a whole class of archaic works, many of which had very little to do with Aegina. But fortunately the definite information which is given us about Aeginetan masters and their works is sufficient to prevent the confusion which might otherwise have arisen from such a usage.

The only name of an Aeginetan sculptor preserved by tradition from the earliest period is Smilis, who is said to have made the statue of Hera at Samos, and to have worked in Elis. He is also associated with Rhoecus and Theodorus in the construction of the Lemnian labyrinth. Thus all indications seem to assign him to the Samian school, and it has been conjectured with probability that he has only been called an Aeginetan from a misunderstanding of the vague use of the word above mentioned.

When we come to the historical Aeginetan school, we find its constitution and relations so clearly marked out as almost to arouse our suspicion. Artistic history was not usually written down at so early a period, and a later compiler may have had some theory of his own which had to be supported by facts; but in any case, we must be thankful for the information he gives us, and we can fortunately test it by comparison with extant works. Callon, the first of the Aeginetan sculptors, was the pupil of Tectaeus and Angelion,[1] who made the statue of Apollo at Delos, and themselves belonged to the Peloponnesian school of the Cretans, Dipoenus and Scyllis. His style is quoted by critics as typical of archaic severity, just before the time of transition; in this respect he is compared to Hegias of Athens, and Canachus of Sicyon. His Peloponnesian connections are confirmed by the fact that he made a tripod at Amyclae, with a statue of Cora beneath it, to match two by Gitiadas of Sparta. Probably the two artists worked together; they may well have been contemporaries, since, as we have seen, Gitiadas appears to have worked towards the end of the sixth century—

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[1] See above, Fig. 32.

the period to which we must also assign Callon of Aegina. The only other statue of his recorded is one of Athena Sthenias at Troezen.

As to Onatas, who seems to have been the most famous of all the Aeginetan sculptors, we have more information. Among those who employed his talents were the Achaeans, the Pheneans, and the Phigalians in the Peloponnese, the Tarentines and the princes of Syracuse in Magna Graecia, and the Thasians; a statue by him was shown at Pergamum too. One of his most interesting commissions was to make a statue of the Black Demeter for the Phigalians, who had lost their ancient image of the goddess, and had consequently suffered from a dearth. This image represented a monster of the most grotesque type, with a human body and the head and mane of a horse; and Onatas is said to have reproduced it in bronze with a fidelity so miraculous that he was supposed to have been assisted by a vision in dreams.[1] Such a work can hardly have offered much scope for the sculptor's skill, least of all for that athletic treatment of the nude in which he and his school excelled. He made for Hiero of Syracuse a chariot and charioteer to commemorate his victory at Olympia in 468 B.C.; this was not dedicated until after Hiero's death in 467 B.C.; it was accompanied by two horses with riders by Calamis. Among Onatas' other works are a colossal Apollo of bronze at Pergamum, a colossal Heracles, 15 feet high, dedicated by the Thasians at Olympia, and a Hermes at Olympia, dressed in helmet, chiton, and chlamys, and carrying a ram under his arm, a dedication of the people of Pheneus; this again seems to have been a pretty close reproduction of a primitive image. But the works that interest us most of all, from their resemblance to extant Aeginetan sculptures, are the great groups by Onatas. One of these, dedicated at Olympia by the Achaeans, represented nine of the Greek heroes before Troy, who stood on a curved basis, while Nestor stood before them, on a separate basis, holding in a helmet the lots which should decide the champion to accept Hector's challenge. This was hardly a group in the strict sense of the word, but rather a collection of statues, placed side by side with a motive to explain their juxtaposition; but in the group dedicated by the Tarentines at Delphi there must have been a closer dramatic relation. It represented the death in battle of the Iapygian king Opis, and, in all probability, the fight over his body, above which stood the heroes Taras and Phalanthus; there were figures of horsemen too, as well as combatants on foot. In this work Onatas is said to have been assisted by Calynthus—probably a mere MS. error for Calliteles,[1] his son or pupil, who assisted him also in making the Hermes mentioned above for the Pheneans.

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[1] Such is the only possible interpretation of the words of Pausanias; they give no support to Brunn's suggestion that Onatas pleaded a dream as his justification for adopting a more artistic type.

Glaucias made a chariot for Gelon of Gela, afterwards tyrant of Syracuse, who won at Olympia in 488 B.C., and whose brother Hiero later employed Onatas on a similar commission. Glaucias seems to have excelled most in statues of boxers or pancratiasts. The victors, Philo, Theagenes, who won in 480 and 476 at Olympia, and Glaucus, were all commemorated by his hand; and the last was represented as *σκιαμαχῶν*, or "beating the air," a boxer's exercise. Anaxagoras made a colossal Zeus, 15 feet high, dedicated at Olympia by the Greeks who had fought at Plataea. To these we may add Ptolichus, a pupil of Aristocles of Sicyon, who made athlete statues, and Aristonous, who made for the Metapontines a statue of Zeus crowned with lilies at Olympia.

To the literary evidence of the activity of the Aeginetan school we may add that of inscriptions, which proves that both Callon and Onatas were among the sculptors who worked at Athens before the Persian invasion of 480 B.C.

The school of Aegina appears in the history of sculpture already fully developed; we know nothing certain of its earlier growth, though we may infer with some confidence the influences under which it arose; and after a brief period of activity, which comprises the first thirty years of the fifth century, it disappears as suddenly as it arose, apparently some time before the political extinction of Aegina in 455 B.C.[2] Both the artistic traditions of the school and the athletic subjects for which it shows so strong a predilection associate it with the Peloponnese; and the great majority of their commissions came to the Aeginetan artists either from the Peloponnese or from the southern part of Magna Graecia, which, as we have already seen, had a distinctly Peloponnesian bias in matters of art. But the position of Aegina was such that it could hardly fail to be affected to some extent by the influences which prevailed in the Aegean, and with Athens, in particular, it is clear that there was artistic intercourse. We accordingly find traces of boldness and originality in the Aeginetan works recorded in literature, beyond what is recorded of the purely Peloponnesian sculpture of the same period; not only are there colossal bronze statues, implying a high degree of technical skill, such as the Apollo which even at so great a centre of later sculpture as Pergamus was admired for its artistic excellence as well as for its size, but some of the athletic statues are represented in a position that exhibits their skill in the contest and gives the artist an opportunity of rendering the figure in the acme of muscular tension. Thus we find in them an anticipation of the attainments of Myron and Pythagoras, rather than a mere elaboration of the correct but somewhat monotonous athlete type which was the special product of Peloponnesian sculpture. It is to be noted that we have not a single female figure recorded among the products of Aeginetan sculpture; for the Black Demeter can hardly pass for such, even "in the catalogue." The material used by the Aeginetan masters seems to have been almost exclusively that composition of bronze for which the island was famous.

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[1] The error may be due to the similar termination of Phalanthus a line or two below.

[2] The latest recorded work by an Aeginetan sculptor was dedicated about 467 B.C. All other dated works fall in the period of the Persian wars.

So much we may fairly infer from the literary evidence. Fortunately we are able to test and to supplement our inferences by the study of a set of sculptures which are indisputably the product of Aeginetan art, and date from the time of its highest perfection. These are the pedimental groups and acroteria of the well-known temple on the island of Aegina, which are now in the museum at Munich. These groups have hitherto been familiar to us in the restorations made by Thorwaldsen soon after their discovery in 1811; in these we see Athena in the centre, with a fallen warrior at her feet, and a row of combatants on each side, all of them facing towards the centre, and striking at one another not only past the goddess, but also through a wide intervening space, in a manner which could only be explained as an attempt by the artist to display the extended battle-line in a kind of conventional perspective. Professor Furtwängler, by piecing together the new fragments found in his excavations of 1901, and combining them with

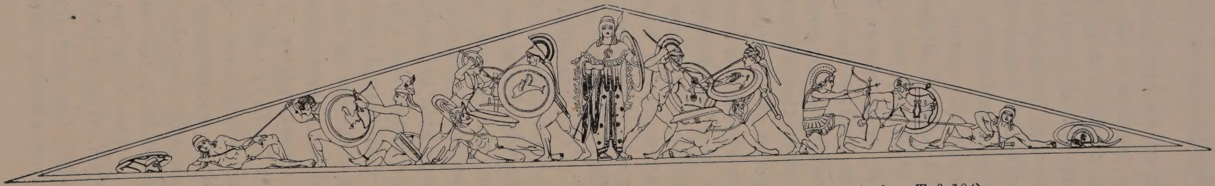

FIG. 50.—Restoration of W. Pediment of Temple at Aegina (after Furtwängler, *Aegina*, Taf. 104).

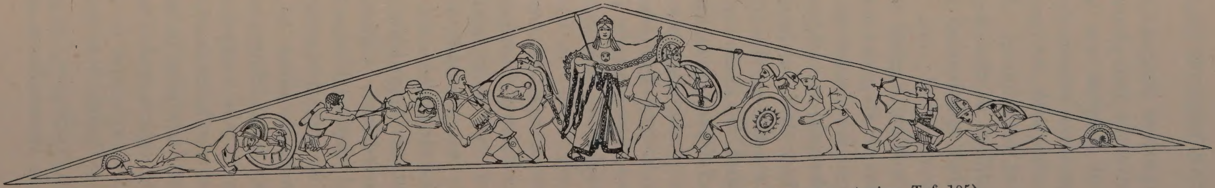

FIG. 51.—Restoration of E. Pediment of Temple at Aegina (after Furtwängler, *Aegina*, Taf. 105).

what is already preserved in Munich, has made a new reconstruction which is more in accordance with artistic probability, and also with the traditional treatment of battle scenes in contemporary vases and reliefs. Athena is still placed in the centre of each pediment; but the warriors around her are subdivided into groups of combatants, like those on the west pediment at Olympia. In the west pediment at Aegina the new restoration places on each side of the central figure a group of two warriors standing facing each other, and fighting over the body of a wounded man who lies between them on the ground. Beyond them, on each side, is an archer, shooting towards the corner, where a kneeling spearman is turned towards the fallen warrior in the angle, whom he transfixes with his spear; this fallen figure lies with his head towards the end of the pediment, as if he had just fallen backward from the fight. Though less is preserved of the eastern pediment, its complete restoration is thus given by Furtwängler: on each side of the goddess in the centre is a group of three figures, consisting of a standing warrior attacking another who is in the act of falling backwards into the arms of a companion who stands ready to receive him. The archer on each side faces towards this group, and shoots as if in defence of the falling combatant; the wounded men lie in the corners apart, their heads towards the centre. Though there are many details in this new arrangement which cannot, from the nature of the evidence, be regarded as certain, it is probably correct in its main features.[1] Portions, more or less considerable, of all the figures have been found, and there are also some traces of their sockets on the bed of the pediment. The unity of composition which appeared the peculiar merit of the old arrangement may be lost; but in its place is substituted a variety and reality of action which is more in accordance with what we now know of the character of early Greek art. The subjects are probably to be regarded as representing episodes in the

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[1] Since Furtwängler's death, several further attempts at reconstruction have been made, *e.g.* by Wolters (*Aeginetische Beiträge*) and D. Mackenzie (*Annual of the British School at Athens*, xv.). For example, it is possible that the falling figures in the E. pediment should rather be restored as fallen, that another standing combatant should be added on each side, and that the fallen figures in the inner groups of the W. pediment should change places with the corner figures. But it seems better to let Furtwängler's reconstruction stand for the present; it will probably be some time before all details are agreed upon. The main principles of the composition, as laid down by him, are generally accepted.

Trojan war; where names are added to battle scenes such as these, they are usually those of heroes who took part in the Homeric combats, though it is hardly possible to distinguish the various individuals without such help. The figure in the characteristic dress of Heracles, who appears as an archer in the east pediment, suggested to earlier commentators that this group represented a scene from the expedition made against Troy by the earlier generation of Aeginetan heroes.

The Aeginetan pediments, as now restored, show a great advance upon all previous attempts at pedimental composition. In early attempts at this difficult problem, we usually find either a continuous advance from one end to the other, or a division into a series of groups, as in the gigantomachy of the pediment of the Megarian treasury at Olympia, and the west pediment at the Olympian temple. In these the Aeginetan groups now find their nearest analogy. When we proceed to notice the style of the sculpture in detail, its excellence is yet more remarkable, though by no means uniform in all respects. As we might expect from the athletic traditions of the Aeginetan school, it is in the modelling of the nude male form that the sculptor chiefly excels. The proportions of the figures are slight and active, and, like those of men in the finest training, without a particle of superfluous fat. The muscles and sinews are clearly rendered, and with a master's hand; there is little or nothing of that exaggeration which we see in some of the Attic athletic works, made perhaps under Aeginetan influence. The figures are squarely built, with great breadth of shoulder and slenderness of waist; they are well-knit, and full of life and vigour. So far as the body is concerned, the sculptor knew exactly what he meant, and rendered it with concise modelling and a firm hand. But in the strong, almost violent action of many of the figures, and in the angular contrasts of their body and limbs, we may see something of the exaggerated reaction against archaic stiffness which we shall meet again in an artist like Myron. They remind us too of the statues in athletic action which we know to have been made by Aeginetan sculptors. So far the criticism applies generally; but there are many inequalities in the work. In the first place, the style of the eastern pediment is more advanced than that of the western; the modelling is finer and more detailed, and, in particular, the veins are indicated, an innovation attributed by Pliny to Pythagoras of Rhegium. Here we learn that it was also practised by the Aeginetans; we meet with it too in a statue from Boeotia of about the same period. We may notice the difference of the two pediments again in the treatment of the wounded warriors. Those on the western pediment have their limbs and muscles drawn up so as to ease the pain of their wounds, and in the contortion thus produced there is some expression of pain; but their faces show, hardly if at all modified, the conventional smile of archaic art. With the fallen warrior of the eastern pediment it is otherwise;[1] he is half turned, supported on his arms, so that his face is bent over towards the ground, and the archaic smile in his case is not given up, but undergoes a

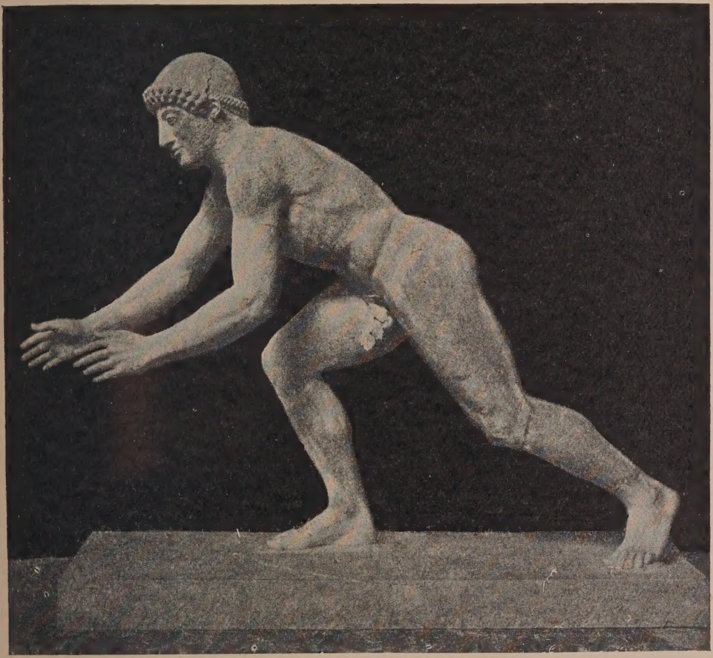

FIG. 52.—Figure reaching to support falling warrior, from E. pediment at Aegina (Munich).

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[1] The right leg of this figure, which was a restoration, has now been replaced by the original leg, found in the recent excavations. This leg is less drawn up, and gives an easier and more natural pose to the figure.

remarkable transformation. In the clenched teeth and drawn lips there is an intense expression of anguish; yet the expression is rendered with more artistic reserve than in the wounded giant from Selinus, in whom we noticed a similar attempt. It is most interesting to compare or to contrast this dying warrior of Aegina with the dying Gaul of Pergamene art, and to notice how the same motive is treated by Greek sculpture in its rise and in its decline; and in spite of the wonderful dramatic power of the later figure, there is an artistic moderation and rhythm about the Aeginetan warrior which makes it not unworthy of the comparison, even in the pathos of its effect. The Pergamene sculptor uses every resource of a free and eclectic art to impress the spectator; the Aeginetan master endeavours to render what he has observed without undue departure even from the narrow conventions in which he has been brought up. The faces of the fighting warriors and the other figures of the Aegina pediments show a more ordinary treatment; the modelling is firm and clear, if somewhat hard; we see, as in the Attic heads, a modification of the conventional archaic type. The line of the eyelids is strongly marked, an advance which the Attic artists do not reach without foreign influence, and instead of the complicated curves of the Attic mouth we see a different modification of the archaic smile; there is usually a deep indentation in the middle of the lips, and from this they run up almost in a straight line towards either end. The hair usually descends in wavy lines towards the forehead, over which it ends in a projecting mass, faced with spiral curls. But the heads, as a rule, give the impression of an artistic skill inferior to that which modelled the bodies—a clear indication of the tendencies of Aeginetan art; and the figure of Athena on both pediments is far inferior to the rest, in the stiffness of its pose and the conventionality of its drapery—so much so that some have even suggested that a statue of Athena is meant rather than the goddess herself. But we need not look for such an explanation if we remember that female figures were almost entirely avoided by Aeginetan artists, and that their study of rich drapery and the forms below it may well have been far behind that of other contemporary schools, and so seem inconsistent with their own excellent modelling of the nude.

The Aegina pediments were most likely erected after the

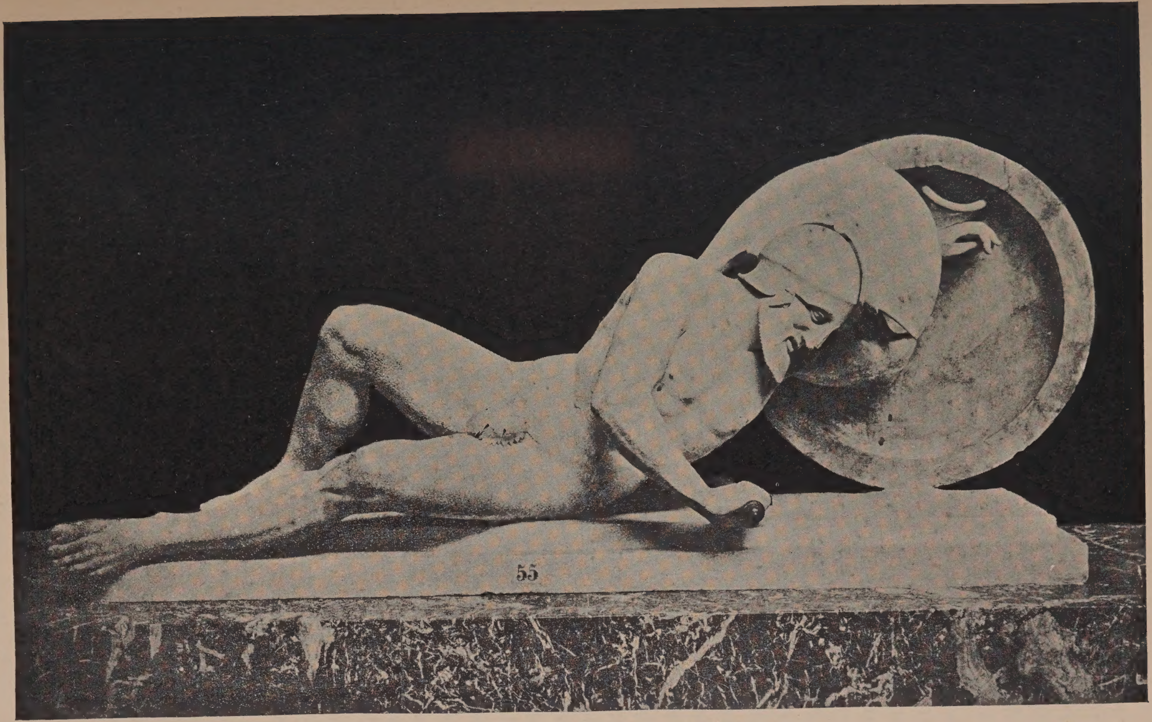

FIG. 53.--Dying warrior, from corner of E. pediment at Aegina (Munich).

battle of Salamis, in which the Aeginetans won the prize of valour; if so, they belong to the cycle of combat scenes allusive to the victory over the Persians which are so common in the fifth century.[1] In any case, they cannot be far removed from this date, when all the Aeginetan artists recorded by literature were at the height of their activity, and the question naturally arises whether we are justified in assigning the extant sculptures to any of these. There is certainly a remarkable similarity in subject between the pediments and the groups made by Onatas at Delphi, representing the fall of Opis in battle; and his other great group at Olympia represented a Trojan subject, so that there seems good reason for attributing to him the design of the pediments also. But, on the other hand, we must remember the remarkable similarity of the various works attributed to artists of the Aeginetan school, which hardly justifies us in assigning to any particular one of its masters what may have been made by any of them. Yet this same similarity justifies us in making inferences with considerable confidence from the extant sculptures as to the style of Onatas, for they were certainly designed, if not by himself, by another artist of remarkably similar attainments and preferences. The difference in the style of execution between the two pediments calls for some explanation. Their composition is so similar that the design can hardly be attributed to different hands in the two cases; and it has been suggested accordingly that the west pediment may have been made first by the original designer, and that the eastern was then completed by a sculptor more advanced in skill. Perhaps it is more probable that the sculptor who designed both made the eastern pediment, over the principal entrance of the temple, with his own hands, and left the western to his pupils or assistants.

We must turn next to some extant works which, though not found on Aegina, may be classed on internal evidence with Aeginetan. The so-called Strangford Apollo,[2] now in the British Museum, shows all the characteristics which we have noticed in the figures from the Aegina pediments, only slightly modified; it is probably much like some of the athlete statues which we know the Aeginetan sculptors to have made in such numbers, though we may doubt whether it is a copy of a bronze original or a minor work in marble made under

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[1] See § 29.

[2] *B.D.* 51.

Aeginetan influence. We have certainly an example of the latter class in a statue dedicated to Apollo Ptous at his shrine in Boeotia, which shows in an exaggerated form all the characteristics of Aeginetan style.[1] But the most interesting of all is a life-size head of a warrior from Athens,[2] which is one of the finest extant specimens of early bronze statuary. If we are justified in regarding this head as a work of Aeginetan art, then it is the most important which we possess, for it shows a care of finish and a strength as well as delicacy of style which

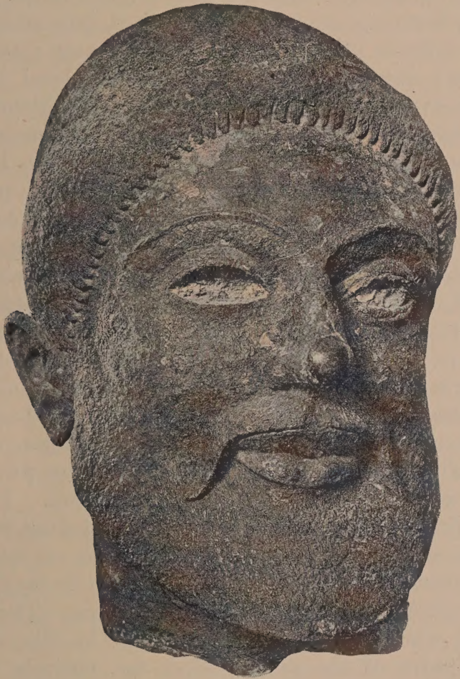

FIG. 54.—Bronze head, perhaps Aeginetan (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

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[1] See above, Fig. 31.

[2] In 1887, *J.H.S.* p. 191, I expressed the opinion that this was an Aeginetan work. I am glad to find that M. Collignon has expressed the same view, and placed this head among the certainly Aeginetan works in his *Histoire de Sculpture* As he seems to have come to this conclusion independently, its probability is greatly confirmed.

stamp it as the work of a master; and it is in bronze, the material used by the Aeginetan sculptors, while all other certain remains of their art are in marble, and so can give us but an imperfect notion of their style and technique. On the Acropolis at Athens, where this head was discovered, there were found bases of statues both by Callon and Onatas, so that the external evidence is at least not against our assignment, for it is very difficult to place this head in any classification of Attic works; the contrast with a bearded head like that of Aristocles is evident; nor is there much resemblance either to the Tyrannicides or to the works under Peloponnesian influence which come in about this period. And if the head is not Attic, there is good evidence both external and internal for an attribution to Aegina. At the same time, so long as our knowledge of the sculpture of this period is not exhaustive, we can never be quite certain that it may not belong to some other school which has a strong affinity to the Aeginetan. In any case, it is an admirable specimen of the bronze work of the period; the hair over the forehead is most delicately rendered, in a fringe of minute tresses, and the working of the hair and beard is beautifully finished, every hair over the whole surface being indicated by fine wavy lines, which, however, only diversify the surface, without in any way modifying the sharply cut outlines of the different masses. The strongly projecting line of the eyebrows, and the indented projection of the eyelids, which seems to give the effect of eyelashes, are also most clearly shown. The study of all these details on a first-rate bronze original is most instructive. The finish and delicacy of work are as remarkable as in the finest Attic marble sculpture of the same period, but entirely different in their nature, owing to the material, which would not show a delicate play of light and shade on its surface, but is susceptible to infinite pains in the elaboration of details.

It is the combination of this accuracy and conciseness of detail with a vigour and fulness of life in the attitude and expression that forms the chief characteristic of the Aeginetan masters; and although the school of Aegina became extinct after a brief but brilliant period of activity, its influence may be traced in some of the most remarkable productions of fifth-century sculpture.

§ 27. *Other Early Works.*—In a book which is concerned mainly with the history of sculpture, as derived from the literature and the monuments, rather than with a complete and systematic study of the extant remains of ancient art, it is often difficult to find an appropriate place for many statues which are in themselves of great excellence or interest. Some of these may be omitted altogether with the less hesitation, because they will easily be appreciated by the student whose eye has become trained by the observation of other similar works, which offer more data for the determination of their exact period or school. No attempt is made here to enumerate or to describe all, even of the finest statues preserved; but there are some which are so instructive, either from a technical or a historical point of view, that it seems advisable at least to mention them here, although it is impossible to make any definite assertion as to the exact period or school to which they must be assigned.

Among other characteristic works of this period are some bronze statues or heads, which it may ultimately become possible to classify more definitely, as new discoveries supply fresh data for comparison, or a scientific study of what we already possess leads to more precise results. But in the present state of our knowledge it seems wiser for a handbook like this not to venture upon theories of which the correctness cannot be regarded as established. In the Louvre is a bronze statue of a boy, known from the place where it was found as the Apollo of Piombino.[1] A study of the original, or even of a cast, cannot fail to be instructive to the student; for, in spite of some doubts that have been expressed, it seems pretty certain that we have in this statue a bronze original of archaic period. But our knowledge of the early schools does not suffice to enable us to assign it to its origin, and therefore it cannot be discussed with much profit here. Another archaic bronze, of the same type but very different style, is now in the Palazzo Sciarra at Rome, and is therefore known as the Apollo Sciarra;[2] it is about half life-size. Perhaps the best known and most interesting of all is the bronze head of a youth in Naples, which is in all probability a true specimen of fine archaic work.[3] Here the spiral curls over the forehead, which are made separately just like so many corkscrews, and then fixed on, are a most instructive example of early bronze work, and show us the original technique from

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[1] *B.D.* 78.

[2] *Mitth. Rom*, 1887, Taf. iv.-v.

[3] *Mon. Inst.* ix. 18.

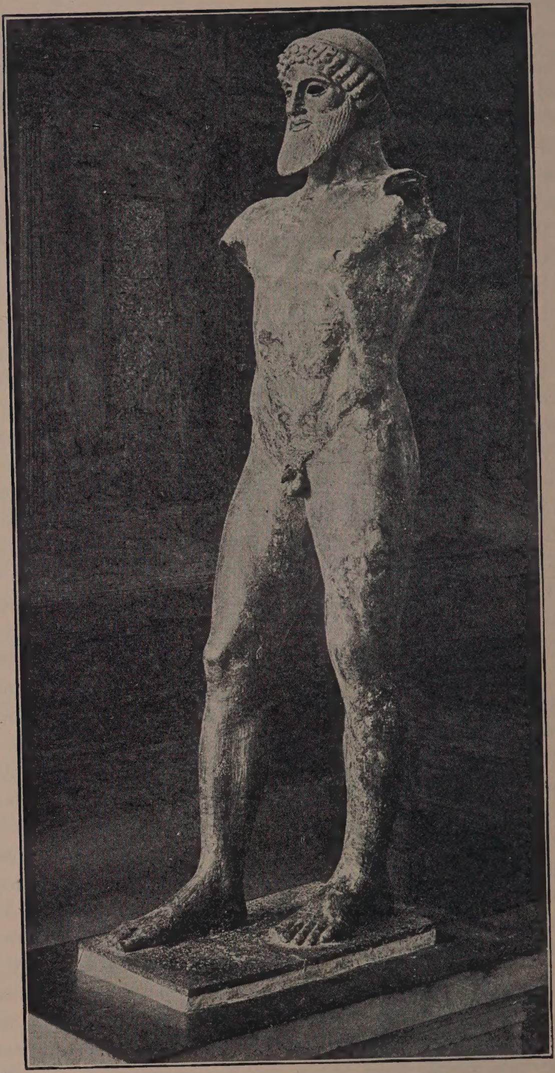

Fig. 55.—Bronze Poseidon, from the sea near Thisbe (Athens).

which the conventions which we see in many early marble works are derived.

Another fine bronze of this period was recovered recently from the sea near Thisbe in Boeotia, on the Gulf of Corinth. It represents a bearded man standing with right foot advanced; both soles are planted flat on the ground, but the left hip is distinctly higher than the right, and thus there is an elastic play in the poise of the body such as is to be seen in other transitional works. The arms are both lost, and with them the attributes which alone could make the subject certain; but it is a very probable restoration to make them hold a trident and a dolphin; the right arm was lowered, the left raised from the shoulder. The form of the body is well knit and finely observed, though somewhat square in shape; one may well recognise in it the Aeginetan influence which may be seen in other Boeotian statues such as the Apollo, Fig. 31. In the head too we have an expression of face and a rendering of the small spiral curls over the forehead which recall Aeginetan work. The statue is a typical example of the age of rapid advance that followed the Persian wars.

Another very curious example of archaic work, this time in marble, is a portrait head of a man of advanced age, now in Madrid.[1] It is unique in its character at such a period, whether we regard it as an original or as a copy. Its inscription, the name of the philosopher Pherecydes, is of doubtful authority; but it cannot be doubted that the head is really intended as a portrait of some individual; it has little of the general, almost typical rather than individual character so common in Greek art of all periods. Here again we are at a loss in assigning the style to any particular school.

It would be easy to add indefinitely to this enumeration; but these examples have mostly been quoted to show how much material, as yet hardly available for a systematic and historical study, still awaits a certain identification. It is to be expected that order will ultimately be introduced into this chaos; but for the present it seems wiser for us to content ourselves with what, on internal or external evidence, admits of a definite and cautious classification.

§ 28. *Summary.*—In the first chapter we saw the material, whether of native or foreign origin, which was available for

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[1] Overbeck, *Gesch. d. gr. Plastik* (4th ed.), Fig. 64.

Greek art at the outset of its career. This second chapter has been concerned with the assimilation of that material, the development of sculpture into an independent existence, and the formation of various artistic schools in Greece. Technical skill in the working of various materials was already to be found, if not in Greece itself, among the highly civilised nations of the East; and the imitation of imported products probably gave the first impulse to artistic progress. But those who first practised the various processes of sculpture in Greece, whether they learnt their craft from foreign masters or taught themselves by the observation of foreign models, had at home all the prestige of inventors, and are handed down as such by Greek tradition. We have seen that the stories of inventions are not to be accepted as literally true in most cases; but they teach us a good deal as to the theories of later times about the origin of Greek sculpture; and these theories must often have been based upon evidence which is now lost. And as it was with the technical processes of sculpture in the earliest days of Greek art, so it was also with the types represented by their names. We saw in the previous chapter that many of the types of decorative art, the groups so common in early reliefs, were, if not of native origin, at least preserved by artistic tradition on Greek soil from a more remote antiquity. But the simple types of early sculpture in the round, mostly single figures with but little variety of pose, seem rather to have been adopted in imitation of foreign models than to have been either invented or developed from any native origin. The history of the rise of Greek sculpture is mainly concerned with the modification and improvement of these types, as they were more especially taken up and studied by different local schools. The process is a slow and gradual one, and affects details, such as the modelling of knees, hands, or feet, or the more delicate finish of conventional folds of drapery, before it ventures to alter the general proportions or composition; even until the very end of the archaic period the traditional types are never completely done away with, though they become so flexible as to be easily adapted to the particular purpose; they do not obtrude themselves on the observer, but they can always be discovered by the student who has followed their development.

We have seen how special types were most characteristic of special schools—how the sculptors of Argos and Sicyon, for example, devoted themselves especially to the representation of athletes, and consequently carried the study of the modelling and proportions of the body and its muscles to a high pitch of perfection, while the Attic artists were more occupied with the graceful arrangement and rendering of drapery, and with giving expression to the face. We have also seen more general distinctions of style, which are, doubtless, to some extent dependent on this choice of subjects; they are at least the result of similar tendencies and conditions. Thus the early Greek sculptors of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, whose influence spreads across the north of the Aegean to Thessaly and Attica, seem to care more about the composition and general effect than about accuracy in detail; even their modelling appears often more intended to reproduce the appearance than the actual form; while the Dorian artists of the Peloponnese prefer to make an exact and detailed copy of nature as it is, especially in the proportions and muscles of the human body. Of course these distinctions cannot be too strictly applied in every case, and we may often notice exceptions on either side. But, in the main, they seem in accordance both with the evidence of the monuments, and with the historical character of the people to whom they apply.

The rich and too luxurious Ionians, who seem to have taken a prominent part in the earliest period of Greek sculpture, were reduced to great straits in the succeeding years by the encroachments of the Persian Empire; but what was best in their work survived and reached its highest development in Attica, where it attained the greatest refinement and delicacy. At the same time the severer and more accurate art of the Peloponnese steadily grew and spread its influence; until, at the beginning of the fifth century, it assisted the reaction of Attic sculpture towards a simpler and stronger style, without entirely escaping some countervailing influence of Attic grace upon its harder and less flexible character.

The Persian invasion, which closes this period, has also preserved for us its products. The clearest and most conspicuous instance of this preservation occurs at Athens. When Xerxes sacked the town and Acropolis of Athens, it is evident that he not only destroyed all walls and temples, but also broke and threw down all the statues which surrounded them. Some he carried off to Persia, like the famous group of the Tyrannicides; but when the Athenians returned to the ruins of their city, they must have found the bulk of the sculpture and other dedications which had once decorated their Acropolis lying in fragments upon the ground. A people in the full vigour of artistic production was not likely to give much trouble to the collection or restoration of such relics. A few, of peculiar sanctity or of interesting associations, may have been set up again; but the majority were simply put out of the way. Fortunately for us, no mortar was required for the buildings which were being erected to take the place of those that had been destroyed; and so all these fragments of marble sculpture and architecture escaped the lime-kiln, and were buried to help in filling up the terraced area of the Acropolis. They were thus preserved with but little damage, beyond what they had suffered from the violence of the Persians, and many of them with their surface and colouring almost intact, until their fortunate discovery within recent years. Between the years 1885 and 1889 the whole of the earth within the Acropolis has been turned over, down to the living rock; and the result of this excavation is a wealth of the remains of sculpture in limestone and marble, of terra-cottas, of architecture, and of vases, which is in itself unique in its richness and variety, while its value is greatly enhanced by the exactness with which we can tell the date at which all these objects were buried. It is this discovery, more than any other, that has made Athens the centre of the study of early Greek art, and that has made the Attic school of sculpture the most prominent in a history where it was before represented only by a few isolated examples.

CHAPTER III

THE FIFTH CENTURY—480–400 B.C.

§ 29. *The Persian Wars and their Results.* — In the last chapter we have often had to refer to the Persian wars as forming the most prominent landmark in the history of early Greek art, and as affording the most suitable limit to the period which we assign to the rise of Greek sculpture from the rudest models towards technical perfection. So far, however, we have been concerned rather with their material results, and with the way in which they have, by what must have seemed at the time mere waste and destruction, preserved for us a most valuable record of the attainments of Greek art early in the fifth century. We must now look at them in their relation to the future, not to the past, and see in them the beginning of a new epoch in Greek art, as well as in history and literature. Here, too, the material side of their influence is by no means insignificant. In many Greek towns the ruin made by the Persian invader was complete, and the inhabitants on their return found all their temples destroyed and the sculpture, vases, and other dedications thrown down and broken. This was the case most notably in Athens; and the result was an impulse to new activity, in which statesman, architect, painter, sculptor joined to replace by more splendid monuments those of which the scattered and buried fragments have taught us so much about the art of the preceding period. In many cases, too, the spoil of the conquered invaders actually supplied the means by which architectural and sculptural monuments were erected to commemorate the victory of the Greeks.

The true import of this victory seems to have been realised even at the time by the Greeks, and the change which it brought about in the relations between Europe and Asia finds its reflection in art as well as in literature. In early times the great nations of the East were but vaguely known to the Greeks; but their power, skill, and wisdom made for that very reason the greater impression on the imagination of a people whose civilisation was in a more primitive stage, though capable of a higher development. With the rise of the Persians these Oriental powers took at once a more definite and a more threatening form, and their conquest of Asia Minor, followed by the Ionic revolt against the subjection of Greeks to Oriental despotism, had brought Europe and Asia into direct conflict. But until the defeat of the two Persian invasions of Greece the Persians were more feared and hated than despised. It was Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea that first taught the Greek his true superiority over the "barbarian." Intellectual and artistic activity is but rarely found in its highest form without a corresponding political and physical vigour. The art of the fifth century was essentially national and patriotic as well as religious; the two ideas were combined in all the greatest works of sculpture, and if the Zeus of Phidias was the highest expression ever given by the Greeks to the ideal godhead, he was also an idealised personification of all that to a Greek seemed noblest in man—that is to say, in the Greek nation. And in many of the sculptures adorning temples and other public buildings that have come down to us the struggle between Greek and barbarian is represented, though rarely in a direct way. The struggle between light and darkness, between freedom and tyranny, between Europe and Asia, is the true theme of all the battles between gods and giants, or Greeks and Amazons, or Lapiths and Centaurs, and all are regarded as antitypes of the great struggle from which the Greeks themselves had just emerged victorious.

The political conditions of the time were also favourable to the production of monumental works. The common danger had drawn the various Greek cities together, and the deliverance from that danger was celebrated by common offerings to the gods. And even after the crisis the same tendency continued. The Delian confederacy, at first directed against the Persian power, ultimately became transformed into the Athenian empire, and its treasures were devoted to the monumental decoration of Athens. And the rapid development of a democratic constitution, combined with the peculiar conditions which surrounded it at Athens under Pericles, offered exceptional opportunities for the production of the greatest works of art. The democratic form of government encouraged that idealisation of the people without which its exploits could not be worthy of the highest artistic commemoration; while the actual predominance of such men as Cimon and Pericles gave the originality, greatness, and continuity of design which a purely popular government could not attain. The artist, too, could work with more freedom and confidence if, even while devoting his highest efforts to the glory of his country and its gods, he was assured of a trustworthy protector to control the fickle populace. This protection was not always sufficient, as we shall see even in the case of Phidias himself. But without Pericles, we may well doubt whether the people of Athens would have enriched the Acropolis with those monuments of which they were so justly proud.

§ 30. *The Olympian Sculptures.*[1]—Before the excavations at Olympia had been begun, it was expected that they would settle many doubtful points in the history of Greek sculpture, and would supply a standard of comparison to which other works of the same period might be referred. Pausanias, who describes the pediments of the temple of Zeus in considerable detail, also records the sculptors who made them—Paeonius for the eastern, and Alcamenes for the western; and as we possess a good deal of literary information as to the style and works of Alcamenes, the recovery of the Olympian pediments seemed likely to give us specimens of the sculpture designed by an artist who was, in the estimation of antiquity, second only to Phidias himself. It must at once be acknowledged that these anticipations have not been realised. Whatever may be our ultimate conclusion as to the trustworthiness of Pausanias' statement, and as to the artistic value and interest of the sculptures themselves, there is no doubt that the two pediments are very similar to one another in style, that the western pediment is very far from what we should expect from an associate and rival of Phidias, and that the eastern pediment does not show much similarity in its style to the other recorded work of Paeonius, the Victory, which has also been discovered at Olympia. The explanation of all these puzzles must be reserved for the present; it is best to begin with a description of what has actually been found, and afterwards to see whether it can be harmonised with the literary evidence.

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[1] *Olympia*, vol. iii.

The eastern pediment, as Pausanias tells us, represented the preparations for the chariot race between Pelops and Oenomaus. Oenomaus, so the story went, used to challenge all the suitors for the hand of his daughter Hippodamia to a chariot race in which death was to be the result of defeat; the competitors were always outpaced by his matchless horses. The course was from the Altis at Olympia to the altar of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth. Oenomaus used to give his competitor the start, while he sacrificed a ram on the altar of Zeus; then he would overtake him and slay him with a thrust from his spear. Pelops found means to bribe Oenomaus' charioteer Myrtilus, who was said to be also in love with Hippodamia; and he accordingly won, with the help of his horses, the gift of Poseidon. Oenomaus met the fate he had inflicted on so many others, and his daughter and his kingdom fell to Pelops. Such a theme was appropriate to the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The contest itself might be regarded as a prototype of the horse-races which formed so prominent a part of the Olympian festival, and the myth records the retribution inflicted upon presumption and barbarity under the direct sanction of Zeus himself, and by a hero who enjoyed his favour. Thus Pindar also celebrates it in his first Olympian ode; and it is probable that in the pediment, as in the ode, the underhand methods adopted by Pelops are ignored, and his victory is rather attributed to his own powers and to the favour of the gods—a far better precedent for the games of which it was the prototype.

The figures that have been recovered suffice for a complete restoration of the group, although the position of some of them cannot be fixed with certainty. Every possible arrangement has been suggested and discussed, and it is probable that many points will always remain doubtful, to afford exercise for the ingenuity of students. These open problems do not, however, interfere with our general appreciation of the work, either as regards composition or style. In the middle stands the majestic figure of Zeus, who is present to receive the sacrifice and to act as arbiter of the race; on either side of him stands a pair, man and woman—on the one hand Oenomaus and his wife Sterope, on the other Pelops and Hippodamia. Here the difficulties begin. Pausanias tells us that Oenomaus stood on the right of Zeus; this might be interpreted either as "on the god's right hand," or as on the right from the spectator's point of view. It is clear that the latter is the correct interpretation.[1] Though the head of Zeus is lost, enough is left of the neck to show that it was inclined to his right, which is also the natural place for the favoured competitor—Pelops. These five figures, standing erect side by side, form the central group; this group is bounded on each side by the four-horse chariot that is to carry its master in the race. This is a device, here inseparable from the subject, which occurs often in pedimental composition. The receding line of the four horses on either side seems to throw the central group into stronger relief, while the space occupied by the horses and chariot is admirably adapted to take up a portion of the narrowing field, and to form a transition from the standing figures in the middle to the seated or crouching figures at the sides. In front of the horses of Oenomaus crouches his charioteer;[2] there is no evidence that the figure of Myrtilus in any way portrayed either his treachery to his master or his love to Hippodamia; perhaps the sculptor preferred, like Pindar, to ignore those features of the story, which certainly would have made the race a very bad precedent for the strict fairness of the Olympian games. Behind the horses come two figures on each side, about whom Pausanias has nothing to say except that they were the grooms of Pelops and Oenomaus respectively; the most remarkable of these is an old man of surprisingly realistic treatment and portrait-like

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[1] See for eastern pediment, *Jahrbuch*, 1889, Pls. 8, 9; and for western pediment, *ibid.* 1888, Pls. 5, 6.

Here, as in almost all other disputed points, I follow Treu, whose thorough and continued study of the extant fragments gives his opinion the greatest weight. The evidence to be considered is fourfold:—

(1) The description of Pausanias;

(2) The position and size of the figures;

(3) The working of the figures showing which side faced outward, and marks of clamps and other means of fixing them to the background or architectural frame, or of fitting them to one another;

(4) The position in which the fragments were found, as thrown down by the earthquake that destroyed the temple.

[2] Pausanias expressly says that Myrtilus was seated in front of the horses; he can hardly be wrong on such a point, and so the kneeling girl cannot be placed here as an attendant of Sterope. She may pass muster among the figures of attendants in subordinate positions. Pausanias' other mistakes are mostly those of one who had seen and described the pediments, though his interpretation is sometimes in error.

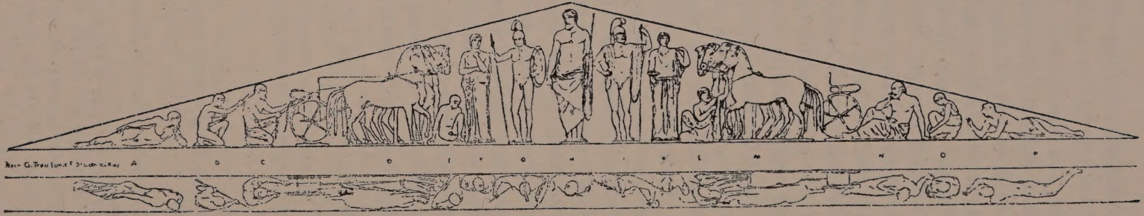

FIG. 56.—Restoration of E. pediment of temple of Zeus at Olympia (Olympia). After Treu, *Jahrbuch*, 1889, Taf. 8, 9.

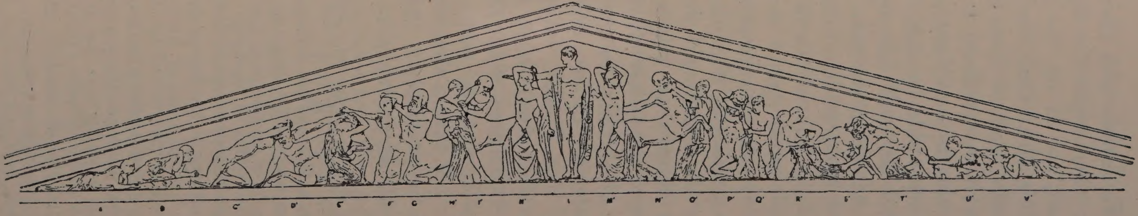

FIG. 57.—Restoration of W. pediment of temple of Zeus at Olympia (Olympia). After Treu, *Jahrbuch*, 1888, Taf. 5, 6.

features who sits on the side of Oenomaus (Fig. 59); he seems to look on the scene with interest and foreboding, as if he were a seer who foresaw his master's fate; behind him is the kneeling figure of a girl, whose presence in this position is not easy to explain. At the extreme corner, on Oenomaus' side, is the reclining figure of the river-god Cladeus, and in the corresponding corner on the other side is the Alpheus; being thus at the south end, he is towards his own river, which bounded Olympia on the south, receiving a short distance farther on the tributary waters of the Cladeus, which bounded it on the west. Thus the geographical limits of the scene are strictly prescribed, as in the western pediment of the Parthenon. The whole composition is almost monotonously simple and symmetrical, but on the other hand it is an admirable example of the common rule that the scene over the east front of the temple is a quiet one. The five figures that stand side by side in the middle seem almost like supporting members in the architectural design; the two female figures in particular, with the simple and severe folds of their drapery, seem to continue the effect of the fluted columns and the grooved triglyphs. In the groups at the sides too there is almost exact correspondence, but the preparations for the start are more advanced on the side of Pelops, whose charioteer sits ready with the reins in his hand behind the chariot, only a young groom crouching in front of the horses[1] to balance the figure of Myrtilus. The charioteer of Pelops, on the other hand, corresponds to the old man seated on the other side; behind him again is a boy who kneels and probably holds the goad; thus Pausanias is probably right in describing him also as one of Pelops' grooms, and so we must interpret the maiden who corresponds at the other side as an attendant of Sterope, and not as a local nymph or personification. The figures descend towards the corners in even gradation, their size and position being exactly fitted to the place which they occupy, a characteristic which we shall notice in the western pediment also; thus Treu's restoration is throughout consistent with itself, though it must be admitted that some other restorations, such as that of Curtius, offer a more pleasing variety; this, however, is not necessarily an argument for their correctness.

The western pediment offers the strongest contrast to the eastern, yet shows also the greatest similarity. Though we have here a series of contorted and struggling figures, in contrast to the almost lifeless repose of the eastern group, we see the same rigid symmetry in the composition, and the same even and unbroken gradation in the size and height of the figures; the number, too, of the figures in the two pediments exactly corresponds. To identify the subject of the western pediment, we little need the help of Pausanias' description. It represents the fight between the Lapiths and Centaurs at the wedding of Pirithous. In the centre is a majestic figure, standing quietly with his right arm extended. Pausanias took this figure to be Pirithous himself, and goes on to explain how the near relationship of Pirithous to Zeus justified his occupying so honourable a place. But it is hard to believe that a mere mortal, whatever his lineage, could be allowed to occupy a position corresponding to that given to Zeus himself in the east pediment; nor is this calm figure suited to the character of a bridegroom rescuing his bride amidst the onset of brutal ravishers. He is in the scene but not of it, and his mere presence and influence suffice to decide the issue of the *mêlée* that rages around him. Such a figure can only be a god, and the type can hardly represent any god but Apollo, who at Phigalia also comes to give victory to the Lapiths in their struggle with the Centaurs. On either side of him is a hero, presumably Pirithous on his right and Theseus on his left; each is turned away from the god,[1] and strikes at a Centaur who has seized a Lapith woman. These two groups of three figures, with the god between them, form the central composition. On the eastern pediment the central group, consisting of human figures, is framed, as it were, by the horses and chariots. Here too the central composition is framed, but variety from the extended groups, with a Centaur between two human figures, is attained by a different arrangement of combatants. The next group on either side consists of two figures only, a Centaur and a Lapith on one side, and a Centaur and a boy on the other; and in each case the horse-body of the Centaur is thrown into the background, so that the effect of the group is practically the same as that of two human figures. Beyond these comes once more a group of three figures on either side; first a woman, pulled down on to her knees by a Centaur who holds her with a backward grasp; he faces his Lapith adversary, who, kneeling, bends down his body to force the Centaur also on to his front knees; thus there is produced a narrow slanting group which admirably fills the diminishing field, and reaches quite near to the corner. Beyond these come two reclining figures on either side; first an old woman, evidently an attendant, who is raised on a sloping bed so that her head fits into its place in the slanting line; and at the extreme corner a youthful female figure with bared breast, probably a nymph or other local personification.[1] It is a curious fact that both the reclining figures at the left or north end of this pediment are of Pentelic marble, not of Parian like the rest of the sculptures; the old woman at the south end is also Pentelic, but the wedge-shaped bed on which she rests is Parian, and so is the nymph, all but her advanced arm, which is Pentelic. These indications, together with the softer execution of the Pentelic parts, show that they are a later repair, probably a copy of the original figures. The Parian portions at the south end offer clear evidence that both the reclining figures at each end existed in the original design, even if the requirements of the composition and the exact correspondence to the eastern pediment in the number of the figures did not sufficiently prove the fact.

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[1] This part of Treu's restoration is quite certain from the shape of the basis of this figure, and from it follows certainty on some other doubtful points.

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[1] This is the arrangement now adopted by Treu, and confirmed by the shape of the Centaur groups, each of which shows a regular slant down from the head of the hero to the head of the woman. It is true that the more richly draped woman, who ought to be the bride, thus comes on Apollo's left; but this can perhaps be explained.

This description will suffice to show not only the strict symmetry of composition that reigns in each pediment, but also the close correspondence which we may observe in the principles that control the two, in spite of their contrast of subject. In both alike we have the god as a central figure, the reclining figures at the ends; and the division of the central group of seven figures from the groups of subordinate characters at the sides by the interposition, on either side, of a group of different composition and character. When we proceed to consider the style of the sculpture, it is once more the similarity of the two pediments that impresses us. But here we are at once faced by a difficult question, the question whether this similarity may be due merely to the execution by local craftsmen of the designs made for the pediments by two different artists, or is inherent in the designs themselves, and so implies that the designs of the two pediments, if not from the same hand, are at least the work of two sculptors of the same school. Before we are in a position to deal with this question, we must examine the style with more detail.

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[1] This is the older interpretation, and I do not feel convinced it is wrong, especially considering the analogy of the eastern pediment, where the identification of the river-gods, though disputed, seems fairly certain. But Studniczka has produced very ingenious arguments for believing that the two female figures at the ends of the western pediment are merely Lapith women or slaves, who have escaped from the *mêlée* with their dress disordered. Cf. *Olympia*, iii. text, p. 136.

It is obvious at first sight that the execution is of most uneven quality; such pieces of work as the right leg of the boy who crouches before the horses of Pelops in the eastern pediment, or the drapery and legs of the Lapith woman seized by a Centaur towards the right end of the western pediment, seem almost puerile or barbaric in their uncouth shape and appearance; yet, on the other hand, many of the heads and much of the modelling of the nude offer very fine specimens of bold and vigorous workmanship, admirably adapted to show well at a distance; for it must be remembered that these sculptures were about 60 feet above the ground, and therefore could not be seen at all from near, while in order to appreciate the general effect of the architecture and the sculptural groups, it would be necessary to stand a considerable distance away. The modelling of the nude male torso, as exemplified in the Zeus of the east pediment and the Apollo of the west, is correct, simple, and severe, and remarkably free from mannerism and exaggeration; it contrasts alike with the dry and sinewy treatment of the Attic Tyrannicides, the slim waists and firmly knit figures of the Aeginetan sculptures, and the heavily marked muscles and veins of the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo and its replicas. It is hard to resist the influence that the Olympian Apollo was made by a master so trained in an athletic school as to be able to render the nude male form without any conscious effort making itself visible in his work. The Apollo of the west pediment is in many ways the best finished piece of sculpture preserved from the sculpture of the temple: the drapery of his chlamys is simple and broad in treatment, and free from those accidental folds or twists which, however closely observed from a model, seem inconsistent with the dignity of a monumental work; thus the archaic stiffness of which it still retains some traces does not seem out of place; it is the mixture of archaism

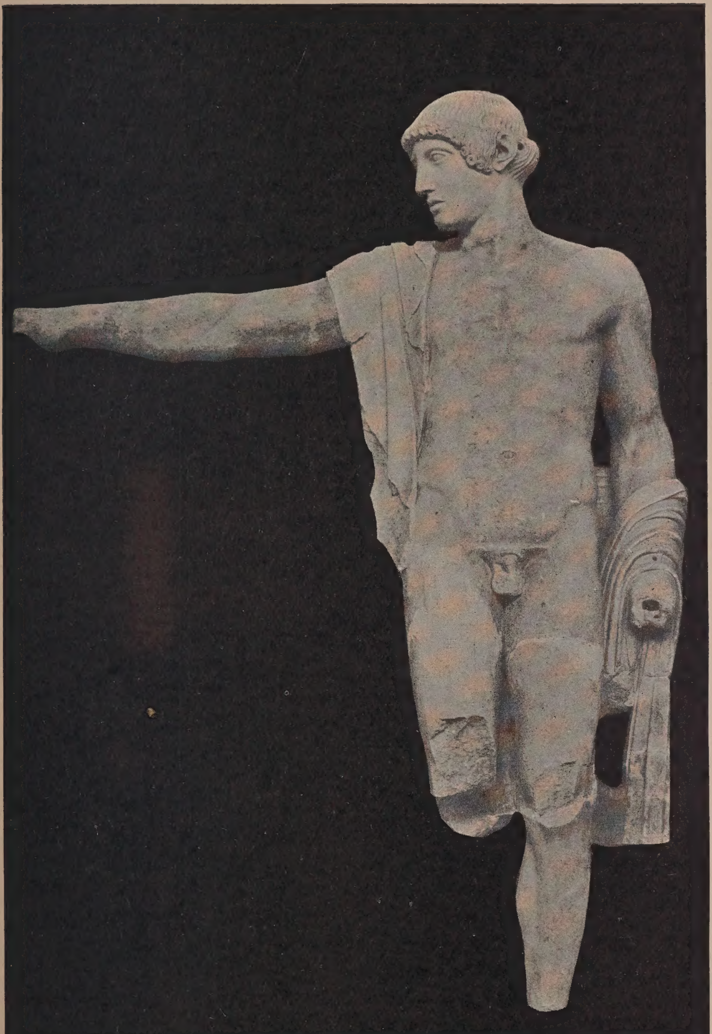

FIG. 58.—Apollo, from centre of W. pediment at Olympia (Olympia).

with realism in accidental detail that produces so strange an effect in some parts of the Olympian pediments.

In the treatment of the head and face, this Apollo is again the finest specimen. The modelling is strong and severe, and lacking in the delicacy of finish and play of surface which we have seen in Attic works. Every line is definite and clearly cut. The eyelids form a projecting frame which surrounds the eyeball, but do not overlap at the outer corner; the mouth is simple in shape, and tends downwards from the middle towards either corner; the chin is full, almost heavy in its roundness. The hair comes so low as to conceal in part the modelling of the forehead; but in the head of Pirithous there is a deeply cut groove separating the upper part of the forehead from the lower—the first clear recognition of this distinction between the male and female forehead, always rendered in later Greek sculpture. In the case of Pirithous the emphasis given to this line of division is partly due to the contraction of his brows as he lifts his axe to strike. The wrinkling of the forehead, to express pain or effort, is a device which we often meet with on this pediment, both in men and Centaurs. The mouth and eyes usually remain more or less impassive, except in the case of the Centaurs, who are treated throughout with more freedom than the Lapiths; it seems as if the impassivity of the latter were in part at least due to a desire to preserve the dignity of the heroes, and to assimilate them in some degree to their patron god. Only in some cases, as in the beautiful Lapith woman to the right of Apollo, or in the young Lapith whose arm is being bitten by his adversary, the contraction of eyes and mouth expresses, but with great restraint and moderation, the violence of the struggle. The Centaurs, on the other hand, by their open mouths and contorted faces, give free expression to their feelings, and so emphasise the contrast between the Greeks and their bestial antagonists. A similar realism occurs in some subordinate figures in both pediments, and goes far to show that these figures are rightly to be interpreted as attendants rather than heroes or personifications. The most striking examples are old people; the two old women who recline next the end figures in the western pediment are, as we have seen, copies in a different material, and betray in some points[1] the conventions and technique of a later age; but they must be pretty close copies of the originals which they replaced, and the realistic type of their faces is probably intended to characterise them as barbarian slaves. The old man who sits behind the horses of Oenomaus is almost like a realistic portrait, with his wrinkled forehead and pensive expression, the droop of his lower eyelids, and the heavy forms of his features; and the same character is continued in the heavy forms of his body, and the deep-cut grooves and folds of flesh beneath his chest.

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[1] For example, the upper eyelid overlaps the under at the corner, instead of meeting it at an angle, as in the other figures.

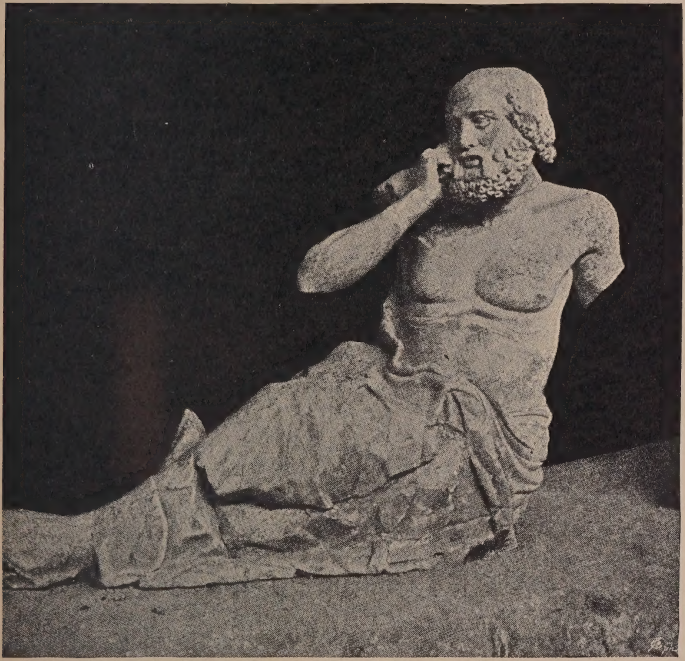

Fig. 59.—Aged seer, from E. pediment at Olympia (Olympia).

The hair, when it is treated sculpturally, is usually rendered in wavy lines on the head and over the forehead, ending in small spiral curls, finished with a drill; in some cases the small curls are all over the head. But often the hair is merely outlined in broad masses and then left plain: there is no doubt that we must regard such treatment as a preparation for the application of colour. This brings us to a very important factor in any criticism of the Olympian sculptures. The use of colour is evidently relied on or allowed for by the artists throughout their work, whether to bring out their modelling or to hide their shortcomings. It is possible that many things which now appear most unpleasing or inadequate in the plain marble, would with this help produce a very different impression, especially when seen from a distance. We need every such help to explain the defects of execution which meet us on all sides, and contrast not only with the vigour of the design and composition, but also with the excellence of the work in some parts, especially in the modelling of the nude male body.

With all these allowances, we may attribute the execution of the Olympian pediments to a school of local sculptors of varying excellence, brought up in the athletic traditions of the Peloponnese, and far more at home in the treatment of the nude male form than of female figures or of draperies, though some of them strive to remedy this defect by a close and even realistic study of nature in detail. Such realistic touches seem strangely inconsistent with the archaic stiffness of other parts; the combination of the two contrasts with the systematic and regularly evolved method of treatment which alone can properly be called style, and which we see in the treatment of female figures and drapery by Attic sculptors of the same period or in the treatment accorded by the same Olympian sculptors to subjects with which they were familiar. Doubtless a school of subordinate sculptors of athletic subjects must have been created at Olympia by the regular demand for statues of victors, and these men would naturally be employed in the execution of the pediments of the temple. It is quite a different question who was responsible for their design.

The external metopes over the colonnade that surrounded the temple were plain, but those over the internal columns that formed the entrance to the prodomus and opisthodomus, at front and back, were filled with sculptures, representing the labours of Heracles. Four columns imply three intercolumniations, and so there were six metopes in this position at either end. At the east were (1) the Erymanthian boar, (2) the horses of Diomed, (3) Geryon, (4) Atlas and the apples of the Hesperides, (5) the cleansing of the Augean stable, and (6) Cerberus.

Some fragments of all these were recovered by the German excavations, but only two in any approach to completeness. The finest of all, both in preservation and in composition, is the fourth, in which Heracles stands bearing on his arms and his shoulders the weight of the heavens, which is conventionally represented by the upper part of the entablature. Behind him stands one of the Hesperides, who raises one hand as if to help

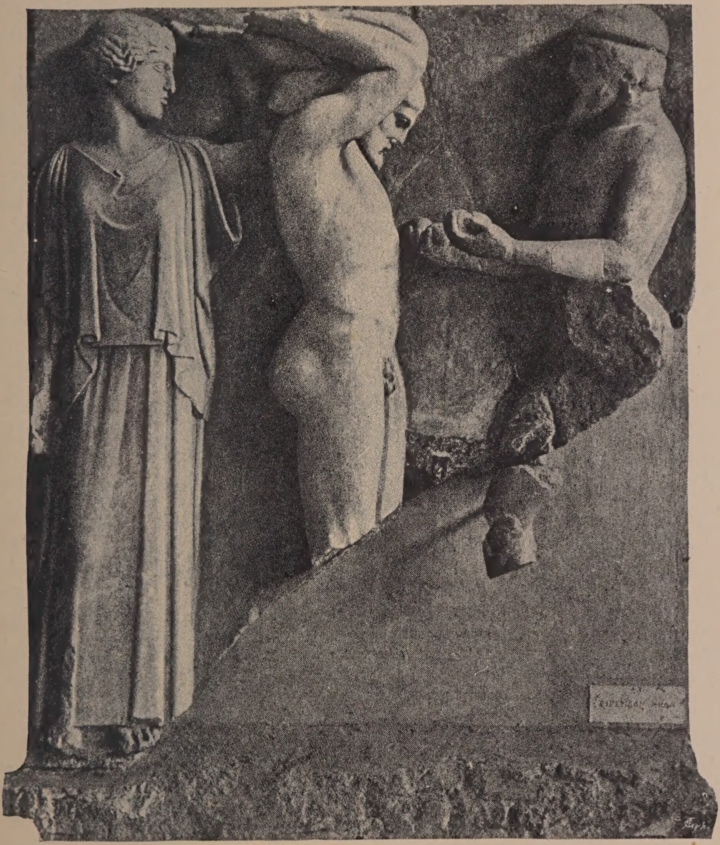

FIG. 60.—Metope from temple of Zeus at Olympia: Heracles and Atlas with the apples of the Hesperides (Olympia).

him in his task, while Atlas approaches and offers him the apples. The scene is full of naïve or realistic touches—the cushion which Heracles has placed on his shoulders to bear the weight, the friendly but futile help of the nymph, the irony with which Atlas offers the apples which Heracles is unable to take. The same character prevails in the fifth metope, where Heracles vigorously applies himself to his repulsive task, and Athena stands by and directs him. The hero is actually sweeping out the filth with a broom. The metopes of the west end represented (7) the Nemean lion, (8) the Lernaean Hydra, (9) the Stymphalian birds, (10) the Cretan bull, (11) the Cerynian stag, and (12) the Amazon Hippolyta. The greater part of (10) and the Athena from (9) were found by the French Expédition Scientifique, and are now in the Louvre, but both have been supplemented by new portions in the German excavations, which have also yielded fragments of the rest. The Nemean lion was represented as already vanquished, while the hero stood with one foot on his victim, and rested his head on his hand in weariness. The treatment of the ninth labour is also naïve and original. Athena sits in no very dignified attitude on a rock, and turns her head to look at the Stymphalian birds, which Heracles is bringing to her. The next metope is perhaps the finest of all; the artist seems to have found a subject to suit his skill in the struggle between Heracles and the Cretan bull, and the vigour and balance of the composition, as the bull springs to the right, and is held in by the hero, who leans right across the field to the left, could not well be surpassed. These metopes suffice to give us a notion of the character of the whole series; in execution they are very similar to the pediments; they show the same variety in the treatment of the hair, the same mixture of stiffness and realism in the drapery, the same excellence in the modelling of the nude male figure; we even find the same rough blocking out of the hair as a preparation for the application of colour; we see in them the same excellences and defects, except that, being in high relief and not in the round, there was hardly room for such glaring mistakes in the execution as we saw in some parts of the pediments. It is clear that the marble was actually carved by the same sculptors as worked on the pediment, and at about the same time. As to the originator of the designs we cannot speak with so much confidence, but they are evidently the work of a man of bold and original imagination, who has invented many admirable compositions, though not always in strict accordance with the dignity of the subjects and characters represented.

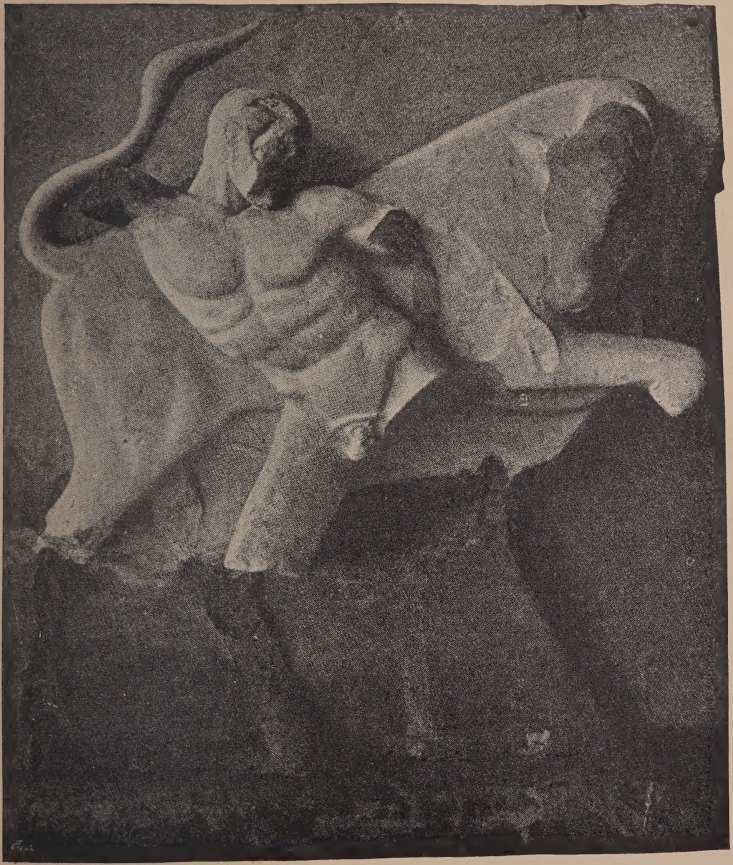

FIG. 61.—Metope from temple of Zeus at Olympia: Heracles and Cretan Bull (Paris, Louvre; and Olympia).

To complete the sculptural decoration of the temple, acroteria were added by Paeonius, the same artist to whom Pausanias attributes the eastern pediment;[1] these were probably figures of Victory similar to the one which he made later for the Messenians in Naupactus, and which was found in the German excavations.[2] Upon the summit of the temple was a golden shield, dedicated by the Spartans after their victory over the Athenians and Argives at Tanagra at the end of 457 B.C. This gives us a date when the temple must practically have been complete, and so we have an approximate date for the sculpture; for the metopes must have been already in position, though of course some of the pedimental sculptures might have been added later. The temple is said to have been built from the spoil of the Pisatans, conquered by the Eleans probably a little before 470 B.C. We may, then, regard the years immediately after this date as the period to which we must assign the sculpture of the temple; and this corresponds very well with what we should expect from the style of the work, so far as we may assume the progress of art in different places to be contemporaneous.

We must now return to the statement of Pausanias as to the design of the eastern and western pediments being due to Paeonius and Alcamenes respectively. The similarity in style of the two pediments, both to one another and to the metopes, may sufficiently be explained by assigning the actual execution to a local school of sculptors. The question is whether, allowing for this consideration and for others which we have noticed, such as the distance from which the pediments were to be seen and the application of colour, it is possible to attribute their original design to these two artists. If it is not impossible, we are bound to consider the statement of Pausanias, which is as clear and definite as any passage in an ancient author on which the identification of an extant work is based.

The only other fact known about Paeonius is that he made the Victory already mentioned for the Messenians of Naupactus, probably between 424 and 420 B.C.[3] Though it must be admitted that in style this work is very different from the pediments, we must remember that it is from the artist's own hand, not only from his design. It may be a work of his old age, after he had fallen under the influence of Phidias and the

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[1] It has indeed been suggested that a confusion of the acroteria and pediments gave rise to the statement of Pausanias; but this does not explain the introduction of Alcamenes.

[2] See below, § 42.

[3] See below, § 42.

Attic school, and if so it offers no sufficient proof that he may not in his early manhood have designed the eastern pediment of the temple. With Alcamenes the case is different. He was a pupil and rival of Phidias. He made two statues dedicated by Thrasybulus after the expulsion of the "thirty tyrants" in 403 B.C., and even if these were the work of his extreme old age, the design of the western pediment at Olympia, which cannot have been made much later than 470 B.C., is not likely to have been entrusted to a youthful student, even if he were associated with an older sculptor in the undertaking. Still, we must admit it as barely possible that Alcamenes, as a Lemnian, may have been known to Paeonius of Mende, that he may have assisted, as quite a young man, in the design of the Olympian pediments, and may have had the design of the western pediment especially assigned to him. After this he may have attached himself to Phidias when he came to Olympia, and have accompanied him back to Athens. Still, if the pediments were only designed by Paeonius and Alcamenes, and their execution was left to local sculptors, it is difficult to see why the elder master should have needed an assistant; and the whole chain of bare possibilities we have just enumerated must be admitted to produce together a very improbable case. If we reject the evidence of Pausanias so far as concerns Alcamenes, its credibility as to Paeonius is seriously weakened. Perhaps the safest conclusion is to admit that Pausanias may conceivably be right, but that his statement involves so many improbabilities as to make us unable to draw any inferences from it either about the Olympian pediments, or about the two sculptors to whom he assigns them.

§ 31. *Calamis.*—We have already had occasion to mention Calamis by anticipation, in speaking of the rise of Attic sculpture up to the time of the Persian wars. But when we come to consider him and his works in their proper place, we find our knowledge perhaps more tantalising than in the case of any other of the great artists of antiquity. We know that his works were still greatly admired even in later times by those who had before them all the masterpieces of Greek sculpture in its prime and in its decadence; and a master who comes just before the period of highest achievement would be sure to appeal to our appreciation in a peculiar degree, so that his works, if we still possessed them, would probably be among the most fascinating of all that Greek art has produced. Unfortunately, the only work which is assigned with any reasonable probability to Calamis can only be so assigned by conjecture.[1]

Beyond the barest catalogue of his works, the only information we possess about Calamis is derived from certain art criticisms. Some of these, such as those repeated by Cicero and Quintilian from some earlier source, tell us only what we could already have surmised from his date, that he still had something of the archaic stiffness and hardness in his style, but less than such men as Canachus and Callon. Fortunately, however, we are not left to such vague and fruitless generalities. Lucian, in one of his most interesting passages, is describing an ideal statue, which should combine the highest excellence of all the greatest work known, and so produce a perfect whole. This eclectic notion may not in itself be a very happy one, but nothing could possibly be more instructive to us, when we remember Lucian's extensive knowledge and excellent critical taste. He writes as follows:

"Now you may see the statue growing under the artist's hand as he fits it together after various models. He takes the head only from the Cnidian goddess, for the rest of that statue, being nude, does not meet his requirements. But her hair and forehead, and the lovely curve of her brows, he shall leave as Praxiteles made it; and the melting eyes, yet bright and full of grace, this too he shall keep according to Praxiteles' design. But the round of the cheeks and front part of the face he shall take from Alcamenes and the goddess of the Gardens, and the hands too and the beautiful flow of the wrist, and the delicately shaped and tapering fingers shall be after the same model. But the outline of the whole face and the delicacy of the cheeks, and the duly proportioned nostril, shall be supplied by the Lemnian Athena and Phidias, and the same master shall supply the way the mouth is set in, and the neck, from his Amazon. Then the Sosandra and Calamis shall crown her with modest courtesy, and her smile shall be noble and unconscious as the Sosandra's, and the comely arrangement and order of her drapery shall come from the Sosandra, except that she shall have her head uncovered. And the measure of her age shall be that of the Cnidian goddess; let us fix that too after Praxiteles." [2]

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[1] See note at end of this section, p. 265, the Delphi Charioteer.

[2] Lucian, *Imagg.* vi.

Here we notice, in the first place, that Calamis is mentioned as a not unworthy compeer of three of the greatest names in art. And when we go farther and notice for what excellences Calamis is preferred even to Phidias and Praxiteles, we find it is for no happily chosen type of feature, no detailed skill of execution, but for the "nameless grace" of the expression and the delicately elaborated composition of the drapery. We have already seen [1] that these are the two characteristics which are most prominent in the statues on the Athenian Acropolis, and that the earlier Attic artists seemed to be progressing along the very lines that would lead to a perfection such as that ascribed to Calamis. Then, again, we find the delicacy and grace of the style of Calamis contrasted by other authors with the grandeur and majesty of Phidias and Polyclitus, to illustrate the similar contrast between Lysias and Isocrates. When we remember that the simplicity and severity that contributes to the grandeur of Phidias is part of a Doric influence on Attic art of which we see many indications in the fifth century, it is hardly rash to infer that we may see in Calamis the most perfect development of the pure Attic style, as we have seen it growing in the Acropolis statues, and as we shall trace its further course in the over-elaboration of Callimachus,[2] and even at a much later time in the conventional grace of the neo-Attic reliefs.[3]

So far we have been concerned rather with an appreciation of the art of Calamis than with facts about his life and works. As to his origin we have no certain statement, but there seems enough evidence in what we know of his works and his school to justify the common opinion that he was an Athenian. As to his date, our only exact information is that he accepted a commission from Hiero of Syracuse, which was not dedicated until after that prince's death in 467 B.C.; a statue of Apollo Alexikakos by the hand of Calamis is said to have been dedicated after the great plague in 430 B.C. There is nothing impossible in an artistic activity which should last long enough to cover both dates, even allowing for the fact that at the earlier Calamis must already have been an artist of repute. But the other facts which we know about Calamis group themselves easily in the period which immediately follows the Persian wars, and the dedication of his Apollo is paralleled by the dedication of a corresponding Heracles by Ageladas of Argos, who certainly cannot have been still living at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war; and so we have no decisive evidence whether Calamis lived beyond the middle of the fifth century; in any case we may safely regard the most active period of his life as falling between the Persian wars and 450 B.C.

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[1] § 24.

[2] See § 38.

[3] See § 77.

When we turn to consider the list of his works, we are at once struck by his great versatility; but one class of statue is conspicuously absent—the athletic, and this exception is instructive. Among gods he made statues of Apollo, Hermes, Dionysus, Zeus Ammon (the last for Pindar), Asclepius, Nike, and Aphrodite, who is probably to be identified with the Sosandra, his most famous work. He also made an Erinnys (or Fury) in Athens (later matched with two more by Scopas), and statues of the heroines Alcmena and Hermione; and these, not being made for public or religious requirements, may probably show us the bent of the artist's own inclinations. Another work of his was a dedication made by the people of Agrigentum in Sicily after their victory over the Phoenician and Libyan inhabitants of Motye; this consisted of boys represented as in prayer or thanksgiving, and was in bronze. Calamis is also said to have made several horses and chariots, including the two horses with jockeys made for Hiero of Syracuse. He was especially famous for his rendering of horses; Ovid and Propertius select this as the one thing for which he was most admired. He worked in marble, in bronze, and in gold and ivory, and one of his Apollos was on a colossal scale, 45 feet high. Thus we see that, although his style was probably a perfect exposition of Attic delicacy and grace, rather than remarkable for originality or the introduction of new and stronger elements, he kept in no narrow groove, but was a worthy representative of Greek sculpture as it might have been, but for the bolder conceptions and more severe tendencies that we see in his contemporaries.

It cannot be said with certainty that recent discovery has given us an original from the hand of Calamis, but in the Delphic charioteer we may probably recognise an Attic work of his time, and not unlike what he might have made. This life-size bronze statue was found between the theatre and the temple at Delphi, together with some fragments of reins and of the horses that formed part of the same group. It had stood upon a basis which recorded its dedication by Polyzalus, a brother of Hiero of Syracuse; thus it belongs to the time immediately following the Persian invasion of Greece. The figure of the charioteer is complete but for the left arm. It represents a young man of aristocratic type, evidently not Polyzalus himself, who must at this time have been advanced in years, but very possibly a youthful member of the same family who acted as driver of the victorious chariot. It is not to be taken as a portrait in the literal sense, but rather as an ideal representation of the high-bred youth of the period, who delighted in chariots and horses, a pursuit nowhere in greater honour than with the reigning family of Syracuse. He stands, upright and alert, in the chariot at rest; the horses' heads were probably held by grooms, of whom some fragments have been found. He is clad in the long chiton of the charioteer; its heavy and severe folds below the girdle, and the simple, though correct, rendering of the folds upon the chest, make the whole seem even more archaic than it is; a closer study shows the texture of the thick and heavy garment to be treated with considerable care and variety. Across the shoulders it is gathered in by a curious arrangement of threads run through the stuff, so as not to impede the freedom of the arms; and there is a most elaborate study of the minute folds thus produced. The head is of the shape with which we meet on Attic works of the time, especially vases; the length of the chin is characteristic; the hair is worked in minute ringlets, clinging so close to the scalp as in no way to obscure the outline; they are bound by a flat fillet, with a key pattern once inlaid in silver; the filling of the eyes still remains, and greatly enhances the effect of the expression. The edges of the bronze eye-sockets project, and are carefully cut into a number of minute points which represent the eyelashes[1] and shade the eyeballs. The reddish-brown iris and the black pupil give a most lifelike effect to the original. The chin and lips are full, but not so heavy as they appear in a cast; in form they remind us not only of the drawing on the Attic vases, but also of the expression which we find on the most delicately and carefully finished of the heads from the Athenian Acropolis, notably the one reproduced in Fig. 38. It is, above all, in the modelling of the arm and of the feet that the sculptor has exceeded himself; the forms are wonderfully slight and graceful, yet not lacking in strength; the delicacy and precision of the work but serve to emphasise the aristocratic distinction of the type. We seem to have before us in this statue the culmination of the development which we could trace in the early Attic statues on the Acropolis, but with just that added touch of dignity and distinction which

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[1] This feature is altogether lost or obscured in casts, in which these minute points run together into a shapeless and unsightly mass.

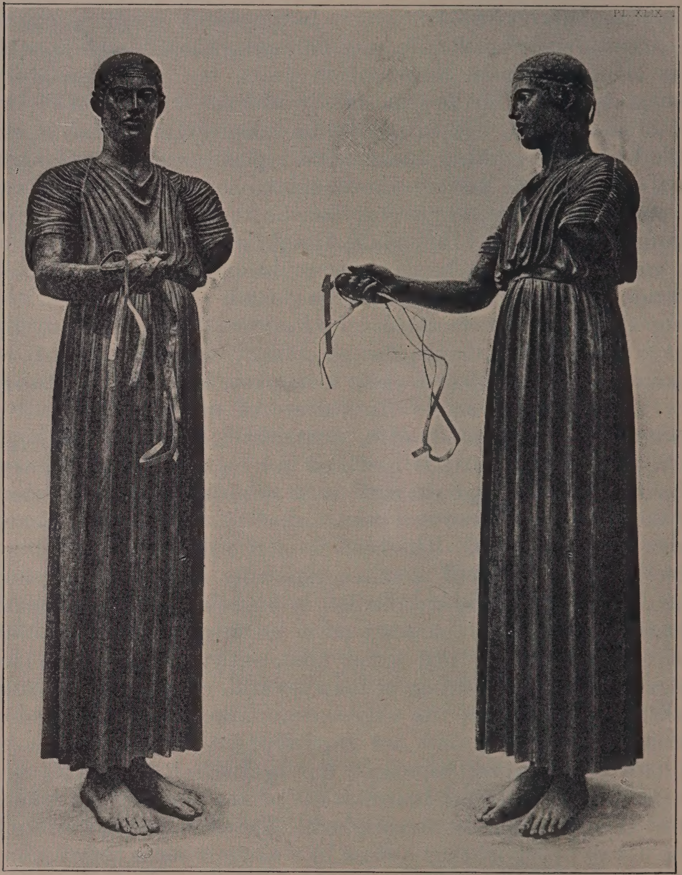

Fig. 62.—Charioteer (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II. xlix.-l.).

we should expect to find in the work of a master. When we remember that literary tradition points to Calamis as the sculptor to whom this early Attic school was leading up, and that in the most advanced of the Acropolis statues we could even feel some anticipation of the "nameless grace" of his style, it seems at least within the bounds of probability that the charioteer may be a work from his hand. He was especially famous for chariot groups, and we know that he undertook some commissions for the princely Syracusan family of which Polyzalus was a member. In any case the Attic affinities of the statue are conspicuous; and at the time to which it belongs, Calamis was the most characteristic artist of the Attic school. We need therefore have little hesitation in using the Delphic charioteer to help us to form an estimate of his work.[1]

Note.—A certain statue (the so-called Apollo on the Omphalos, see § 33) has been attributed by some high authorities to Calamis. But the external evidence in favour of this attribution is admitted on all sides to be almost worthless, and it is merely a preconception, based of course upon classical authorities, as to what the style of Calamis is likely to be, that can lead us to accept it. I may therefore record that my own preconception as to his style would lead me to expect a statue extremely unlike, in all respects, to this statue that has been attributed to him. Of course this opinion would have to yield to any real evidence, but as long as it is a question of preconceptions, one may be set against the other. Certainly neither must be used as a basis for any further inferences.

The altar quoted by Overbeck as reflecting the style of Calamis, and even reproducing two of his works, the Hermes Criophorus and the Sosandra, has been rejected by von Duhn and others on the ground that the Hermes at Tanagra is shown by coins to have been beardless; and there is nothing characteristic about the other figure. The style, being Attic, is not unsuitable, though rather too archaic to be derived from such famous works. The Wilton House statue of a Hermes Criophorus, even if it be traceable to the same source, is a conventional archaistic reproduction, of but little value for style.

§ 32. *Myron.*—In Myron even more than in Calamis we meet an artist who was declared by the common voice of antiquity to stand in the very foremost rank among sculptors. His name is again and again coupled with those of Phidias, Praxiteles, Polyclitus, and Lysippus. And fortunately in his case we are not reduced to quoting the opinion even of a Lucian. If we have no original from the hand of Myron, we at least possess copies of some of his most famous works, and so we are in a position to form our opinion as to his style at first hand. Let us follow the principle already adopted in other cases, and take our start from what is certain. The description given by Lucian of Myron's Discobolus could hardly be improved on for accuracy; if only we possessed a few more such descriptions of ancient works, the field for conjecture would be greatly narrowed; he calls it "the disc-thrower, who is bent down into the position for the throw; turning towards the hand that holds the disc, and all but kneeling on one knee, he seems as if he would straighten himself up at the throw." If we look at one of the many copies that are preserved of this statue, our first impression is of astonishment and even incredulity. A work of such extraordinary technical skill, and even placed in a most distorted attitude,[1] as if to increase the difficulties presented to the artist, may well seem at first sight most unlikely to be the product of the period of transition when sculpture was gradually freeing itself from the trammels of archaic stiffness, and approaching that perfection of technical skill which was essential for its highest development. Yet the facts are perfectly clear; the identification is a certain one, and even the period of Myron, before somewhat uncertain, has been fixed by an inscribed basis, found on the Acropolis, and dating from about 450 B.C., which bears the name of Myron's son and pupil Lycius as the sculptor.[2] Thus it is proved that Myron, as well as Calamis, must have worked in the period between the Persian wars and the middle of the fifth century. We must, then, accept the date of this work as certain, and look for an explanation of its character. In the first place we must remember that most of the copies with which we are familiar belong to a much later period, and have toned down the freshness and vigour of the original into a comparatively commonplace character; for style as well as for position the only trustworthy copy is that in the

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[1] Various other theories have been held about the Delphi charioteer; two of them must be mentioned because of the wide acceptance they have gained. The first of these, advocated by Dr. Svoronos, is that we should identify it as the chariot group dedicated by the Cyreneans, representing their founder Battus, by the Cretan artist Amphion of Cnossus; but, apart from other difficulties, the date of Amphion makes this impossible; for he was removed by two generations from Critius (480 B.C.), and his pupil worked on the Aegospotami group in 404 B.C. Another suggestion is that of Professor von Duhn, that ιλας at the beginning of the erased inscription is the name of Anaxilas of Rhegium, and that the group was in all probability made by Pythagoras of Rhegium. This is in many ways attractive; but it is untenable if the correct reading is Γ]έλας. A dedication of a prince of Gela might well be by Calamis, who worked for Hiero of Syracuse.

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[1] "Distortum et elaboratum."—Quintil. ii. 13. 10.

[2] Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, 1889, p. 179. The athletic victories commemorated by Myron are dated by the Oxyrynchus list in 476 (Ladas), 456, and 448 B.C.

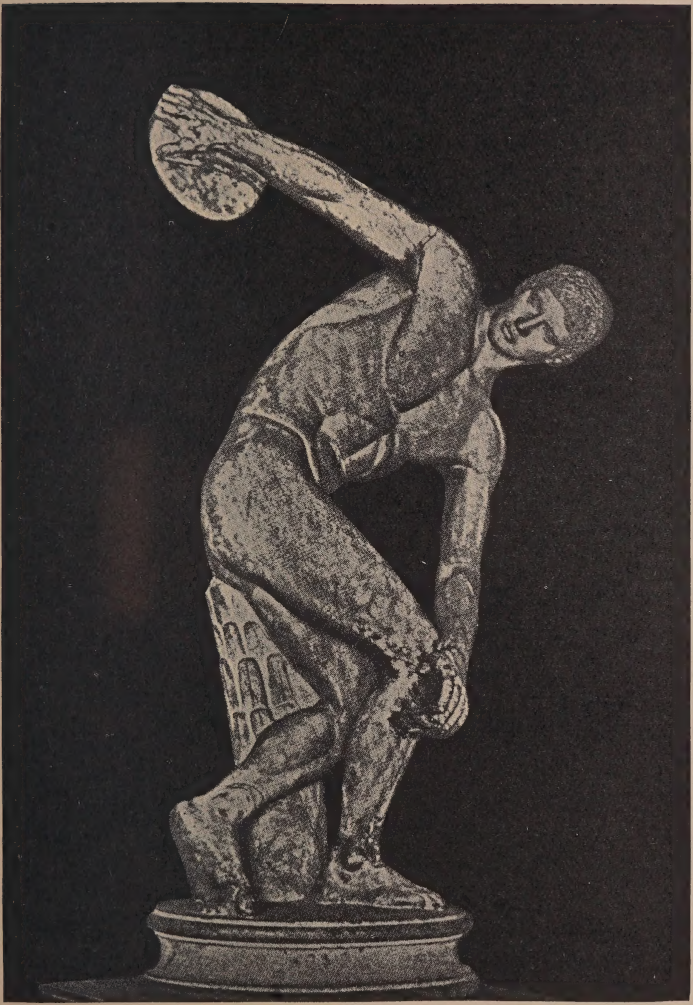

FIG. 63.—Discobolus Lancelotti, after Myron (Rome, Palazzo Lancelotti).

Reproduced by permission from Brunn-Bruckmann, "Denkmäler" (München).

Palazzo Lancelotti[1] in Rome, and here we see a dryness and definition of work, especially in the rendering of the muscles, that remind us most strongly of the Attic Tyrannicides (see § 24). For the vigour and even violence of the action we may also compare the same work, and thus Myron finds his place as the direct successor of Critius and Nesiotes, and the greatest exponent of the athletic Attic school, just as Calamis represents what we may call the graceful Attic school. But when we compare the Discobolus with this earlier work, we find a contrast as well as a resemblance. For the splendid and impulsive forward charge of Harmodius and Aristogiton there is substituted a self-contained poise of the whole figure, which holds, as it were, concentrated within itself the power which in the Tyrannicides is already in full energy of action. The contrast is not so much in the choice of subject as in the choice of moment. The Discobolus is represented in the moment of rest that precedes the throw, and every muscle of his body is strained to the utmost, ready to contribute its part to the final effort. However much we may admire the impulsive vigour of the earlier work, we must acknowledge that Myron had a truer instinct for what is fitting to sculpture than the earlier artists, in that the subject he chose was not in violent motion but at rest, though the rest is but momentary. He may, indeed, show us on the one hand an exaggerated reaction against archaic stiffness, but, on the other hand, we see here the most skilful preservation of that *αὐτάρκεια* which we always find in Greek sculpture of the best period; the statue is self-centred and self-sufficient, and its meaning does not depend on any exterior object, nor, as often in the next century and later, on its relation to the spectator.

So far we have been concerned with only one of Myron's statues; but we have at least one other extant work which has been identified as his, and literary tradition gives us a good deal of information, more or less trustworthy, about his life and works. He was a native of Eleutherae on the frontiers of Attica and Boeotia, but he is often called an Athenian; he lived and worked in Athens, to which city his pupils also belonged. It is stated that Myron as well as Phidias and Polyclitus was a pupil of Ageladas of Argos. In the case of Polyclitus such a relation to Ageladas is extremely probable,[1] and there is no sufficient reason for rejecting the statement in the case of the other two artists. The story may be due to a compiler under Sicyonian or Argive influence, who wished to insist on the continuity of the early Argive school and its influence on the greatest artists of other cities. But it is not without some historical basis. We have seen and shall see the importance of this influence on Attic sculpture of the fifth century. But apart from the story about Ageladas, there is no clear evidence for a personal connection of Myron with an Argive master. Though his athletic tendencies seem to lend colour to such a view, the originality with which he treated athletic subjects, the character of his style, and the type of face and figure which he prefers, all stamp his work as essentially Attic. His lithe and muscular but lightly built athlete contrasts most strongly with the solid and even heavy forms of Polyclitus, and there is a similar contrast in the head between the delicate oval and pointed chin of the Attic master and the square form and massive jaw of the Argive type. Myron's originality in athletic statues is best exemplified by his Ladas, which, from the epigrams written upon it and the fame it conferred on its subject, seems to have been one of the most famous of all antiquity. Ladas, the first runner of his day, won the long foot-race at Olympia, and died soon after from the effects. Myron's statue is said to have given living expression in every limb to the eager expectation of victory, and the breathless tension of the athlete whose supreme effort cost him his life. We must be content to know no more of this work than what we are thus told. About another of his works very many epigrams have been written, which, however, tell us more of the ingenuity of the writers than of the statue they celebrate. This is the bronze heifer, once in Athens, and later moved to Rome. This animal is said to have been marvellously lifelike, and was even more famous than the horses of Myron's contemporary Calamis.

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[1] Formerly in the Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne — so in earlier textbooks.

We have still to consider the other extant work of Myron; that is to say, the one of which we possess well-authenticated copies. The case here, however, is not so simple as it is with the Discobolus. Among the works of Myron mentioned by Pliny is a satyr in wonder at the flutes and Athena—a group almost certainly identical with that of Athena and Marsyas

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[1] See §§ 25 and 40.

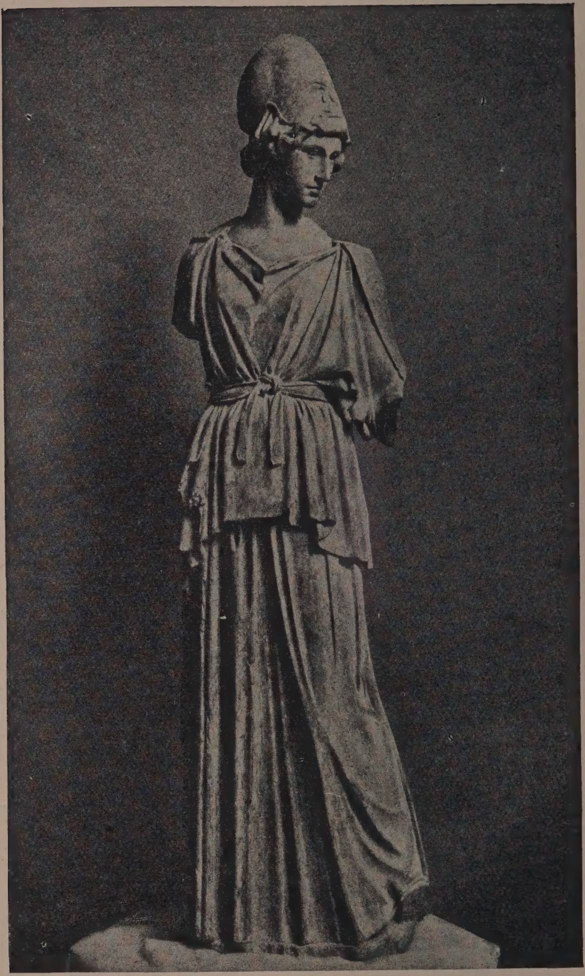

FIG. 64.—Athena from Myron's group (Frankfurt a. M.).

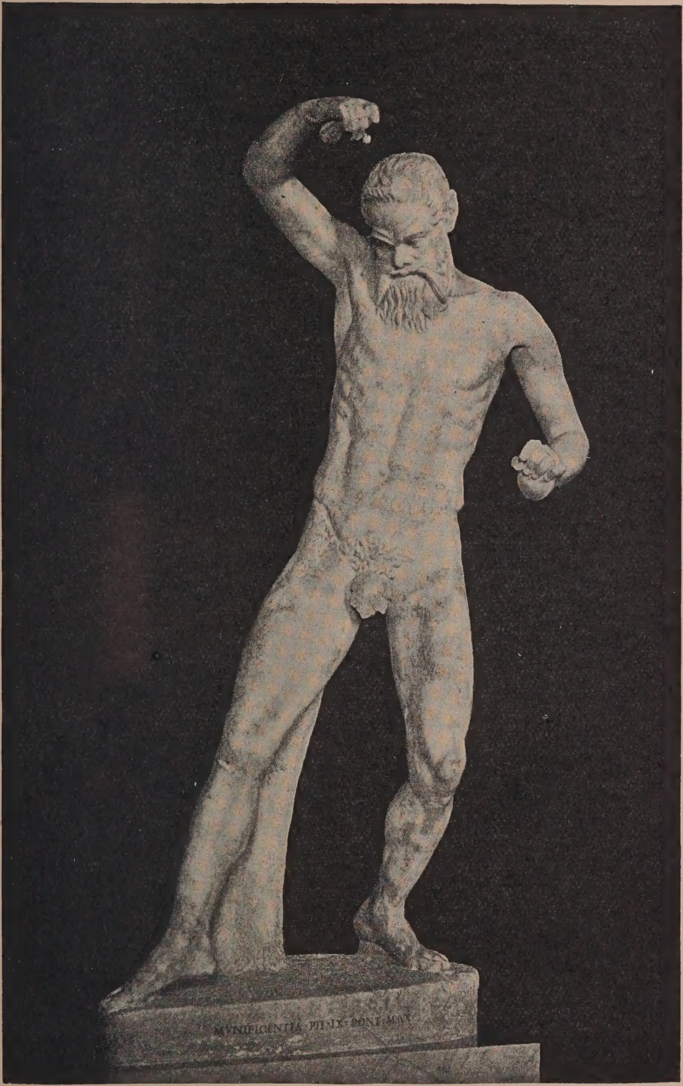

Fig. 65.—Copy after statue of Marsyas, by Myron (Rome, Lateran).

on the Acropolis at Athens. According to the myth, Athena invented the flutes, but threw them away on finding how they disfigured her face; they were picked up by Marsyas, who, after learning to play them, had the rashness to challenge Apollo and his lyre, and was flayed for his presumption. The legend is a favourite one in art, as symbolising in yet another form the contest between Greece and barbarism. We have repetitions of this group on coins, a vase, and a marble vase with relief;[1] and with the help of these a marble statue in the Lateran at Rome has been identified as the Marsyas of the group,[2] and a smaller bronze in the British Museum, though worked out in the style of a later period, reproduces the same type; the Lateran figure has been restored as if he were dancing with castanets in his hand; the right forearm should be raised, the left lowered. The Athena of the group has also been recently recognised in a statue of which several copies survive, the best at Frankfurt;[3] another copy of the head exists in Dresden. So long as the Marsyas only was known, the usual explanation of the motive was as follows. The satyr Marsyas, advancing to pick up the discarded flutes, is suddenly confronted by the goddess, and his surprise is shown by his position and the strain of every muscle as his advance is changed to a backward start:—

ὡς ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη.

According to such a theory, it is the momentary pause which follows this start that is here chosen by Myron, just as in the Discobolus he has chosen the momentary pause that precedes the violent motion. Then, since the motion was from within, the preceding moment seemed to contain the action in itself; here, since the impulse comes from without, it is the succeeding moment that shows its result most fully. An interesting comparison for the composition and balance of this group is offered by the central group of the west pediment of the Parthenon,[4] which is certainly formed on the same lines—a resemblance to which we shall have to recur when we deal with the later work. The group, however, now that it is completed by the figure of Athena, produces a somewhat different impression. The goddess has evidently been advancing, and her advance is suddenly arrested, as is admirably shown by her position and the swing of her drapery; the flutes probably lay on the ground at her feet, where she had just flung them down. Marsyas, however, does not so much give the impression of starting back, as of a stealthy approach on tiptoe, his arms held out to balance his body, as he comes near to pick up the flutes. But his advance in any case seems to be checked by the half-turn of the goddess; only that the whole shows a subtler balance between the figures than we could realise from the Marsyas only. The Athena in herself is a charming girlish figure, which is a new revelation of the power of Myron to mingle grace with severity, though it represents rather the girl athlete than the great goddess of Athens.

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[1] Called the Finlay vase, because formerly in that historian's collection; now in the Athens National Museum.

[2] A better copy, of the head only, is published in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome*, X. ii.

[3] Sauer, *Jahrb.* xxiii., 1908, p. 125; Pollak, *Jahresh.* xii., 1909, p. 154.

[4] As in Carrey's drawing and other evidence.

Of other works of Myron we know little more than the names; but even these are some indication. Except a Hecate at Aegina and Athena in two groups, we hear of no female statue from his hand. Statues of Apollo and Dionysus are among his works, as well as a group of Zeus, Athena, and Heracles. We may contrast with the Alcmena and Hermione of Calamis Myron's choice of subjects from the heroic cycle: among his most famous works were Erechtheus, Heracles, and Perseus. This Perseus has been identified with great probability in a head in the Antiquarium at Rome,[1] which shows a maturer example of the style we see in the Discobolus. The Erechtheus, in particular, is quoted by Pausanias as the most remarkable of all Myron's works, though, curiously enough, he does not mention it in his description of Athens, where he says it stood.[2] We hear also of several athlete statues from his hand, a dog as well as the famous heifer, and certain pristae,[3] of which the interpretations are so various and so plausible that we can only ignore them as evidence for his art. Finally, Myron was one of the most famous toreutae of antiquity, and pieces of plate chiselled by him were prized by the connoisseurs of Roman times.

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[1] *B.D.* 603, 604. The Perseus head in the British Museum is a copy which has lost all the character of the original, and given it a much later appearance.

[2] Unless it be one of the Eponymi, i. 5. 2. Pausanias there mentions another statue of Pandion, and would probably have mentioned Myron's Erechtheus, if it were a different work.

[3] It has been translated sea-beasts, sawyers, and players at see-saw. As carpenters they have been associated with the infant Perseus in a group; but Pausanias' description seems to imply a statue of him. Others emend to "pyctas."

The material used by Myron appears to have been almost exclusively bronze;[1] and he is recorded to have used the Delian composition, not the Aeginetan, preferred by Polyclitus. We must allow for this fact in considering his style. For style, our most trustworthy evidence is to be found in the best copies of the Discobolus, the Athena, and the Marsyas, which agree very well with one another. But we may also quote the opinions of classical authorities, based on a wider acquaintance with Myron's works. To pass over mere platitudes, which tell us that they were all but free from archaic hardness, or that they were so far advanced that one "need not hesitate to call them beautiful," or mere conjunctions of his name with those of other artists such as Phidias, Polyclitus, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, we find that the life of his statues is what most impressed later writers. This is the keynote of all the epigrams on his heifer; Petronius says he "paene hominum animas ferarumque aere comprehenderat." The criticism quoted by Pliny is fuller; he says: "Myron was the first to attain variety in realism; he was more versatile in his art, Polyclitus more studious of symmetry. Yet Myron concerned himself only with the body, and did not express mental feelings. In the rendering of hair, too, he made no advance on archaic models."[2] Quintilian, too, quotes the Discobolus as a work of art chiefly to be admired for the originality and difficulty of the subject, and adds that any one who found fault with its studied contortion would thereby stultify himself as an art critic.

Most of these criticisms are fully borne out by the works of Myron which we possess. In the treatment of hair, for example, the head of the Lancelotti Discobolus shows a conventional archaic treatment. Even the statement that he did not express mental feelings is not inconsistent with the lifelike vigour and reality of his works. The contrast implied is with the subtle expressions of passion or emotion that mark the fourth century, or even with those great embodiments of an ideal character that were due to Phidias and Polyclitus. The distinguishing feature of Myron's work is the fulness of physical life, and its varied, sometimes even exaggerated, expression in bronze. In him we see complete mastery over the material; but the mastery is not yet so easy as to become unconscious; it is rather insisted on, and sometimes even the difficulty of the task is purposely increased, that the skill to overcome it may also be emphasised. Such a tendency in a late stage of artistic development may be a disastrous symptom; but in this early period it merely shows the first exuberance of freedom from the trammels of archaic stiffness, when every new artistic attainment is a trophy to celebrate the victory of the sculptor's skill over the stubborn material with which he has to contend.

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[1] The only apparent exception is a *ξόανον* of Hecate. For this word see Introduction (*b*). Perhaps it was gold and ivory; cf. *S.Q.* 539, note.

[2] See note at end of section.

NOTE, on Plin. xxxiv. 58 (*S.Q.* 533) "numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior."—The interpretation of this much-disputed passage depends on two things—firstly, the translation of the word "numerosior"; secondly, whether we accept and try to explain the astonishing statement of the MS. reading that Myron was more studious of symmetry than Polyclitus, or emend so as to make it mean exactly the opposite. The first of these also depends to some extent on the second.

It is very difficult for any one who has read the ancient criticisms on Polyclitus, which all uphold symmetry as his one most distinguishing characteristic, to believe that in a conventional criticism like this of Pliny's there is anything but a repetition of the same opinion. If so, the easiest emendation is to omit *et* with Sillig: its insertion by a scribe is easy to explain.

Then the rigid symmetry of Polyclitus, who made his works "paene ad exemplum," is contrasted with Myron's variety of pose. This is in accordance with Pliny's use of the word "numerosus" elsewhere. The very comparison "diligentior quam numerosior" occurs in xxxv. 130, referring to an artist who spent much work upon but few pictures.

§ 33. *Pythagoras* is a sculptor of whose style and attainments it is peculiarly difficult to form any exact estimate. We possess no certain copy of any work of his.[1] Nor have we, on the other hand, so clear indications of his artistic associations and tendencies as in the case of Calamis, nor so suggestive descriptions of any of his works. Yet we are told that he surpassed Myron,[2] not only by a certain statue of a pancratiast at Delphi, but also in the rendering of hair, and care in the execution of veins and muscles; and that he was the first artist to aim at "rhythm and symmetry." Beyond these statements we have little to go upon except the list of his works and some information as to his master and his nationality. This last point has fortunately been cleared up by an inscription found at Olympia on the base of one of his most famous works, in which he calls himself a Samian. Thus the mistake is corrected by which Pliny and others distinguish Pythagoras of Rhegium from a Samian artist of the same name. His family was probably among the Samian exiles who came to Rhegium and Messina soon after 496 B.C., and he seems throughout his career to have preferred to call himself a Samian, though he is described as of Rhegium by most authorities. His master is said to have been Clearchus of Rhegium, of whom we have somewhat inconsistent accounts;[1] but the most probable attaches this Clearchus to the Spartan school, and his only recorded work stood at Sparta. It would, however, be rash to infer much about his pupil from these facts; the only thing clear is that Pythagoras, even if he was born in Samos, received his artistic education in Rhegium. Two of his works can be dated with some precision. The famous boxer Euthymus of Locri in Italy was thrice victorious in the Olympian games, and Pythagoras' statue of him was set up after his third victory in 472 B.C.[2] In the case of another athlete, Astylos of Croton, who also won on three occasions, from 488 to 480, the exact date of the statue is not so clear,[3] but it probably belongs to the time between 488 and 484. Thus the period of Pythagoras' artistic activity falls, like that of Calamis and of Myron, into the years immediately following the Persian wars. Several other athlete statues are ascribed to him—of the brutal wrestler Leontiscus of Messina (452 B.C.), who made up for his lack of skill by breaking his antagonist's fingers; of the long-distance runner Dromeus of Stymphalus; of the hoplite-runner Mnaseas of Cyrene (456 B.C.), better known as the Libyan; of Mnaseas' son Cratisthenes, with a figure of Victory in a chariot; of Pratolaus, the boy boxer from Mantinea. These suffice to show the variety of Pythagoras' athlete subjects and the wide extent of his fame, but they tell us little of his style or treatment; and of another statue of his, the singer Cleon of Thebes, we only hear that it must have been richly draped, since a fold of its garment sufficed to conceal and protect for many years a sum of gold hidden there at the sack of Thebes. His subjects from heroic mythology are an Europa seated on the bull, highly prized by the Tarentines; a group of the brothers Eteocles and Polynices, who slew one another before Thebes: they were probably represented as a pair of combatants; a Perseus, who was represented with wings: here again he had a rival in Myron;[1] and, above all, a Philoctetes—if we are to identify Pythagoras' "lame man at Syracuse, who seems to make even those that see him feel the pain of his wound," with the subject of the epigram—

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[1] Though we have some not improbable ones; see note (*a*) at the end of this section.

[2] See note (*b*) at end of this section, on artistic contests.

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[1] See § 23. Possibly the connection with Clearchus was merely an invention to bring the most famous Rhegine master into relation with the early Rhegine sculptor.

[2] This is proved by the inscription, Loewy, 23.

[3] It has been inferred from the fact that Pausanias calls him "of Croton," while he was proclaimed at his second and third victories as Syracusan, to please Hiero, that this statue was set up after his first victory. If the statue in the temple of Hera Lacinia, which his townsmen destroyed, was a replica of this by Pythagoras, the inference is correct. But this is perhaps not certain. The nationality mentioned by Pausanias proves nothing about the nationality mentioned in the inscription, for Pythagoras is called by him "of Rhegium" in this context.

> Ulysses' peer, beyond all Greeks my foe,
>   The sculptor that recalls me to my pain;
> After the cave, the sore, the weary woe,
>   In lasting bronze I suffer all again.

The identification, however, though probable, is not quite certain; still less can two gems that represent a limping Philoctetes be taken, in the absence of all other monumental evidence, as a basis on which to ground our notion of Pythagoras' style. The only representation of any god by Pythagoras of which we have record is an "Apollo transfixing the serpent with his arrows." This very subject appears upon coins of Croton about half a century later, the god and the snake being placed one on each side of a large tripod which takes up the centre of the field. But although we may allow that the coin engraver may have had in his mind the group by Pythagoras, his artistic treatment would be practically independent; the composition would be prescribed by the shape of the field and here also by the prominent coin-type, the tripod, while the execution would be that of the coin engraver's own day.

Such are the meagre results of our criticism of the evidence as to Pythagoras. Indeed, there is hardly any artist of the same eminence of whose work we know so little. It would be easy to amplify this little by conjectures; but it seems more profitable to try to deduce from it what we really do know of this sculptor.

It seems clear, as we have already seen, that he was a contemporary, perhaps a rather older contemporary, of Calamis and Myron. Yet he seems to have advanced beyond them in some ways. The list of his works shows most prominently that he was above all a sculptor of athletes; and this fact tends to confirm the view that he fell under the Peloponnesian influence prevalent in his new home at Rhegium, instead of clinging to the Ionic traditions of his native island of Samos. But he certainly seems, to judge from the scanty criticisms of his work which we possess, to have been an artist of marked originality The technical improvements attributed to him seem to indicate him as more than any other the man to remove the last traces of archaic stiffness and convention, and to prepare the way for the most perfect products of Greek sculpture; and his "lame man, who seems to make even those that see him feel the pain of his wound," shows how completely he possessed the power of expression. Finally, the ῥυθμός and συμμετρία that are attributed to his work require more careful explanation. Symmetry, a careful study of the proportions and relations of different parts of the body, seems peculiarly suitable to a sculptor of athletes; but "rhythm" is a word of which it is not easy to catch the exact meaning.[1] I think its nearest English equivalent in this sense is "style," in the more technical usage of the word; that is, a treatment of all parts, in relation to one another and to the whole, after some definite and harmonious system. In the advance from archaic stiffness and convention to the freedom and perfection of the finest period, each artist had contributed his share. One had approached more nearly to truth to nature in the external forms, another had filled the whole body with life, another had refined the expression of the face, another had studied grace of detail and of composition. It seems to have been the especial function of Pythagoras to harmonise and unite all these improvements, and so to give a unity and homogeneity of style to the whole work, such as may often have escaped those who were too closely occupied with one aspect of artistic development.

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[1] Unless the same work has by mistake been attributed to each sculptor in turn. We have but the briefest notice in each case, and the confusion would be easy.

NOTE (*a*).—One conjectural identification of a work of Pythagoras is in itself so probable and so consistent with external evidence as to his style that I have hesitated whether to insert it in the text; but it seemed to be excluded by the rule I have tried to follow, of admitting nothing that does not rest on some more definite evidence than is here available. The attribution to Pythagoras of a statue known by the numerous copies of it that have survived, including the so-called "Apollo on the Omphalos" at Athens (the Omphalos found near it certainly does not belong) and the "Choiseul-Gouffier" Apollo in the British Museum (cf. § 30), and the identification of it as the boxer Euthymus, was suggested by Dr. Waldstein, *J.H.S.* i. p. 168.

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[1] See note (*c*) at end of section.

NOTE (*b*).—The stories of artistic competitions are somewhat difficult to deal with. Some are doubtless mere rhetorical fictions, based on the comparisons between the style of the artists concerned made by later critics: thus they are of no more value than the absurd tale of the poetical contest between Homer and Hesiod. But, on the other hand, actual artistic competitions, like those that are often held still when any great work is to be performed, are not in themselves improbable; and we have the best possible evidence that they were held, since Paeonius of Mende chronicles, upon the pedestal of his Victory, his victory in the competition of designs for temple acroteria. In addition to this reference to Myron and Pythagoras, we have among others the competition of Phidias and Alcamenes for a statue of Athena, of Alcamenes and Agoracritus in making an Aphrodite, and the contest of various sculptors in making an Amazon for Ephesus. Some of these may possibly be based upon fact; but the evidence must be weighed in each case separately. Even if no competition took place, the stories may often preserve in a more or less rhetorical form the judgment of ancient critics as to works we have lost, and so are of value to us.

NOTE (*c*), on the meaning of the word *ῥυθμός* in the passage "*Πυθαγόραν πρῶτον δοκοῦντα ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάσθαι.*"—Rhythm, as here applied to sculpture, has usually been explained as in some way derived from the usage of the word to express regular and harmonious motion. But when a metaphor is transferred from one art to another, exercised under totally different conditions, the possible applications vary considerably. It is far safer to observe the usage of the word in connection with other things more easily comparable to sculpture; and here we at once find a clue. Of clothes, of a cup, of letters, the same word is used, where we can only translate it *style*. The meaning is a system of tendency, carried out in all the parts or members of any work of art or any series of connected objects, so that each harmonises with all the others, and with the whole. Pythagoras was the first to aim consciously at a consistent style.

§ 34. *Phidias.*—It will be best to state at once that the greatest of all Greek sculptors is not represented in our museums by any certain original from his own hand, nor even by an adequate copy of any of his well-known works.[1] But, on the other hand, our information as to his life and works is considerable in quantity, though often vague and contradictory in its nature; and, above all, we still possess many works which were certainly executed under his immediate supervision, if not after his designs; and thus we have some material to aid our imagination in reconstructing those great statues which were universally acknowledged to be the highest products of Greek sculpture.

We do not know the exact year of Phidias' birth, but the period of his artistic activity, together with the fact that he was a bald-headed old man in 438 B.C. (see below), seem to show that he must have been born about the beginning of the fifth century. Thus his youth would be taken up with the stirring events of the two Persian invasions; he would be old enough to remember the news of the victory at Marathon; and ten years later he, like Aeschylus, may well have taken part in the battles at Salamis and Plataea of which he was later to celebrate the issue. His first master was Hegias; and he is also said to have been the pupil of Ageladas of Argos. The similar stories about the relation of Myron, and even Polyclitus,[1] to Ageladas may cast doubt on this statement; but in any case it probably represents a trustworthy tradition as to the influence of Argive art upon Attic in the fifth century. We are also told that Phidias was at first a painter; and we may perhaps trace the influence of his early training in the admirable pictorial composition shown by many of the works of which he superintended the design.

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[1] Unless we accept Professor Furtwängler's identification of the Athena Lemnia; see note at end of this section.

Some of the works attributed to Phidias may be confidently attributed to his earlier years. An Athena of gold and ivory was made for Pellene in Achaea before his activity in Athens and Plataea. At Delphi was a group of statues from his hand, dedicated by the Athenians from the tithe of the spoil of Marathon. Now Phidias was still in full artistic vigour in 438 B.C., as we shall see below; so he is not likely to have been employed upon a commission which implies acknowledged eminence fifty years earlier. It has been conjectured with great probability that this Delphian trophy was erected by Cimon to commemorate his father's prowess at Marathon, for Miltiades seems to have been the central figure; with him stood Athena and Apollo, and ten of the legendary heroes of Athens.[2] Such groups, or rather aggregations of statues, we know to have been customary productions of the school of Argos upon similar occasions, and so we may well attribute this work to the time before Phidias had freed himself from the tradition of his

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[1] Robert contends that Polyclitus could not have been Ageladas' pupil. See § 40.

[2] Only seven of these are "eponymous" tribe heroes. It has been suggested that three were replaced by the three later kings whom Pausanias saw in their places. In confirmation of the above date, it must be remembered that the disgrace of Miltiades soon after Marathon made such a group impossible until time and his son's influence had left only his glory in the memory of Athenians.

Argive school. It is probably the earliest of the works which he made for the Athenians during the period of Cimon's predominance, which began about 470 B.C. His best known work of this time was the colossal Athena[1] of bronze which stood in the open on the Acropolis at Athens. The only artistic fact recorded about this statue is that its shield was later embossed by Mys with the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs after the designs of Parrhasius; perhaps the severity of Phidias' earlier work seemed, to those who were familiar with the rich decoration of his later statues, to require some additional ornament. We do not know the exact dimensions of the statue, but the views of the Acropolis represented on coins seem to show that it was large enough to stand up conspicuously among the buildings that surrounded it. It stood facing the entrance through the Propylaea; Pausanias says that the crest of the helmet and the point of the spear could be seen from the sea by those approaching Athens from Sunium; and this statement appears to justify an inference as to the position and size of the statue. The goddess must have stood upright, her right arm resting on the spear, of which the point shone above her head.[2] But beyond this we know no details, nor are there sufficient data for the identification of a copy of this colossal Athena among extant works. This Athena, like the group at Delphi, is said by Pausanias to have been dedicated from the tithe of the spoils of Marathon; other

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[1] The title "promachos" sometimes given to it rests only on poor authority and is likely to give rise to a misconception, if it does not itself arise from one.

[2] It is probable that this statue was later removed to the Forum of Constantine at Constantinople. If so, it may well be identical with the bronze statue described by Nicetas, who records its destruction by the mob in 1203 A.D. (see H. Stuart Jones, *Selected Passages*, etc., No. 101; not in *S.Q.*). This statue was 30 feet high; its robe reached to the feet, was gathered together in several places, and was tightly girded. It had an aegis with a gorgon's head on the breast; the neck was long and exposed, and was a sight of surpassing delight. The veins stood out, and the whole frame was supple and well-jointed. The hair was plaited and fastened at the back; on the forehead it showed beneath the helmet, and was beautifully rendered. The left hand supported the gathered folds of the dress; the right, stretched towards the south, kept the head slightly turned in the same direction, and also the direction of her gaze. The spear and shield must have been left behind when the statue was moved. Otherwise the description may apply. The main difficulty in accepting the identification is that the Athena by Phidias set up in the Forum of Constantine is said to have been the gold and ivory one (*S.Q.* 690). Though this may be a mistake, it makes us hesitate in accepting the description given by Nicetas as first-rate evidence concerning one of the best known works of Phidias.

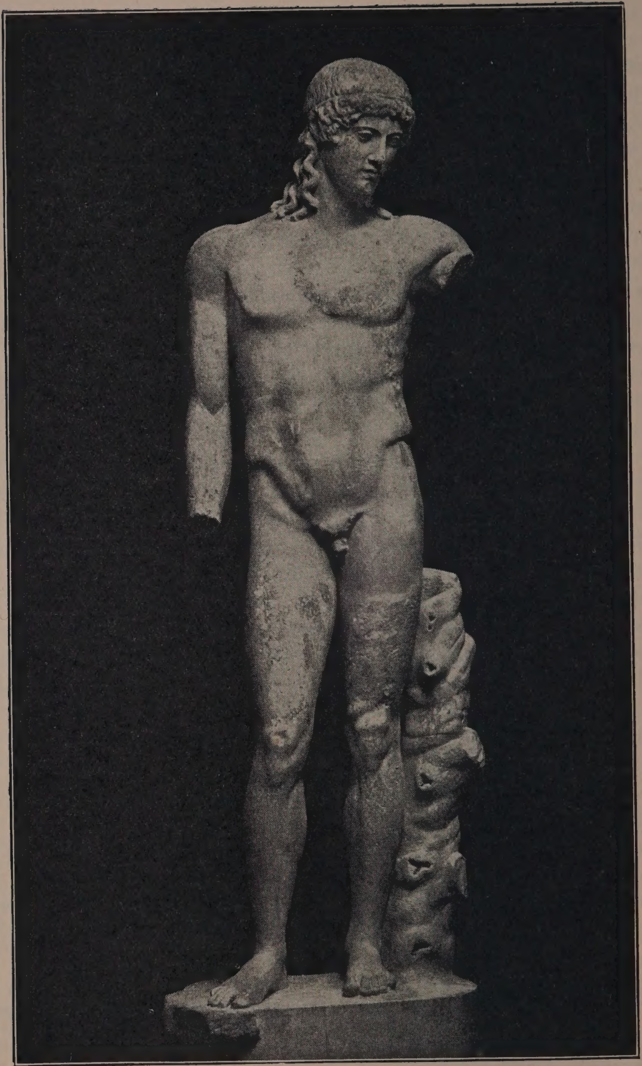

Photo. Anderson.

FIG. 66.—Apollo from the Tiber (Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome).

authorities state that it was a memorial of the Persian wars; in any case it cannot have been erected until some years later, if our inferences as to the date of Phidias' birth are established.

It was natural enough that the artist employed by Athens to commemorate her victories over the Persians should also be commissioned to make a statue of Athena Areia for the Plataeans, from their share of the spoils of Marathon. At Pellene, as we have seen, Phidias had already made an Athena of gold and ivory, and in this Plataean work he had an opportunity of making yet another study for his final embodiment of his patron goddess; and this time he was working on a colossal scale, though he was obliged to content himself with cheaper substitutes for the richest of all materials; the Plataean Athena was of gilded wood, with the face and hands of Pentelic marble.

Though we possess no statues which can be assigned with certainty to this early period of the work of Phidias, a statue of Apollo found in the Tiber (Fig. 66) has been generally recognised as typical Attic sculpture at this time, and as possibly even an early work of the master himself. It resembles the figures of the Parthenon sculptures, but is a little squarer and more severe in form; and there are, in the face above all, a life and grace, and a richness of effect due to the surrounding hair, which we are learning to recognise as Phidian characteristics.[1]

The early career of Phidias is not difficult to trace, though we do not know many details about it. But as to his later years our information is at once fuller and more contradictory. And before we consider the works of this time, it will be best to dispose at once of the evidence as to his life, so far as it concerns the sequence of his two greatest statues. We know three facts for certain—that he worked for some time at Olympia, where he made the great statue of the Olympian Zeus; that he had the chief direction of all the artistic activity at Athens under Pericles, who was his personal friend, and that during this time he made his other great chryselephantine work, the Athena Parthenos; and that he fell into more or less serious trouble at Athens owing to the accusations made against him by Pericles' political opponents, of peculation and of sacrilege in representing himself and Pericles on Athena's shield. So far all documents are in accord; but when we try to establish the chronology, absolute and relative, of these various events, we are met by a mass of confusions and contradictions.

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[1] See Schrader in *Jahreshefte*, xiv., 1911, pp 35-88.

Three orders of sequence have been maintained, and there is some evidence to be quoted in favour of each. It may be supposed (1) that Phidias worked in Athens until 438 B.C., when the Athena Parthenos was dedicated, that he then went to Olympia and devoted 438–432 B.C. to making the statue of the Olympian Zeus, and that in 432 he returned to Athens, was put on trial, and died in prison, as Plutarch says;[1] or (2) that he worked in Athens till 438 B.C., that he was tried and condemned to banishment, or voluntarily exiled himself to Olympia, and that he then made the statue of Zeus, and died at Olympia, or, as others say, was put to death there on a charge of embezzlement;[2] or (3) that he went to Olympia after his work under Cimon at Athens, stayed there until about 446 B.C., when he was recalled to take charge of the work under Pericles, and that he never left Athens again, but died there, perhaps in prison after his arrest.[3]

Between the first and second of these possibilities there is little difference, so far as we are concerned; though it seems improbable that a man who failed to clear himself of a charge of embezzlement and sacrilege in making one gold and ivory statue would at once be employed to make another, the Eleans might well be aware of the purely political nature of the charge. We know, however, that they, far from disgracing Phidias, granted him citizenship, preserved his studio as a precious relic, and gave special privileges to his descendants, who were employed as φαιδρυνταί to look after his great statue. But the argument of the Scholiast, who insists on the long interval between the trial of Phidias in 438 B.C. and the Megarian decree in 432 B.C., and bases his assertion on quotations from Philochorus, seems to outweigh all other evidence. There is, however, no historical objection against the third hypothesis, that the Olympian statue was made before the Athenian; only, if direct evidence fail us for deciding priority of either, it seems less likely that the Athenian artist would have been called to embody for all Greece the highest conception of the national god in the common shrine of the nation until after his conspicuous success in giving to his native city an ideal representation of her patron goddess. It would probably have required some such proof of his superiority over all other sculptors before he would be chosen at Olympia, where there was a preponderance of Peloponnesian over Attic influence; and before the Athena Parthenos, we have no evidence that Phidias had produced any work which made a great impression outside Athens. We will accordingly mention the Athenian works before the Olympian, but without any dogmatic assertion as to the sequence of the two.

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[1] So K. O. Müller. Plutarch's version is probably derived from Ephorus, who lived about 350 B.C.

[2] This is practically the story given by the Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Pax*, 605, from Philochorus (280 B.C.). This Scholium is convincingly restored by Schöll, *Munich Sitzungsberichte*, 1888, i. p. 20; he punctuates before ἐπὶ Σκυθοδώρου [*leg.* Πυθοδώρου]. Then the whole consists of two quotations from Philochorus: (1) 438 B.C. Dedication of statue; Phidias' trial and exile; (2) 432 B.C. Megarian decree, etc. Then the Scholiast goes on to remark that Aristophanes was wrong in connecting the two, since there was six years' interval between them. This chronology is confirmed also by a papyrus in Geneva, published by M. Nicole as "Le Procès de Phidias dans les chroniques d'Apollodore." The exact statements of this papyrus are uncertain; but it seems to record that Phidias was imprisoned in 438 B.C., and released on bail paid by the Eleans, who wanted him to make the statue of Zeus; that he was condemned to death in his absence by the Athenians, and that the Eleans gave him the privilege of citizenship in compensation. See E. A. Gardner in *Ξένια*, p. 50.

[3] So Loeschcke, *Phidias' Tod*, etc.

Phidias, as we have already seen, was entrusted by Pericles with the general direction of the artists who were employed to beautify Athens with the most magnificent monuments of architecture and sculpture that were set up during the few years of the highest glory of the city. Of these works, which may all be reckoned as more or less directly the products of Phidias' genius, we shall have to speak in the following sections; here we are concerned with those statues of which he himself undertook the execution, and which were in ancient times regarded as the chief examples of his art, though, now that they have perished, we are compelled to infer their character from the surviving remains of the minor works made under his supervision.

Foremost among these statues stands the Athena Parthenos, the great gold and ivory statue to which the Parthenon served as a shrine. Of this Athena we have many copies, more or less remote; indeed, the type of the goddess, as fixed by Phidias in this statue, may be said to predominate throughout all later art. But as to position and accessories, the best evidence is afforded by two copies[1] which evidently, from their correspondence with

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[1] For other copies see Schreiber, *Die Athena Parthenos*, and *B. D.* 511, 512 (Madrid and Louvre).

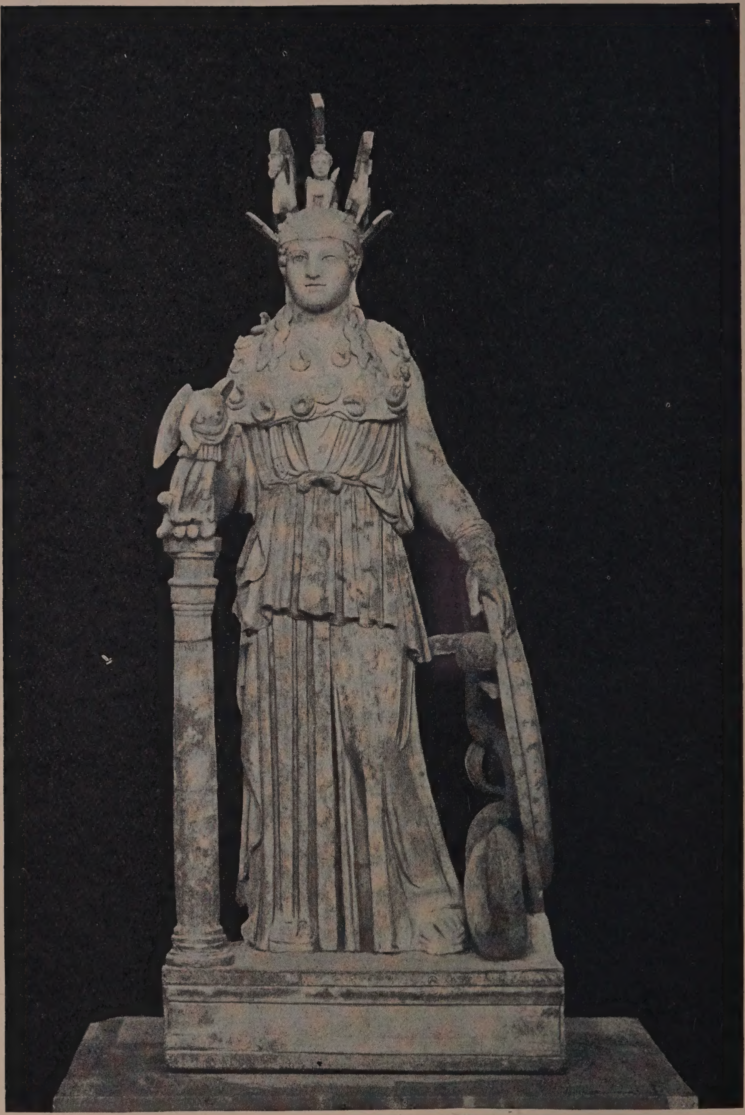

Fig. 67.—Roman copy after the Athena Parthenos by Phidias, found near the Varvakeion at Athens (Athens, National Museum).

the description of Pausanias, are intended to reproduce in all details the Athena of the Parthenon. Both were found in Athens, and both still remain there. The smaller, known as the Lenormant statuette, is not devoid of artistic merit, and may give us some notion of the general character of the original; it is very slight and sketchy, and its unfinished state leaves much to the imagination. The larger, known, from the place where it was found, as the Varvakeion statuette, is wonderfully perfect, even to the preservation of traces of colour, and it gives all the accessories with a precision of detail that has settled once for all many disputed points. But, on the other hand,

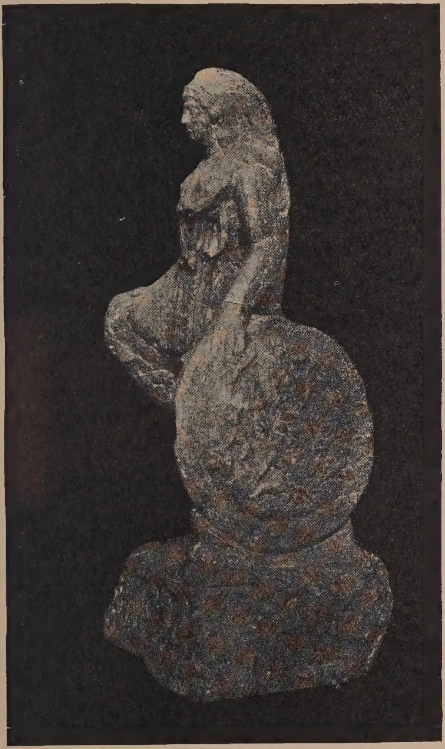

FIG. 68.—"Lenormant statuette," unfinished copy after the Athena Parthenos by Phidias, found in Athens (Athens, National Museum).

it is perhaps the most extreme example of the base mechanical way in which a copyist of Roman times could utterly lose all the grandeur and beauty of his original, while reproducing its details correctly. It bears the same relation to Phidias' statue as the coarsest German oleograph after the Sistine Madonna bears to the picture which it affects to reproduce. With this reservation, it is of use to us for an imaginary reconstruction of Phidias' great statue.

The Athena Parthenos was the embodiment of all the highest aspirations of the Attic religion. The conception of this goddess, as it found worthy expression at the hands of Phidias, is especially characteristic of Athens, just as the Panhellenic Zeus belongs to all Greece. This is not the place to trace the mythological development of the type, or to distinguish the different elements that are blended in it. To the Athenian of the fifth century Athena was the guardian of her peculiar city; strong therefore in war, but by skill and energy rather than brute force; the protectress of civilisation against barbarism; to her were due the invention of all the arts of war and peace, and the inspiration of literature and art. In her the quickness and versatility of the Attic mind, the purity and brilliance of intellectual temper, seems to find its most characteristic expression, in contrast to the more solid virtues of the rest of Greece. The simpler aspect of Athena as the protectress of Athens had been embodied by Phidias in his colossal bronze statue on the Acropolis; her more peaceful side was presented by the famous Lemnian Athena, to which we must later recur. The Athena Parthenos was indeed fully armed, with her spear, helmet, aegis, and shield; but these are passive rather than active attributes, and the profuse decoration with which every available surface was covered seems to emphasise the impression that they are symbolic of a potential energy rather than prepared for actual use. The spear and shield, too, merely rest on the ground, and are supported by the left hand of the goddess, and the Nike who stands on her right hand, and forms her most conspicuous attribute, has reference in earlier times to the victories of peace "no less renowned than war," to athletic, musical, and artistic emulation in her honour; though, doubtless, the notion of victory over the enemies of Greek culture and civilisation was here as elsewhere included. Here, to descend to more technical details, we meet a disputed point. In the Varvakeion copy, as well as in a relief now in Berlin evidently derived from the Parthenos, we find a column supporting the right hand of the goddess on which the Nike stands. The discovery of so clumsy an expedient has naturally been received with astonishment or incredulity by many who have studied the works of Phidias; yet the evidence seems too strong to reject, that such a column actually existed as a part of the statue when the copies in question were made. The best explanation seems to be that the statue as Phidias designed it had no such support, but that at a later time some damage or defect in the complicated mechanism of a chryselephantine statue[1] made it necessary to add a support which, however unsightly in itself, did not necessitate any tampering with the original work.[2]

Another attribute was the Erichthonius snake which curled itself inside the shield; and the whole statue from above the head to beneath the feet was decorated with a profusion of designs such as might under different circumstances seem excessive, but which here was in harmony with the rich materials and colossal size of the work. On the helmet of Athena were a sphinx and two gryphons to carry the triple crest; and beneath these, over the forehead, was a row of the fore-parts of horses. On the outside of her shield was the Gorgoneion, which was also repeated on the aegis that covered her breast; round this Gorgoneion on the shield was represented in relief the battle of the Greeks and Amazons. It was in this scene that Phidias had introduced the figures of Pericles and himself, which were made a subject of accusation against him. And it was said that he had so contrived his own portrait that it could not be removed without loosening the whole structure of the statue. These two figures may be recognised on the copy of the shield in the British Museum, known as the Strangford shield,[3] and the bald-headed but vigorous old man who is identified as Phidias not only offers valuable evidence about his age at the time, but is of the highest interest as the only instance we possess of a portrait of a Greek artist by himself. On the inside of the same was painted the fight of the gods and giants. Even the sandals had a thick sole which offered a field in which the contest of Lapiths and Centaurs could be introduced. But the most extensive field for ornament was offered by the pedestal of the statue; on this was the scene of the "Birth of Pandora," in which Athena played a most important part, giving life to the new-created woman, decking her with clothes and ornaments, and teaching her woman's handicraft. It is easy to see the significance which such a myth might receive at the hands of a fifth-century sculptor working in the service of Athena.

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[1] See Introduction (*b*).

[2] Dr. Waldstein maintains that the column is simply a support introduced in the translation to marble; but it is at least an unusual form for such a support to take.

[3] *A.Z.*, 1865, Pl. cxcvi.

It was evidently the wish of the artist, in giving his great statue this richness of decoration, not merely to produce an effect suitable to the size and material of his subject, but also to associate the goddess in this her most perfect representation with all the greatest events, human and divine, in which she had taken part, and especially to ascribe to her all the victories of Athens over barbarian foes, all her magnificent attainments in the arts of peace; to summarise, in fact, in the accessories of the statue all on which Athens in the fifth century most prided herself, just as the statue itself embodied the patron goddess who was the life and inspiration of the city. Now that the original is lost, no copy can give us a notion of anything beyond the position and accessories of the work. As to what we may infer as to its artistic character and its influence upon the history of sculpture, we shall be better able to judge when we have considered Phidias' other great work, the Olympian Zeus.

Before this it will be best to dispose of other works of Phidias which fall most naturally into the period of his activity at Athens, under Pericles or at an earlier time. The best known of these was the Lemnian Athena, so called from those who dedicated it, probably the Attic colonists in Lemnos, who were sent out between 451 and 447 B.C.[1] This statue is one of the two selected by Lucian as the most beautiful of Phidias' works, and from it he would choose "the outline of the whole face and the delicacy of the cheeks and the fair proportion of the nose." We know nothing more for certain about this statue, but Lucian's selection seems to imply that beauty of feature was its chief characteristic; the other models he chooses, except Phidias' Amazon, are all, probably, types of Aphrodite. A passage of Himerius, who says that Phidias did not always represent Athena armed, but "decked the Virgin Goddess with a blush upon her cheek to serve instead of a helmet to veil her beauty," has been brought into connection with this Lemnian Athena, and used to prove that the goddess was represented without her helmet on, in a type not unknown about this period. But the passage, even if it be referred to any particular statue, other than the Athena Parthenos, is too obviously rhetorical to be of any value as to details of fact; and we therefore cannot be certain that we possess copies of the statue of Athena which many considered the most beautiful of all the works of Phidias.[1]

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[1] See Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii. p. 538.

Of another statue at Athens by Phidias, the Apollo Parnopius, we know nothing but the name. Phidias is also said to have been one of four artists who competed in making for Ephesus a statue of a wounded Amazon; the other three were Polyclitus, Cresilas, and Phradmon; Polyclitus was awarded the first place, and Phidias the second. Certain extant statues of Amazons have been brought into connection with this competition; but before we can discuss either the probability of the story itself, or the attribution of the various Amazons to their respective sculptors, we must wait until we have some notion as to the chronology and style of the other artists; and so this Amazon must be reserved for the present. It is referred to also by Lucian in the passage just quoted, where he selects from it for his model statue "the setting-in of the mouth and the neck."

We must now go on to what was generally regarded by antiquity as the greatest of all the works of Phidias, the colossal gold and ivory Zeus at Olympia.

The monumental evidence about this statue is even less satisfactory than in the case of the Athena Parthenos.[2] Apart from the very full description of Pausanias—which, however, tells us much more about the accessories than about the statue itself—and other literary references, we have little to help our imagination but some late coins. The difficulty here lies chiefly in the fact that the type as adopted and new created by Phidias was so universally recognised as the most fitting representation of

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[1] For suggestions that have been made as to the identification of copies of this statue, see note at end of this section.

[2] A terra-cotta head, exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1904, is, I fear, a modern forgery. There is, however, a head now at Boston (*B.D.* 572-3) which comes nearer to the head on the coins than any other, and though it has some later touches, does give some notion of the type represented by Phidias.

Zeus that it was constantly reproduced with small variations; and the Olympian statue had no distinct accessories by which we might identify any copy that has a claim to be more immediately derived from the original.

The Olympian Zeus was seated upon a throne which in itself offered perhaps the most splendid collection of decorative sculpture that Greece ever produced. On his extended right hand stood a statue of Victory; his left arm was raised, and rested on a sceptre surmounted by an eagle. His chest was bare; but a mantle enveloped his legs and the lower part of his body, and hung in rich folds over his left shoulder. This mantle was decorated with animals and flowers, either embossed or damascened; of the effect of such work on the drapery we can now judge to some extent from the sculptures made by Damophon at Lycosura, which, though in marble, reproduce the effects of gold and ivory technique. The throne itself was worked in gold, ebony, and ivory, and precious stones. A mere enumeration of the subjects which were represented upon it, such as that given by Pausanias, suffices to show how every available space was filled with figures. For the legs of the throne served, like Caryatids, figures of Victory; the arms were sphinxes, and each of the uprights at the back was surmounted by a group of three figures, the Graces and the Hours. The size and weight of the statue necessitated extra supports, and so pillars, which probably bore the greater part of the weight, were placed between the legs. Along the edge of the seat at each side was a representation of the slaying of the Niobids by Apollo and Artemis; and along the cross-bars, which ran from leg to leg, was the battle of Greeks and Amazons, extending over the two sides and the back; on the

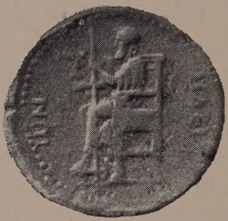
FIG. 69.—Olympian Zeus, from a coin of Elis.

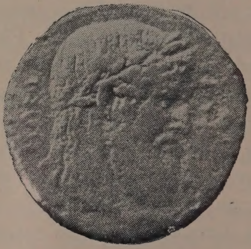
FIG. 70.—Head of Olympian Zeus, from a coin of Elis.

front this same cross-bar bore statues (ἀγάλματα), seven when Pausanias saw them and formerly eight in number, which seem to have represented some of the principal athletic contests. For one of these, which represented a youth binding his head with a fillet, the young athlete Pantarces, victor in the boys' wrestling match of 436 B.C., is said to have served as a model; if so, we have a further indication that the date of Phidias' work at Olympia was later than his work in Athens. While most of the other decorations were probably in friezes of relief, these figures on the front cross-bar seem to have been statues in the round; they were seen from the front, and typified the great agonistic festival of which Zeus was the patron; thus figures of athletes appear beneath his throne on vases also.[1] If the throne had been open beneath the seat, its complicated structure of legs and pillars would have had a most unsightly scaffold-like appearance. A screen was therefore provided, which prevented a spectator from seeing into the interior, while it offered a background which threw up more clearly the structural lines of the nearest side. This screen went round all four sides of the throne. In front it was plain, and painted dark blue to give a good background to the gold drapery of the great statue, and to the small statues, of gold and ivory, that stood on the cross-bar. On the other sides, where the decorated cross-bars and the pillars divided it into panels that offered an excellent opportunity for decoration, it was painted by Phidias' brother (or nephew) Panaenus. The arrangement of the subjects of his paintings is not hard to fit in symmetrically. Apparently, from Pausanias' description, there were three groups on each side; and the field for decoration is so divided by many writers, though the division does not otherwise agree with Pausanias' description of the throne. But really the third "group" on each side is two independent female figures standing side by side. Hence it follows that in the upper part on each side we have two groups, usually in lively action, in the metope-like panels; while below, the panels being higher in proportion, we have single female figures, standing in restful postures, and so supplying, as it were, a quiet and dignified support, to be varied above by the more violent action of the upper groups. Thus on the first side (probably the left of Zeus himself) were Atlas and Heracles, and Theseus and

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[1] Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, Pl. i. 9 and 16. Cf. Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 7.

Pirithous, above; below, Hellas and Salamis with a naval trophy; on the back, above, were Heracles and the Nemean lion, and Ajax and Cassandra; below, Hippodamia and her mother, standing as in the pediment of the temple; on the right side, above, were Prometheus bound and Heracles, and the dying Penthesilea supported by Achilles, this last group, as Pausanias expressly says, the last of the series of paintings; this proves the correctness of the arrangement which places the two Hesperides in the two spaces below.[1] On the front of the footstool of Zeus, which was flanked by lions of gold, was a representation of the battle of Theseus against the Amazons; and on the pedestal which supported the throne was a relief in gold, with Aphrodite arising from the waves, and received by Eros and Peitho; on either side stood three pairs of divinities, and at the ends were Helios and Selene—a great composition which reminds us of the Parthenon pediment with the birth of Athena. The size of this relief we can measure pretty exactly, since the traces of the pedestal have been recovered at Olympia; its breadth was 22 feet (6·65 m.), extending right across the cella, between the two rows of internal columns. Its length from front to back was half as much again, to give room for the footstool in front of the throne. The height of the slabs to which the golden figures were affixed was 2 ft. 5 in. (·73 m.); their material was black Eleusinian stone, like that used for a precisely similar purpose in the Erechtheum frieze at Athens, where, however, the reliefs affixed were not in gold, but in white Pentelic marble. In both cases the dark background must have thrown the bright figures into relief, just as the dark blue screen or panel above served as a background to the decoration of the throne. As to the size of the statue itself we have no certain information. Pausanias tells us that its measurements were recorded, but gave no adequate notion of its majestic size. But we hear it was so large that Zeus could not arise from his throne without putting his head through the roof, and hence, as we know the dimensions of the temple,[2] we

[1] The arrangement of these paintings has usually been misunderstood in interpreting Pausanias. See my paper in *J.H.S.*, 1894, p. 233. I cannot reconcile the position for them advocated by Murray, *Mittheil. Ath.* vii. p. 274 (and accepted by Dörpfeld, *Olympia*, ii. p. 13), with the description of Pausanias.

[2] See *Olympia*, ii. Pl. xi; Text, p. 13, etc. Dörpfeld takes 8 times life size, Adler 7½. There seems no reason to go far beyond the minimum. The statue in any case would have had very little room to spare.

can infer that the statue was between seven and eight times life size, or about 35 feet high (exclusive of the pedestal).

But these descriptions of detail or estimates of dimensions after all give us no notion of the statue itself. For this, so far as we can learn anything definite at all, we are reduced to references, direct or indirect, in classical authors, and to such a general notion of the Greek type of Zeus as one may gather by looking at the sheets of Overbeck's *Kunstmythologie.* One tale claims to record Phidias' own reply when he was asked by his collaborator Panaenus in what type he would embody his conception of Zeus; he is said to have quoted Homer's famous lines—

ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων
ἀμβρόσαιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
κραὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον.

This story, if not true, is at least characteristic. Phidias doubtless endeavoured to embody in his work the poetical rather than the purely mythological aspect of Zeus—the aspect under which he was worshipped by all Greeks who had risen to the idea of a god who, while remaining essentially the god of the Greek people, included in himself all that was noblest of divine power and perfection, but after a distinctly human and anthropomorphic model. But the work of Phidias also reacted upon the religion by which it was inspired. Quintilian says of the Zeus at Olympia "cuius pulchritudo adiecisse aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur; adeo maiestas operis deum aequavit." Numerous other references, mostly rhetorical in their nature, vie with one another in their endeavours to express in some new and impressive way that it was the greatest work of art in the world, and that such a work had a religious and ennobling influence on all who saw it. To the people it was the express image of Zeus himself; to the philosopher it represented the form in which Zeus would appear, if he should choose to reveal himself to mortal eyes. Both Phidias' Homeric quotation and the accessories of the statue show us that the King and Father of gods and men was represented as benignant but all-powerful, shaking heaven with the nod that granted a prayer; and that divine justice, even manifestations of divine power of which the justice is shrouded in mystery, were by no means left out of sight. The Theban sphinxes and the destruction of the children of Niobe were conspicuous. There were also contests in which, by the favour of Zeus, his people had triumphed over barbarism; labours of Heracles, and the fight with the Amazons, twice repeated. And the god was also surrounded with all those lesser divinities through which his benefits are administered, the Hours and Graces; and on the pedestal was the birth of Aphrodite. We may well believe that all these different elements that found symbolic representation on his throne found also their most perfect expression in the face of the god himself; but of that expression, now that the original is lost, we cannot hope to form any exact or adequate conception.

Another work made by Phidias near Olympia was the statue of Aphrodite Urania at Elis, which was of gold and ivory. We know nothing of the statue, but that the goddess rested one foot on a tortoise. Scopas later made a statue of Aphrodite Pandemus to match, riding on a goat. There was also one portrait statue of an athlete by Phidias at Olympia, a boy binding his head with a fillet. The same motive was repeated in one of the athlete statues on the throne of Zeus; perhaps Phidias made this athlete statue as a study for the other; but it must not be confused with a different statue at Olympia of Pantarces, whom the boy on the throne is said to have resembled.

As we have already seen, there is no extant work which can give us any even approximate notion of the great works of Phidias—those which were in the mind of any Greek who spoke of him with reverence as the greatest master of ideal sculpture. We must deal separately with works made under his more or less direct supervision or influence. Here we are concerned with statues like the Athena Parthenos and the Olympian Zeus; and when we realise how hopelessly these are lost to us we may well be excused some discouragement in a study which may, in their absence, seem to lack its highest theme. But on the other hand this very loss makes a systematic and careful study the more indispensable. If we still possessed all the masterpieces of Greek sculpture, we might perhaps prefer contemplating their beauty to studying their history and relation to one another. But now we can very often form an idea of a great statue only by examining the series to which it belongs, and of which some links still remain, or by observing its influence upon other contemporary works or upon a later period. In this way it is not impossible to appreciate the position of Phidias. He was the first to make ideal statues; that is to say, not that he created, purely after his own imagination or fancy, what were accepted by the Greeks as the most perfect representations of the Gods, but that he took the type prescribed and consecrated by tradition as belonging to this or that deity, filled it with a new life and a higher meaning, while inspired by the religious conceptions of those for whom he worked, but raising them above such notions as were commonly received; in fact, we may almost put in his mouth the words of another who turned to a new and higher meaning an accepted element of Athenian religion, "whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." The art of the fifth century is still essentially religious; and, consequently, the reaction of art upon religion was at this period extremely strong. When works like the Athena Parthenos and the Zeus of Phidias were set up in such places of common resort as the Acropolis at Athens or the Altis at Olympia, they could not but influence not only the sculptural type of the deity they represented, but the aspect under which that deity was worshipped by the people. As Dio Chrysostom puts it, no one who had seen Phidias' statue at Olympia could easily conceive of Zeus under any other form. Phidias, it must be remembered, was an intimate friend of Pericles, and therefore a companion of the most cultured men and the most advanced thinkers of his time. He lived at a time when the old religious doctrines were beginning to be criticised. But it was, as he said, the Zeus of Homer, no mere abstract conception of deity, which he tried to embody in his great statue; and the new spirit which he thus infused into the old forms had a religious influence of which it would be difficult to exaggerate the extent and the gravity.

NOTE.—So far it has been assumed that we are dependent, for our knowledge of the statues made by Phidias himself, either on literary descriptions, on very inadequate reproductions, or on the influence to be recognised in contemporary or later works. A good copy of one of his masterpieces would, if we could confidently assert that we possessed it, be of immense value to our study; and such a copy has been conjecturally recognised in a very beautiful marble head now at Bologna, which, curiously enough, exactly fits the socket in a headless statue of Athena at Dresden. A second statue of Athena at Dresden shows head and body joined together, and though not so fine in workmanship, clearly reproduces the same type. Professor Furtwängler, to whom this discovery is due, identifies the original of these copies as the famous Lemnian Athena, and, as is natural if such an identification be accepted, makes it the basis of his study of Phidias. There is no doubt that the treatment of the drapery in the Dresden statues is similar to what we find in copies of Phidian works—especially the heavy folds hanging from the waist, interrupted only by the projection of one knee, and the manner in which the girdle gathers in the long diplois ; but one cannot insist too much on this evidence, for similar work is found in several other figures of about the same age, doubtless owing to the Phidian influence. The Bologna head, in the high polish of its surface, in the almost wiry texture of the hair, and in the hollowed eyes, betrays the influence of a bronze original, from which it is evidently a very faithful copy. If it were certain that the Lemnia was in bronze, this fact would be in favour of the identification ; but the further statement that the Lemnian Athena was bareheaded rests only on the authority of the very rhetorical passage quoted above from Himerius. On the other hand, it is very probable that some copies of so famous a statue should have survived ; whether the Bologna head be such a copy must be decided mainly on the evidence of style, since the external evidence cannot be held to establish more than a probability. Here again there is great difficulty ; for the extant works which we can associate with Phidias, and so use as criteria for a comparison, are either architectural sculptures, which we cannot assume to be from the master's own hand, or copies exceedingly unsatisfactory both in quality and scale. Moreover, it is likely enough that Phidias himself, in a life-size bronze statue, may have chosen a different type as well as a different manner of execution from that which he would think suitable for a colossal work in gold and ivory. The simple and severe character of the Bologna head shows that it belongs to the fifth century, though its grace and individuality might at first sight incline us to assign it to a later date. The earlier critics, before Professor Furtwängler's identification, regarded it as more or less Polyclitan in style, and compared it with the Hera Farnese, with which, in spite of obvious differences, it certainly has something in common. But both ancient tradition and recent discoveries are in favour of a closer relation between the Attic and the Peloponnesian schools in the fifth century than is commonly assumed ; this head certainly has much of the merit of both. Here the symmetry of type and technical perfection in bronze-working that characterise the Argive school in the time of Polyclitus are combined with the more intellectual charm of Attic work. Furtwängler's identification, after gaining wide acceptance, has more recently been rejected by many of the best authorities. An alternative theory as to the Lemnia has been put forward by Professor Amelung, who points out (*Jahreshefte*, ix. p. 169) that there is no evidence that the Lemnia was bronze, but that Aristides' reference to the three Athenas in Athens as "the ivory, the bronze, and the Lemnia" (*S.Q.* 639) shows it must have been of some other material. He accordingly identifies it as an acrolithic statue, with the head, arms, and feet of marble, the rest gilded wood or plaster, of which copies survive in two statues in Seville, in the Athena Medici in the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, and in various heads. With the help of these he has reconstructed the Lemnia in a cast to be seen in various collections. But here again there is no complete certainty, though we may certainly recognise a Phidian Athena and a famous statue. It is to be remembered that the Phidian Athena at Plataea was acrolithic.

CHAPTER III (*Continued*)

THE FIFTH CENTURY—480–400 B.C. (*Continued*)

§ 35. *Sculpture of the Parthenon.*—It probably would not have occurred to any Greek to quote the sculptures of the Parthenon among the finest examples of the art of his country, still less to point to them as preserving the worthiest record of the genius of Phidias. While such works as the Athena Parthenos and the Olympian Zeus were still extant, mere architectural sculptures, however perfect their execution, and however eminent the master to whom they owed their design, could only occupy a secondary position. But now that the great statues from the master's own hand, of which every Greek thought when he mentioned the name of Phidias, are either entirely lost to us or only preserved in copies that can convey but a poor and inadequate notion of the originals, sculptures like those of the Parthenon have acquired for us a value which they did not possess in classical times. Mutilated and fragmentary as they are, they yet preserve for us the direct impress of the master's genius, if not the touch of his hand. They are no late copies, contaminating the character of the highest period of Greek sculpture with many features belonging to later times, but were made under the direct supervision of the designer, although their execution may in some cases show the sign of other handiwork; and we may be confident that any peculiarities which we may notice in them are due, if not to the master himself, at least to the group of pupils and craftsmen who lived under his influence and formed his immediate surrounding.

It may be questioned how far we are justified in claiming for the sculpture of the Parthenon so direct a relation to Phidias himself. We shall see that there are, in different parts of this sculpture, especially the metopes and some portions of the frieze, not only inequalities of execution, but actual differences of style and design, such as imply a considerable amount of freedom in the work of the various individual sculptors employed. But, on the other hand, there is a character about the whole sculpture, and especially about the more conspicuous parts of it—such as the pediments—which has impressed all artists and critics as differing essentially from everything else which we possess, and as worthy of attribution to the greatest of all sculptors. We are informed that Phidias was entrusted with the general supervision of the wonderful artistic activity which marked the supremacy of Pericles in the Athenian state. The crowning work of all was the Parthenon. There can be no doubt that it was intended not only as the worthy shrine of Athena in the midst of her chosen city, but also as the monument that summed up and contained in itself all the glory of Athens, and all the beauty, moderation, and wisdom of life of her people. The gold and ivory statue within the temple was made by Phidias himself. It is hardly conceivable that he should have left entirely to others the design of the sculptures which decorated the building, for they were clearly part of one harmonious whole, intended to prepare the mind of the spectator, and to lead up to the final contemplation of the perfect embodiment of the goddess herself.[1] Doubtless the great size and number of the sculptural figures which decorated every available space upon the temple precluded the possibility of their execution by a single hand, especially when we remember that the whole building was ready for dedication within eight years from its commencement. Some portions of the work, especially the separate metopes, may have been left to the sculptors who undertook them, after some general conditions as to subject and treatment had been laid down by the designer of the whole. But the great and harmonious designs of the eastern and western pediments, and the continuous composition of the frieze, must have been, in all essential features, the creation of a single artist; and we can hardly imagine this artist to have been any other than Phidias himself.

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[1] We need not be shaken in this opinion by the analogy of Olympia. Phidias did not go there until the sculptural decoration of the temple was completed; and although he and his associates designed all accessories within the cella of the temple, he had to leave the external sculptures as he found them.

Even after the removal or destruction of the great statue, and the conversion of the Parthenon into a Christian church, most of its external sculpture appears to have remained intact, with the exception of the central group of the east pediment, which was destroyed in building the apse of the church. It was not until the disastrous explosion of the Turkish powder magazine within the cella, in 1687, that a completer destruction began; and the explosion was followed by the even more disastrous attempt of the victorious Veneto-German Army to carry off as booty some portions of the sculpture that their cannon had already damaged. Thus the chariot and horses of Athena in the west pediment appear to have perished in a clumsy attempt to lower them from their place. What was left remained exposed to weather, vandalism, or neglect, until Lord Elgin, in 1801–1802, obtained leave to carry it off to England. Though it is possible that his agents may not in every case have shown all the care and discretion of which their task was worthy, there is no doubt that the work on the whole was very well done, that we owe to it, in a great measure, the degree of preservation in which the sculptures still remain, and that Lord Elgin's action deserves the gratitude, rather than the censure of all who have learnt to appreciate the "Elgin Marbles."[1] It must be remembered that at the time when he carried them off they were not only neglected by those who had charge of them, but were in constant danger of being carried off piecemeal by less scrupulous travellers, and that soon afterwards, in the war of Greek independence, the Acropolis was repeatedly besieged and bombarded, and its buildings suffered severely. He removed for the most part only such portions of the sculpture as, from their position in the building, were exposed to the weather or to other risks. Indeed, his discretion in this matter was perhaps carried even too far, as we may easily realise by comparing what is still left *in situ* in its present state with the casts which he had made at the time of all that he left behind. Owing to his action, the bulk of this sculpture is now in the British Museum ; a few pieces are in the Louvre, and a few others have been taken elsewhere by earlier marauders. A good deal, especially at the two ends, still remains on the building itself.

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[1] The absurd misrepresentations and the abuse showered on Lord Elgin by Byron and others have had undue influence. They are now discredited by all authorities—French, German, and Italian, as well as English—who have investigated the matter. In view of the suggestion that these marbles ought to be given back to Greece, now that the Greeks appreciate their value and are capable of taking care of them, it must be remembered that they are now safely housed in a place where they are easily accessible. If they were returned, they could not be replaced in the building from which they were taken unless it were entirely restored; and it is hard to see what would be gained by placing them in a museum in Athens.

The various fields to which the sculptured decoration of the temple was assigned have already been described in the section of the Introduction concerning architectural sculpture (*c*). It will be best to describe them in the order which is probably also the order of their execution—(1) the metopes, (2) the pediments, and (3) the frieze.

(1) *The Metopes.*—These were sculptured all round the building, 32 on each of the sides, and 14 on each of the fronts. Those of the south side alone are preserved sufficiently to offer any material for our study; the rest have suffered so severely from the weather and from the vicissitudes which the building has undergone, that we can only conjecture their subjects, and can form hardly any opinion as to their style. It appears that the eastern front contained scenes from the battle between gods and giants, and the western, combats between Greeks and Amazons ; on the northern side even the subject is doubtful. On the southern side the twelve[1] metopes at either end represent the assault of the Centaurs upon the Lapith women at the bridal of Pirithous, and the consequent battle between Centaurs and Lapiths. This subject is naturally broken up into scenes of single combat. The relief is very high ; the figures are almost detached from the ground, and are practically in the round, a fact which may account for the completeness with which so many of the metopes have been destroyed. The best preserved metopes are nearly all in the British Museum ; the most western metope of the south side is still *in situ* on the Parthenon, and affords an opportunity for appreciating the effect of the high relief and vigorous design of the metopes, as seen in the massive architectural frame for which they were designed. The metopes vary in style more than any other part of the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon. In some cases we see a comparatively tame and lifeless design, or, if the combat is more vigorous in conception, yet the pose of the combatants is awkward or strained ; some of the metopes, on the other hand,

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[1] Only eleven at the east end have Centaurs ; but the twelfth may well belong to the same scene.

are unsurpassed in all art for the admirable balance of their composition, the perfect adaptation of design to field, and, above all, for the wonderful life and beauty of the figures, whether still engaged in the conflict (Fig. 71), or exulting in triumph over a fallen foe (Fig. 72). Nor is there less variety in the execution. The drapery is sometimes stiff and archaic in character, sometimes it approaches that unrivalled treatment which we see in the pediments and frieze; sometimes it is entirely absent, or is treated merely as a subordinate accessory; in other cases we can see already that tendency to use it to fill vacant spaces in the field with the rich decorative effect characteristic of later Attic relief. The modelling of the figures varies also, from a hard and dry treatment like that of the earlier Attic sculptors of athletic subjects, to a perfect mastery, free alike from softness and from exaggeration. The type of the heads is light and Attic, and usually shows an archaic character in the eyes and the hair. The bestial faces

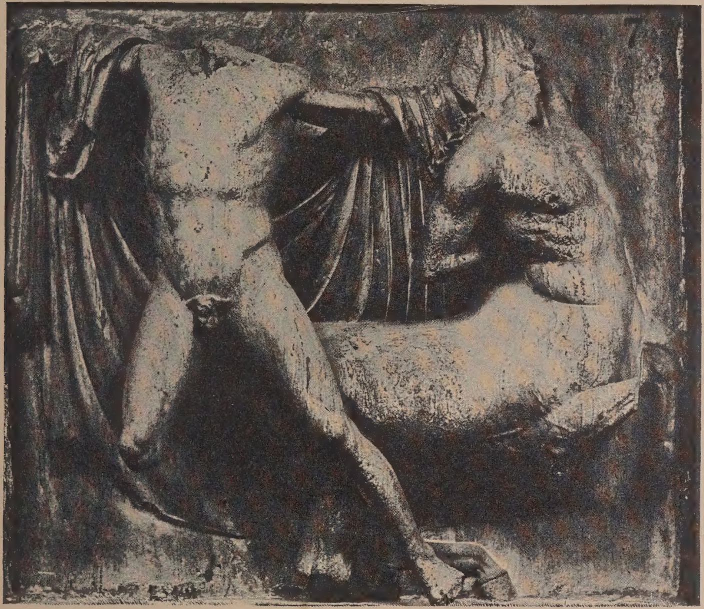

FIG. 71.—Metope of Parthenon (British Museum).

of the Centaurs are not really more advanced in style, though their deep and distorted wrinkles and their grimaces of pain make them appear less conventional—a contrast which we have

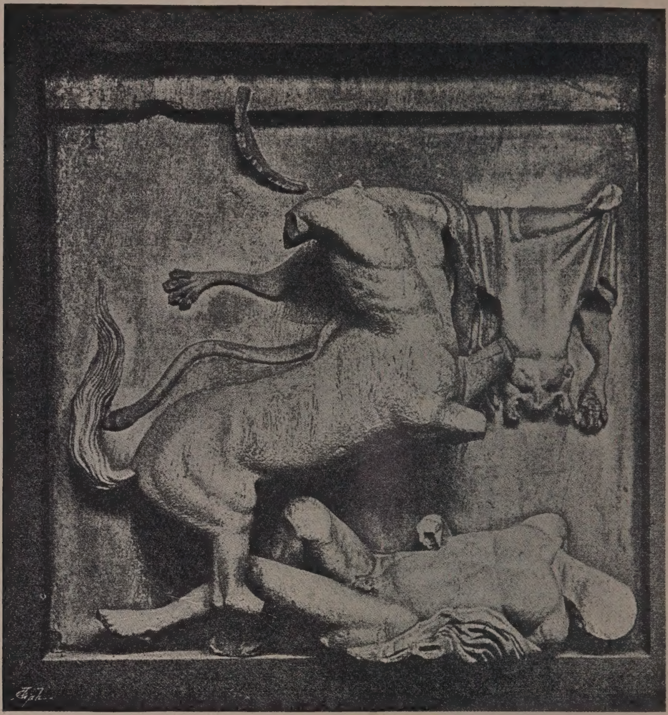

FIG. 72.—Metope of Parthenon (British Museum).

noticed also at Olympia. The treatment of the semi-bestial nature of the Centaur reaches its acme in these metopes. The human body joined at the waist to the horse's neck is, in itself, one of the worst of the mixed forms devised by fancy, since it implies a duplication of so many of the essential organs. How unnatural and unconvincing such a combination appears may be seen by a glance at its unskilful rendering, for example on the relief at Assos. Success in so difficult an attempt was not attained at one leap; we see elsewhere, particularly at Olympia, the various advances towards a more harmonious effect;

but it is in the Parthenon that one principle is first fully grasped and consistently carried out; this is the adoption of a familiar device of archaic art, by which the breast is seen facing, the lower part of the body in profile. So in these metopes the human upper part of the Centaurs is always seen either from the front or three-quarter face, while the equine body is seen in profile; the breadth thus gained for the upper part, and the subtle curves of the transition from the one form to the other, seen only in front, and implied at the back, help to justify and almost to make credible the monstrous combination.

We have already seen reason to believe that Phidias, while doubtless supervising the whole design, was obliged to leave many details to his assistants, and it need not surprise us to find that these assistants worked more independently in the case of the metopes. From structural necessity, the metopes had to be in their place before the cornice was put over the outer colonnade, and therefore before the erection of the pediments. At so early a stage of the work, it may well be supposed that Phidias had not yet a trained body of assistants, and that he was more dependent on the Attic artists of earlier schools for help in the execution of his designs. It is tempting to refer the masterly composition of some of the metopes to Phidias himself, especially those in which, as in Fig. 71, the majestic proportions of the Lapith suggest comparison with the finest figures from the frieze or even the "Theseus" of the E. pediment. Others seem the work of a school of sculptors devoted to athletic art; some, with their even poise of combat and their choice of a momentary pause in the midst of violent motion, are worthy of Myron himself. Others again, in their violent contortions, their tricks of the wrestling school, their ungainly and unstable position, seem to betray the hand of pupils or imitators who, in their admiration for the apparently reckless originality and variety of the sculptor of the Discobolus, failed to catch his fine sense of appropriateness and restraint. There is, in the details of the metopes, more originality and less perfection of finish than elsewhere in the sculpture of the Parthenon. In them we may see more of the exuberance of Attic art of the period, and less of the controlling genius of Phidias himself.

(2) The pediments of the Parthenon are described by Pausanias only in the most summary manner: "What one sees on the pediment as one enters the temple," he says, "is entirely

concerned with the birth of Athena; while at the back is the strife of Poseidon against Athena for the land." If we were left only to this meagre description, and to the scanty, though precious remains that still survive, we should have considerable difficulty in getting any satisfactory notion of the composition as a whole. For the eastern or front pediment, this is unhappily the case. Though the French artist, Carrey, who visited the Parthenon in 1674, shortly before the explosion which destroyed the middle of the building, made a drawing of the eastern pediment as he then saw it, he could record even less than may still be seen in the galleries of the British Museum. With the western pediment it is otherwise. Carrey's drawing, in spite of some minor errors in the intervals and in the position of the figures, which may well have been shifted slightly from their original place,[1] is evidently an accurate and intelligent record of what he saw; and it shows us the composition of the western pediment almost complete. It is best, therefore, to deal first with this pediment, though its actual remains, in the British Museum and at Athens, are even more scanty than those of the eastern.

The story of the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica has a mythological significance which cannot be discussed here; the two were reconciled in the Erechtheum, which was really the centre of the old state religion of Athens, though even there Poseidon had to take a subordinate position. But in the Parthenon Athena was supreme, and her victory over Poseidon, as recorded in the western pediment, was symbolical of the unrivalled glory of her worship in her chosen city. The form of the story varied in details; that which appears to be adopted by the designer of the pediment is as follows. Poseidon and Athena both laid claim to the land of Attica, and Poseidon produced a salt-spring (θάλασσα) as the symbol or pledge of his occupation, Athena the olive tree; both these symbols were preserved and revered within the precincts of the Erechtheum. Zeus referred the quarrel to the decision of Cecrops and other heroes of the Attic land, or, according to another version, to the twelve gods; they decided in favour of

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[1] For the sake of ascertaining the exact position of the figures, Dr. Sauer has made a detailed sketch of all indications of clamps, sockets, weathering, etc., remaining on the base and field of the pediments; see *Mitth. Ath.*, 1891, p. 59, Taf. iii., and *Ant. Denkmäler* (Berlin), I. 58.

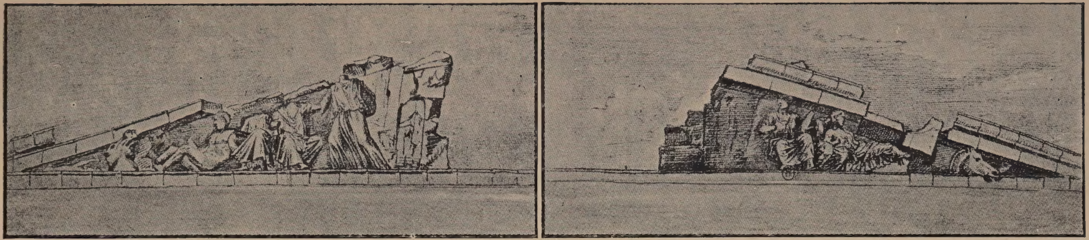

Fig. 73.—Carrey's drawing of E. pediment of Parthenon (after *Antike Denkmäler*, Berlin, I. 6 and 6*a*).

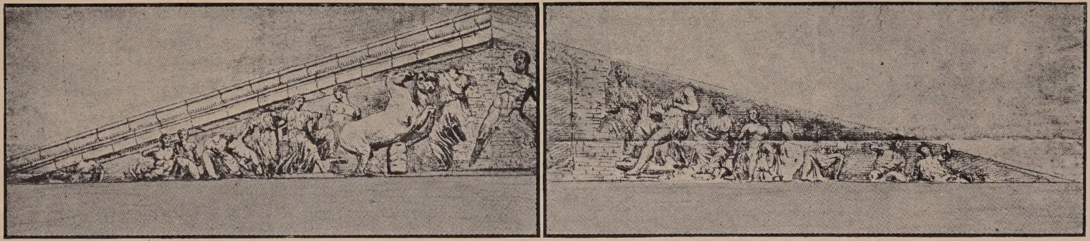

Fig. 74.—Carrey's drawing of W. pediment of Parthenon (after *Antike Denkmäler*, Berlin, I. 6*a*).

Athena, and Poseidon retired in wrath. The central group of the pediment, which is divided from the subordinate groups at the sides by the chariot and horses of Athena on the left, and probably by those of Poseidon on the right, consists of two figures only, Athena and Poseidon. Each moves with the whole impulse of body and limbs away from the central point, which each slightly overlaps; but each has the head turned back towards the centre. Their paths seem to cross, and there is an opposing balance of momentum in the midst of impetuous action which is peculiarly happy in this position, and at once gives the combination of symmetry and variety, so essential to architectural sculpture, which may be traced also through all the subordinate parts of the composition. The exact motive of the two figures that compose this central group has given rise to many discussions. It seems clear from Carrey's drawing, which is confirmed by the extant fragments of the two figures, that Poseidon has been advancing, and is suddenly starting back,

ὣς ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη,

as Mr. Watkiss Lloyd has aptly quoted. His resemblance in position to Myron's Marsyas is obvious at first glance, and we can hardly be wrong in assigning a similar motive; indeed, we may perhaps acknowledge that this central group in its character and subject may have been influenced by Myron's Athena and Marsyas. However that may be, we must suppose that Poseidon is starting back not only before Athena's advance, but also from some object at which he is startled. What that object was we may infer from the legend, but there is other evidence also to take into account. The contest of Athena and Poseidon is a frequent subject in minor art; and in some cases we may recognise either this central group, or a part of it, directly imitated from the Parthenon pediment. On some Athenian coins[1] we may probably recognise a figure of Athena derived from this pediment; though turned the other way, as is natural enough in the die-sinker's art, she resembles very strongly the goddess as represented in Carrey's sketch. In almost all cases we see beside Athena, in a position which would correspond to the centre of the pediment, an olive tree, usually with a snake twined round; when Poseidon is present, this snake seems to attack him. Another valuable piece of evidence is a vase found at Kertch, representing this same contest of Athena and Poseidon.[1] Here the figure of Athena resembles that in the pediment, but in Poseidon there is no sign of the sudden retreat so clearly indicated in Carrey's sketch; between the two is an olive tree; a snake coiled round its trunk rises against Poseidon, and amidst its branches floats a Victory, bringing her garland to crown Athena. Several subordinate figures are present, but they have little in common with the subordinate figures on the pediment. It may be doubted how far we are justified in using either coins or vase as material for the restoration of the Parthenon pediment. The direct relation between them and their supposed original can in no case be proved decisively; and we must remember that there was on the Acropolis another group representing the same subject as the pediment. It seems likely, however, that, as the sea-creatures (perhaps dolphins) visible on Carrey's drawing of the pediment behind Poseidon represent his symbol, the salt-spring, so too the olive, the rival symbol of Athena, in right of which she claimed possession of the land, must have been represented; and this symbol finds its fitting place in the middle of the pediment; its sudden appearance may well be the portent from which Poseidon starts back, and Athena's triumphant advance suffices to indicate her victory.

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[1] See Imhoof and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. Z. Some confusion is caused by the fact that other coins represent a quite different treatment of the theme.

The two central figures stand, as it were, in a space by themselves; behind Athena was her chariot, driven probably by Victory, her constant attendant; the chariot of Poseidon is also held in by a female charioteer, who may well be identified as his consort Amphitrite. His chariot and its team were destroyed before Carrey's sketch was made. Another figure stands just in front of the charioteer on either side, a nude male on Athena's side, a draped female on that of Poseidon; it has been suggested that these may be Hermes and Iris, sent to declare the result of the contest; but this appears superfluous, when its decision is already so obvious. The subordinate figures behind the charioteers on either side have met with as many identifications as there have been writers to discuss them, if we reckon all the combinations and permutations which have been devised by the ingenuity of interpreters. The fact is that Carrey's sketches afford just enough material for conjecture, but not enough to lead us to any certain conclusion. It has, for example, been much disputed whether the nude figure seated on the knees of a draped woman in the middle of the right side is male or female, and varying conjectures have been made on either hypothesis.[1] The only clue that could guide us safely under such circumstances would be the recognition of some of the figures or groups of figures as a definite type, reproduced on other monuments, with a meaning that can be identified; but this has not hitherto been done. The woman seated with two children behind Amphitrite, or the child between the standing woman and the seated one behind Athena's chariot, seems at first sight to offer a clue; but a glance at the long list of varying identifications given in Michaelis' *Parthenon* suffices to show how inadequate it is. Apart from isolated guesses about individual figures, we may say that three different systems of explanation are possible. Either the sculptor intended to represent those, either gods or heroes, who were actually present at the contest; or he represented those special heroes and local divinities of Attica who, by their presence, symbolised the interest of the Attic people in the triumph of their goddess; or else he added in the subordinate positions a series of purely local personifications, intended to indicate the scene of the action in which the principal figures are involved. Against the first theory it may be urged that gods or heroes, if present, were, according to the legend, present as judges. And there is nothing of the character of judges about the assistant figures; they certainly are not the twelve gods, nor can we regard them as a representative body of Attic heroes, who would, from all analogy, be a set of dignified and aged men; it has been suggested that they were present as partisans on either side, but this again does not seem borne out by the character of the figures. In a combination of the second and third hypotheses we may probably find the truth; probably the sculptor had in his mind some definite mythological or topographical signification for each figure; but, whatever it was, it is now lost, and we cannot recover it unless some new evidence should be found to show his meaning. As to one or two figures perhaps a more definite conclusion is possible; it has been generally agreed to recognise a river-god (Fig. 77) and a nymph—

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[1] *Compte Rendu*, St. Petersburg (Petrograd), 1872; *J.H.S.*, 1882, p. 245.

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[1] Dr. Sauer claims to have settled this question by finding a male knee and breast which must have belonged to this figure (*Mittheil. Ath.*, 1891, p. 80).

probably Cephisus and Callirhoë—in the recumbent figures at the ends, who thus give the topographical boundaries of the scene, an interpretation in close analogy with that of the similar figures on the east pediment at Olympia, which were traditionally explained as river-gods in the time of Pausanias; and the identification is confirmed by the wonderfully soft and flowing modelling of the body and limbs of the Cephisus (often called Ilissus); similarly in a statue of the Eurotas, made more than a century later by Eutychides,[1] the texture of the body was praised as "more liquid than water." The position of the figures on the building also coincides, as at Olympia, with the actual local conditions. Cephisus, probably accompanied by an attendant nymph,[2] is on the side of his own river, and Callirhoë, beside whom is Ilissus, is towards her spring. The seated bearded man, near the left end, round whose neck the girl beside him puts her arm, has a coil of a large snake behind him. This has been quoted to prove the figures are either Cecrops and one of his daughters, or Asclepius and Hygieia; neither theory is as yet convincingly proved.

The central group of the eastern pediment is irretrievably lost; a discussion as to how it may have been rendered belongs rather to the province of mythography than of sculpture. The birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, with the help of a blow with an axe given by Prometheus or Hephaestus, is a common subject on early Attic vases, where the goddess is seen like a little armed doll, actually emerging from the crown of her father's head. It is difficult to imagine how such a treatment of the subject can have been modified even by Phidias into a theme fit for monumental sculpture; it is more likely that he discarded this conventional type altogether, and represented Athena as standing beside her father, already, as in the legend, full-grown and armed, while the attendant figures, such as Prometheus with his axe, and the Ilithyiae who had assisted in the safe delivery, sufficed to indicate that her birth had just taken place. Such is the rendering of the subject on a marble puteal (or border of a well) in Madrid, where Victory also floats to crown the new-born goddess;[3] and this puteal may reproduce the theme of this eastern pediment. It must be acknowledged that the figures of Athena and Victory on the puteal bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the same two figures, perhaps from the western pediment, on the Kertch vase; and while this resemblance is in favour of the view that both vase and puteal are derived from a common source in the Parthenon, we may well hesitate to admit the probability of so strong a resemblance between the central groups of the two pediments. However this may be, the indications on the ground of the pediment and the supports provided seem to show that there was no figure in the centre of the pediment, but that here, as in the west pediment, two figures only formed the central group, Athena on the right, and Zeus, seated on his throne and facing her, on the left.

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[1] See p. 485, § 62.

[2] This figure is not present on Carrey's drawing, but there is a space for her; Sauer (*loc. cit.*) suggests that she must have fallen when the block on which she rested was carried away by a falling piece of the cornice.

[3] Baumeister, Fig. 172.

The subordinate figures of the eastern pediment are still in great measure preserved, and are, perhaps, the most perfect works of sculpture that exist. Just as, in the west pediment, a local setting is provided for the scene of contest, which took place in Attica, so here the birth of Athena is framed with appropriate circumstance; the scene is in heaven, the time sunrise, and so, while Selene, the Moon, descends with her chariot[1] at the right corner of the pediment, Helios rises with his team from the sea at its left corner. Facing the rising horses of the Sun is the noble reclining figure familiarly known as Theseus, a name that has little beyond its familiarity to commend it. Here too the true identification has been much disputed; the suggestion of Brunn that the figure represents Mount Olympus, illuminated by the rays of the rising sun, and serving to indicate more definitely the locality, has much in its favour. Such reclining figures are not uncommon as personifications of mountains; and the suggestion is thoroughly in harmony with the conventions of Greek art. The identification of the remaining figures in this pediment is as problematic as in the western; though we can still study the originals, their distinctive attributes are gone; but here also two systems are possible: we may either regard them as strictly mythological personages, present at the event, or as more or less fanciful personifications to give it, as it were, a cosmic setting, since no local surroundings would suffice. Here, however, the two systems are not mutually exclusive as in the west pediment; thus Brunn's suggestion that the two seated figures next his Olympus are the Horae, to whom the gate of Olympus is entrusted, and past whom Iris is hastening out to bear the message to the world, may find their place in either. In view, however, of the close resemblance of this group to the figures of Demeter and Despoena in the group by Damophon at Lycosura, it is perhaps justifiable to identify these two as Demeter and Persephone. Corresponding to Iris, on the other side, most authorities restore another figure in rapid motion, sent to tell abroad the news of the birth of Athena; this figure may well have been Hermes. The torso of a winged female figure, formerly assigned by some to this position, has now been shown to belong to the figure beside Poseidon's chariot on the west pediment. Next is a seated figure, who, as Carrey's sketch shows, turned her head toward the middle of the pediment. She may or may not form part of a single group with the two that are between her and Selene. One of these sits on the end of a couch, along which the other is reclined leaning on her companion's lap. The three have been called the Fates,[1] or the three Attic Horae; in the absence of attributes, no such identification can be proved: others have suggested a more fanciful meaning, drawn from the marvellous delicacy and richness of the drapery, especially of the reclining figure,[2] and interpret them as personifications, not indeed of places or rivers, but of nature in a more general aspect (Fig. 78).

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[1] One horse is in the British Museum, and the remains of three others are still on the pediment; the suggestions that Selene was riding on one horse, or driving a pair, must therefore be set aside.

But it is time to turn from the meaning of the artist to the composition of the groups, and the execution by which their splendid conception has found a worthy expression. We have already noticed the subtlety in the balance of composition shown by the central group of the western pediment; as to the eastern, unfortunately, we can say but little. Here we can best realise the great attainment of the designer of the Parthenon sculptures by a comparison with his predecessors in the same field. In the east pediment at Olympia there is also a balance, but of simple and even monotonous rest; in the western Olympian pediment there is motion enough, and motion symmetrically balanced; but it is motion either directly towards or directly away from the centre, where a single colossal figure offers a fixed mass amidst the struggling figures, *pugnae nodumque moramque.* The abolition of this central figure in the Parthenon pediments makes the balance more delicate and more subtly felt. And in the subordinate figures too there is more variety and elasticity in the symmetry which, in an architectural composition, can never be lost sight of. The two sides still correspond, figure to figure; but their grouping varies in detail. Thus the three "Fates" of the eastern pediment correspond to three figures in very similar attitudes on the left side of the same pediment; but while the reclining figure and the companion in whose lap she rests form a closely united group, from which the other seated figure is slightly separated, the two seated figures on the other side are closely united, and the reclining male figure is separated from them. This is a simple and obvious instance of a refinement of composition that may be traced throughout. Again, though the attendant figures are all present as spectators of the central action, on which their interest is fixed, they do not all turn towards it with a monotonous iteration. It may almost seem at first as if the artist, in his desire to avoid this iteration, had gone too far in turning some figures away from the scene they are present to witness. But it is the moment just after the culminating event that is rendered in each case; and a consciousness of it seems to pervade the whole without the need for further concentration of attention. Thus the perception of the spectator, in travelling from either extremity towards the centre, is not led on by a continually increasing strain, but is, as it were, borne on a succession of waves. So much we can guess from the scanty remains that are left; but, when so much is lost, it must always be difficult to realise adequately what must have been the effect of the whole.

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[1] It is true the Fates are present in the Madrid puteal; but they have no resemblance to the extant figures, and it seems more probable that the figures on the puteal reproduce part of the lost central group of the pediment, perhaps the two standing and one seated figure which were placed to the left of the centre.

[2] Thus Brunn calls them clouds; Professor Waldstein suggests Thalassa (Sea) in the lap of Gaia (Earth).

To study the execution of the Parthenon pediments is the liberal education of artists, to imitate it the despair of sculptors. It is impossible to speak of it here except in the briefest way; all we can do is to notice a few of the characteristics that seem to distinguish it from that of other masterpieces of Greek sculpture. No heads are left on the figures, excepting that of the so-called Theseus; and its surface is so damaged that we can judge of little but its proportions. In the treatment of hair and of eyelids there is still a trace of archaic convention.

A female head (Fig. 75), now in Paris,[1] was brought to Venice by Morosini's secretary, and so there is every external probability in favour of its belonging to some figure from the Parthenon pediments, to which its style seems appropriate. In spite of its restored nose and chin, we can recognise in this head a noble

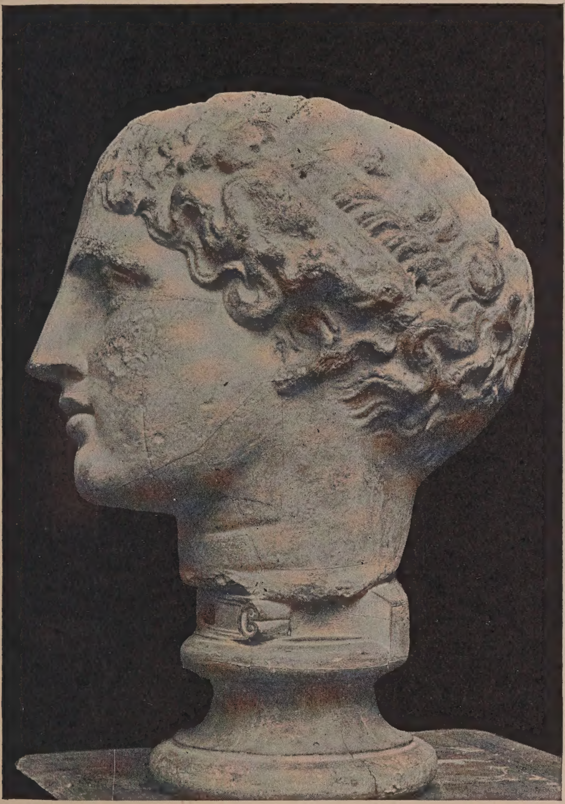

Fig. 75.—De Laborde Head, from a cast (Paris, private collection).

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[1] Called the Weber head, from a former possessor, who suggested its belonging to the Parthenon; it is now in the De Laborde collection.

and intellectual type, a breadth and simplicity of modelling, coupled with the most delicate play of surface, and perfect skill in the treatment of marble, which can only be matched by the similar qualities that we may recognise in the draped figures, to one of which it must probably belong.

For the modelling of the nude male form we have again the Theseus and the Cephisus. The wonderfully soft and flowing surface of the latter has already been referred to. The Theseus (Fig. 76) on the other hand presents, as it were, the sum of all that Greek sculpture had hitherto attained in the rendering of the male figure. There is nothing about him of the dry and somewhat meagre forms that characterise the athletic art of early masters, nor of that unduly square and massive build that was chosen by the sculptors of the Peloponnese. It is an absolute freedom from exaggeration of any sort that marks in him the perfection of sculptural technique. His muscles are correctly felt and clearly indicated, yet not in such a way as to suggest that there is no interposing layer of flesh between them and the skin; his

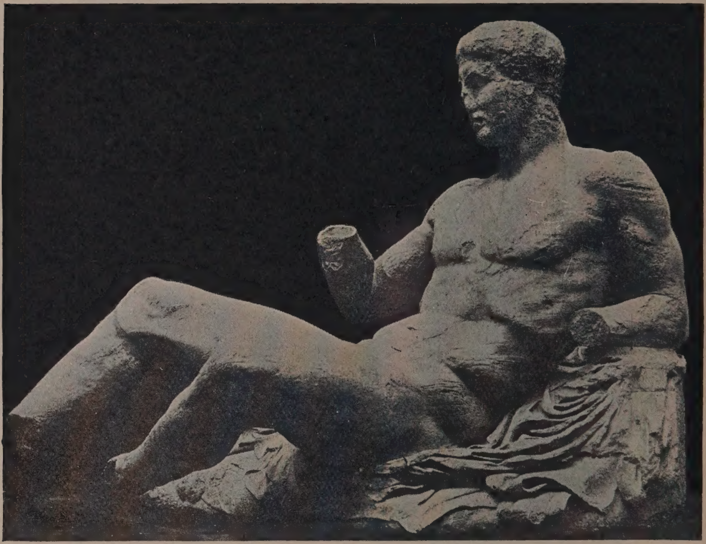

FIG. 76.—"Theseus," from E. pediment of Parthenon (British Museum).

figure shows in every detail, as well as in its general character, the most powerful build and the height of physical condition; yet it is that of a perfectly developed man rather than that of a successful athlete. Above all, in his pose, with its combination of grace and dignity, we see that Attic art has lost none of its feeling for beauty of composition and pleasantness of effect, while acquiring the more vigorous and severe excellence of other schools. But it is in the treatment of the draped female figure (Fig. 78) that the art of Athens reaches the most marvellous attainments of its prime, as it had devoted to the same subject the most quaint and careful devotion of its youth. Here the mastery over the material is so perfect as to make us forget the slow and laborious process by which it has been attained. The marvellous rendering of the texture of the drapery and the almost infinite multiplicity of its folds does not obscure or even modify the dignity and breadth of the whole conception, but only adds to it a new delicacy and grace. And this seems to be mainly due to two causes—the perfect harmony of the drapery with the forms which it covers, and the studied and elaborate system of the drapery itself, in which every fold, however apparently accidental or even realistic in itself, has a relation to the effect of the whole. We can see those characteristics most clearly in the group of the "three Fates," especially in the reclining figure, which, perhaps more than any other, even among these Parthenon sculptures, shows the most marvellous translation into marble of flesh and of drapery. The nobility and breadth are of course in great measure due to the proportions of

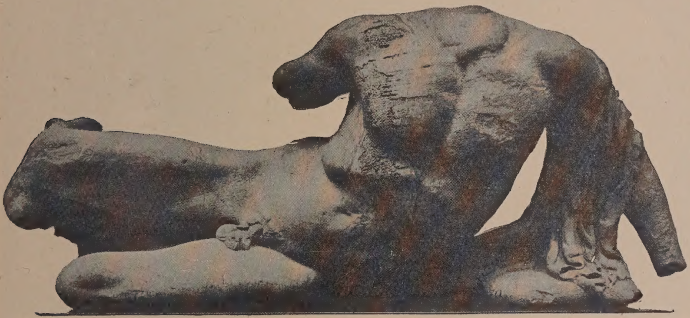

FIG. 77.—Cephisus (Ilissus), from W. pediment of Parthenon (British Museum).

the figure, which are very different from those of later Greek art; to realise this one has only to contrast them with those of the Aphrodite of Praxiteles,[1] in which we see the most perfect expression of the more usual, perhaps more human, ideal of the female form. There is nothing hard or unwomanly about these Parthenon figures; only in their combination of grace with majesty they seem to imply a higher ideal of womanhood than we find elsewhere in Greek art. The drapery reveals, by its modelling and by the flow of its folds, the limbs which it seems to hide; yet it never clings to them so as to lose its own essential character. And its folds, however minute in themselves, are always divided into clear and definite masses, which save it from the crumpled confusion one often sees in an attempt to paint or carve so delicate a texture. Compare the drapery of the Aphrodite of Melos, where these broad masses only are given, the sculptor, in his desire to escape from his own time and to recover the style of the fifth century, not daring to add the multitudinous detail which here, and here alone, does not mar the simplicity and breadth of the impression produced. For a different effect, a study of the bold curves of wind-swept drapery, we may turn to the Iris of the east pediment. Here the drapery, stretched by the rapid motion of the goddess, does not fall into such minute folds as in the figures at rest; the contrast is such that some have seen in it the work of a different artist. But

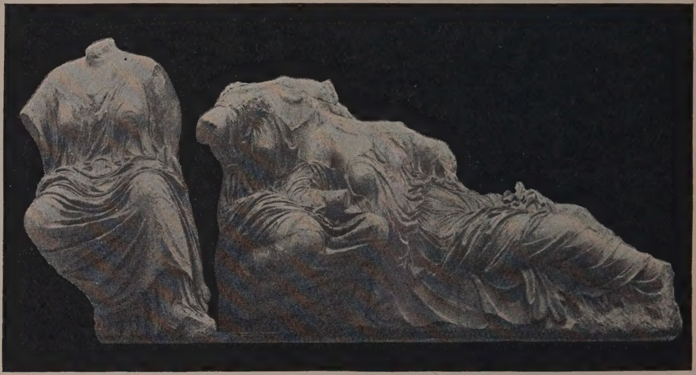

Fig. 78.—"The Fates," from E. pediment of Parthenon (British Museum).

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[1] See Fig. 100.

the explanation is rather to be sought in the thicker material of the simpler Doric chiton worn by Iris, while the drapery of "the Fates" is Ionic in its richness of folds and fineness of texture. With the Iris we may compare the Chiaramonti Niobid,[1] a figure unsurpassed for realism in floating drapery. There is again more system, more subordination of detail to the effect of the whole, than in the later work. Of course we cannot fail to recognise that the sculptor, in works like these, transcends his surroundings; yet the conventions and restraint of his predecessors and their elaborate study of systems of drapery which we see in the earlier works of Attic art, are not without their influence even on the artists of the Parthenon, and afford, as it were, a solid framework without which all this spontaneous exuberance of beauty might well have exceeded the strict limits of sculptural perfection.

Many other things call for notice which must be briefly mentioned; for example, the spirited modelling of the horses of Helios and Selene, and their contrast;—his horses inhale with distended nostrils the air of the morning as they spring from the sea, and hers, tired with their nightly course, still show their mettle as they near the goal. This need not surprise us when we remember that Myron and Calamis were even more famous for their sculpture of animals than of men, and that a series of horses from the Acropolis show the studies of earlier Attic artists in this line, in contrast to the comparatively tame horses of Olympia.

It has often been remarked that these pedimental sculptures are finished almost as carefully behind as in front, and this has been quoted to show the love of the Greek artist for his work in itself, and his wish to make it beautiful even where it could never be seen. Perhaps another explanation may be found, more reasonable and more in accordance with what we know of Greek art, which was never given to spending labour for no purpose. We know that a Greek vase-painter—like a modern artist—was in the habit of drawing the whole of a figure of which the greater part was concealed behind another, in order to make sure that the relations of the visible parts were correctly drawn, and afterwards of erasing or omitting the parts concealed. May we not imagine that the artists who made these pedimental figures had their sculptural instinct so strongly developed that to them a figure in the round sculptured only in front was like a figure drawn of which only some portions showed, and that in order to assure themselves of the correctness of the visible parts, they felt it necessary to complete the whole figures, at least in the rough? The labour thus expended offers no less strong a testimony to the devotion of the sculptors and their determination to leave nothing undone that might add to the perfection of their work, and it seems to proceed from a less sentimental and more rational motive.

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[1] See Fig. 122. Of course allowance must be made for this Niobid being a copy, though a good copy.

In speaking of these sculptures of the Parthenon pediments, it has been assumed so far that they are a product of Attic art; and the evidence in favour of this view is so strong that it can hardly be contested. How far we may consider them to be the work of Phidias himself it is a difficult matter to decide. In the case of the metopes we saw reason to believe that a considerable amount of latitude in matters of detail and execution must have been left to his assistants, even if he superintended the distribution of the scenes and their general design. But in the pediments, which were doubtless regarded as the culmination of the sculptural decoration, we cannot imagine him to have left the design to any other hand. It would indeed have been impossible for Phidias to have carved with his own hand so many large figures in marble during the short time in which the Parthenon was completed,—a time too during which he had to make the colossal gold and ivory statue of Athena, as well as to superintend the whole artistic administration of Pericles. But we may well suppose that he supervised the execution of the pediments in person, that he even gave a finishing touch to some portions, and that he had as his assistants in this work a band of sculptors whom he had trained so completely in his methods that their hand could hardly be distinguished from his own.[1] We may thus best understand the wonderfully even excellence in execution which we recognise, in spite of some varieties in style, in the pediments, as contrasted with the very uneven quality of work which we see in the metopes, and sometimes also in the frieze. And, without the direct personal influence and supervision of Phidias, it is almost impossible to understand the marvellous excellence of the pediments in execution as well as in design, and the vast interval which we see between them and other almost contemporary examples of architectural sculpture.

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[1] We have already noted (p. 284) that he probably left Athens, never to return, in 438 B.C., before the sculpture in the pediments was completed. But he must, in all probability, have left the design for them, either in small models, τύποι, or in some other form.

(3) The frieze of the Parthenon[1] consists of a band of low relief, going all round the outside of the cella, within the peristyle; it is about 3 ft. 4 in. high, and the depth of the relief averages only about an inch and a half. The greater part of the frieze is now in the British Museum; that on the west end is still *in situ* on the building, and a few other slabs are in Athens; there are also some fragments in the Louvre and elsewhere.

The subject of the frieze is the Panathenaic procession, the most brilliant ceremony of the great Panathenaic games, which were held every fourth year in honour of Athena. This procession, which led beasts for sacrifice to the Acropolis, and also carried the Peplos or sacred robe of the goddess, woven for her by chosen Athenian matrons and maids, was representative of all that was best and noblest in the Athenian state and society; the magistrates of the city, bands of men and youths chosen for their dignity and beauty, maidens of the noblest families, the representatives of allied and tributary states, the resident aliens in the city, all had their place in the festal procession, which was escorted by chariots and by the Athenian knights in military pomp. Such a subject was fittingly chosen to adorn the temple, as the most brilliant and characteristic act of worship in which Athena was honoured by her chosen city. On the western end of the cella, over the columns of the opisthodomus, are represented the knights equipping themselves and their horses for the festal parade. On either side, north and south, we see the procession advancing towards the eastern front. At the back are the knights, riding in a throng (Fig. 79), in front of them come the chariots, each accompanied by a marshal and an armed warrior (*apobates*) as well as the charioteer. In front of them again come bands of men, and, on the north side attendants and musicians; nearest in approaching the east front are the beasts for sacrifice, cows only on the south side, cows and sheep on the north. On the east side we see the head of the procession turning the corner at either extremity; here are the maidens with sacrificial vessels and implements, advancing to meet a group of men, who are probably the nine archons and other high functionaries. Then, in the centre of the eastern side, over the main door of entrance of the temple, we see the gods, seated in assembly as guests of Athena at her high festival. They are divided into two groups. Nearest the centre in the right group is Athena; next her come Hephaestus,

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[1] For its position in the building, see p. 43.

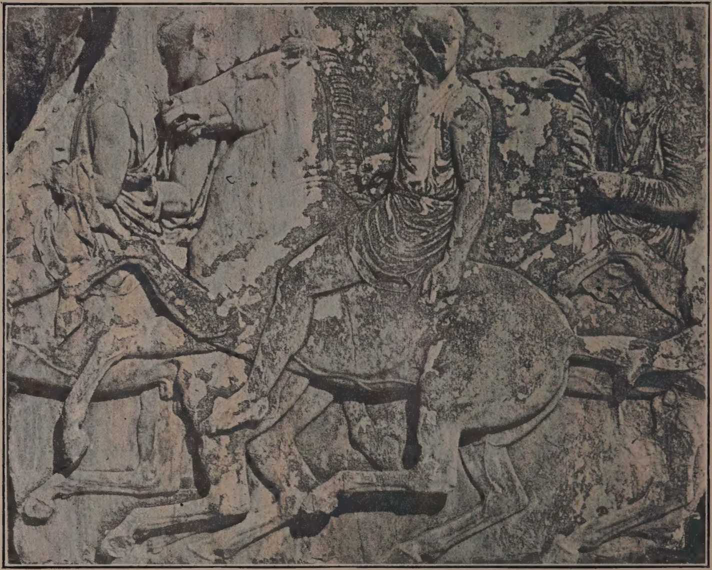

Fig. 79.—Slab from N. frieze of Parthenon (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

Poseidon, Dionysus, Demeter (Fig. 80), and Aphrodite,[1] with Eros leaning against her knee. On the other side the place of honour is held by Zeus, and beyond him are Hera, attended by Iris, Ares, Artemis, Apollo, and Hermes. Zeus and Athena are separated by a space in which is represented a scene that is probably to be understood as taking place in the background;

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[1] This list of gods is not beyond dispute as to some of the identifications. It may well be, for instance, that we should transfer the names of Dionysus and Demeter to Artemis and Apollo, and *vice versa*. It is impossible here to give the arguments for and against the alternative identifications.

for the gods turn from it to face the procession. In the midst stand a priest, probably the Archon Basileus, and the priestess of Athena, back to back; he is occupied, with the assistance of a boy, in folding a large piece of cloth or drapery, while she is taking from two attendant maidens the stools which they carry. Since the offering of the Peplos, or sacred robe of Athena, was the essential feature of the Panathenaic procession, and the Peplos, if not represented here, is not to be found anywhere else in the frieze, it is generally agreed that we must recognise it in the piece of drapery which the priest holds; but his action certainly does not seem to suggest that he is taking charge of the new Peplos brought to Athena by the procession, from which, moreover, he is separated by the whole group of the gods.[1] Both he and the priestess appear to be employed in

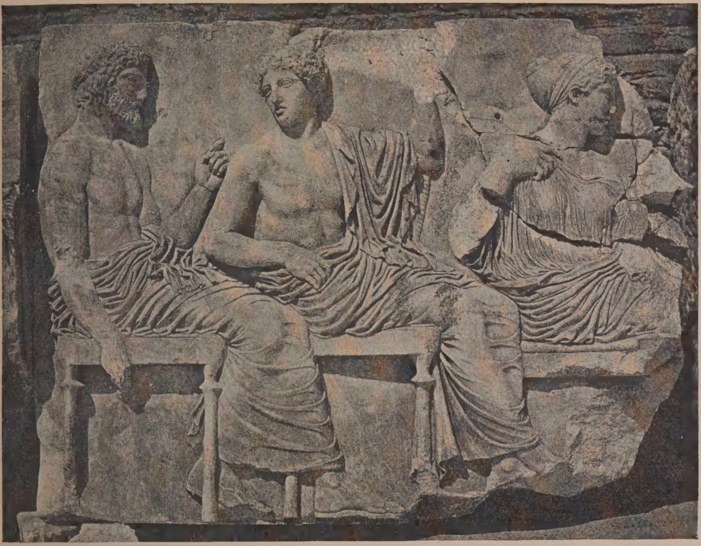

FIG. 80.—Group of Gods (Poseidon, Dionysus, Demeter (?)), from E. frieze of Parthenon (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

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[1] This has been so strongly felt by some that they maintain the priest is only taking off his own himation in preparation for the sacrifice; he is dressed only in a long chiton. For such a prominence given to vestments we have no authority in Greek ritual. The stools taken by the priestess are also a puzzle; it is hard to find a motive for them adequate to the position they occupy.

preparation for the great ceremony rather than in its performance; and we may perhaps find a more probable explanation of this central group if we suppose the priest to be folding up and putting away the old Peplos of Athena to make place for the new one which was to be brought her. Thus the offering of the new Peplos is implied by the folding up of the old one, and an adequate motive is provided for the group over the east door; though it is still hard to explain why the new Peplos is not represented anywhere on the frieze.[1] The group of gods on either side turn their backs on the priest and priestess, and fix their attention on the procession, which advances towards them from either side.

The frieze is distinguished at once by its unity and its variety of design. Each element in the procession occupies a long enough portion of the field to attract and to satisfy the attention of a spectator who sees it between the columns as he walks along the building; yet no two figures are alike; and a principle of contrasts marks the different parts—the majestic repose of the gods and their subtle characterisation in pose and feature, the slow and stately advance of the maidens and of the men, and the impetuous rush of the cavalry, again moderated by the graceful seat and perfect ease of the riders. In adaptation of technical treatment to the circumstances and position probably no work of sculpture shows so careful calculation as this frieze—again a proof of its unity of design, under the control of one supervising master, amidst all variations in the excellence and style of the execution in details. So little is this sometimes understood, that it has been stated that the frieze of the Parthenon was placed where it could not be seen. Set in the outer wall of the cella, in the narrow space between it and the entablature over the peristyle, high relief would have been difficult to see, and its deep shadows would have prevented a satisfactory lighting. For the lighting came entirely from below, reflected from the white marble pavement. This is the explanation of the fact that the relief is higher—that is to say is cut in deeper—in the upper part of the slabs than in the lower.[2] The light coming from below, made it necessary to avoid deep cutting, and consequently deep shadows, in the lower part; and, on the other hand, the lower contours of the figures are often cut more clearly, and even surrounded with a groove cut into the ground, to make them show, while the upper contours are weaker—so weak in some cases as to be almost invisible when lit from above, and to cause confusion in some of the finest blocks of the frieze when now seen in a museum. All these details in execution must proceed from a consideration of the lighting. The point of view of the spectator below would not explain all of them; and of course the frieze was not meant to be seen from the narrow passage of the peristyle, but from outside it, where the advance of the moving procession, as seen between the columns, would give a peculiarly lifelike appearance as its scenes opened themselves, one after another, to the view. Another characteristic of the frieze is the wonderfully skilful manipulation of the low relief, so as to give an impression of roundness to the figures, and even to show them, apparently one behind another, in masses of considerable depth; this is especially the case with the troops of cavalry. The result is obtained partly by extraordinary skill and delicacy in the modelling of the surface of marble, a peculiarly Attic virtue of which we saw some anticipation in a work like the stela of Aristocles, partly by another device, also known in other Attic reliefs. Where one figure overlaps another at one side, and is in its turn overlapped by another, apparently in front of it, the surface of this intermediate figure is not, as it appears to be, a plane parallel to the normal surface of the relief, but is slightly inclined to it. This inclination is so slight as not to be visible, and consequently the three figures, though all perhaps cut an equal depth into the marble, appear to be one behind another in three different planes. In style the frieze is the most perfect example of Attic grace and refinement—more human and less exalted in conception than the pediments, as befits its subject—it embodies the ideal representation of the people of Athens, uniting in the honour of the goddess whose birth and exploits were celebrated in those more conspicuous groups. In design it is not unworthy of the same master, and the unity of decorative effect as well as of religious conception which distinguishes all the sculpture of the Parthenon seems to claim as its author Phidias, whom we know to have been in control of the whole artistic activity of Athens at the time. And the assistants who helped him in the execution, though not all equally skilful, were such a band as Phidias alone could have trained and influenced. So complete and so successful was their co-operation that the sculpture of the Parthenon stands in a connected series as the most perfect example of the art of Greece.

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[1] The Peplos was carried as the sail of a ship in late times; but we do not know whether this was the custom of the time of Phidias.

[2] Their depth is given in the Brit. Mus. Catalogue as 1¼ in. at the bottom, 2¼ at the top, with an average of 1½ in.

§ 36. *Other Athenian Sculptures—Theseum, Temple of Wingless Victory, Erechtheum*, etc.—If the sculptures of the Parthenon are of supreme importance to us, as showing the work done in Athens under the direct supervision of Phidias himself, those which ornamented other Athenian temples are hardly less instructive. Though some of them probably belong to a time considerably removed from that of his artistic activity, they must all of them be regarded as the products of the school of which he was the acknowledged head; some of them may show us the character of that school before his genius had become predominant; in others we can still trace his influence after his disappearance from the scene; and we can also distinguish here and there the characteristics which we have reason to associate with other leading Attic sculptors and their pupils. In the Parthenon we may indeed see the highest attainment of the Attic school; but we must supplement our study of its sculpture by an observation of the remains of other Attic buildings, if we would form a complete notion of the varied artistic activity which marked the Athens of the fifth century.

Second only to the Parthenon in the style and preservation of its sculpture—though a long way removed from it—comes the Theseum. This name was given to the building when it was supposed to be the temple built to hold the bones of Theseus, which Cimon brought back from Scyros in 469 B.C. Some valid arguments have been adduced against this identification; the strongest are those which point to the forms both of architecture and sculpture as impossible at such a date. But on the other hand no other identification can be regarded as attaining a high degree of probability, much less certainty. Under these circumstances it is convenient to use the accepted name; but in retaining it we must not draw any inference as to the actual date of the architecture and sculpture of the temple. It appears to be nearly contemporary with the Parthenon; and the sculpture of the Theseum shows most affinity with the metopes of that building, which were, as we have seen, among its earlier portions.

The external sculpture of the Theseum is confined to the ten metopes on the east front of the temple, and the four adjoining metopes on the north and south sides—eighteen in all. The rest of the metopes were never sculptured; it is impossible to tell whether they were decorated with painting. There are also indications that the pediments once contained sculpture;[1] but this has now completely disappeared. The metopes are in Parian marble, not Pentelic—an indication that they belong to a time before the completion of the Parthenon had indicated the native material as worthy of the highest use in sculpture as well as architecture. They have unfortunately suffered so severely from the weather that in many cases it is barely possible to make out the subject and composition: Stuart's drawings, made towards the end of the eighteenth century before the damage had gone so far, are a great help in this. The ten metopes of the east front are devoted to nine of the labours of Heracles, that against Geryon being divided between two metopes in a single composition (as in the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi); those omitted are the Stymphalian birds, the stables of Augeas, and the bull—the first two doubtless because of the difficulty of their adequate representation, the third because its subject is practically repeated among the eight labours of Theseus, which are represented on the metopes of the north and south sides. Of these Stuart's drawings give us a fair notion; they also have suffered much since his day. The contests between Theseus and the various robbers or monsters against whom he fought show him as a skilled athlete, making use of all the devices of the palaestra in his struggles with the brute force of his adversaries (Fig. 81). It is most instructive, for example, to compare the skilful way in which Theseus here masters the Marathonian bull (Fig. 82) with the treatment of the similar subject in the Olympian metope, where Heracles simply throws his weight against the bull's and overpowers it. The execution seems to have the dry and somewhat hard technique that we have learnt to associate with the schools of Critius and of Myron, and which we recognised in some of the Parthenon metopes also; and the Theseum metopes resemble the less advanced among the metopes of the Parthenon in their extraordinary boldness of composition, sometimes almost transgressing the bounds of sculptural fitness in the pursuit of life and vigour.

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[1] Prof. Sauer, in his book on the "Theseion," has carefully studied these indications; but the restorations of pediments which he has constructed from them cannot be regarded as certain. He has also made a careful study of the rest of the sculpture.

The continuous friezes of the Theseum are over the prodomus and opisthodomus, within the peristyle, in the position occupied by the corresponding portions of the continuous frieze of the Parthenon; but, unlike that frieze, they are in high relief. The western, which stretches only across the breadth of the temple, not that of the peristyle also, represents a combat of Greeks and centaurs. The composition of this frieze is obviously due to an artist who is used to the designing of metopes, and who repeats the concentrated groups of two combatants adapted to the metope form, only connecting them loosely by the aid of additional figures who often seem superfluous to the action. Here again the resemblance to the Parthenon metopes is obvious; it is not, however, necessary to infer, as some have done, that the Theseum frieze was made in imitation of those metopes; it seems a sufficient explanation, if we suppose the sculptor to have drawn on a conventional store

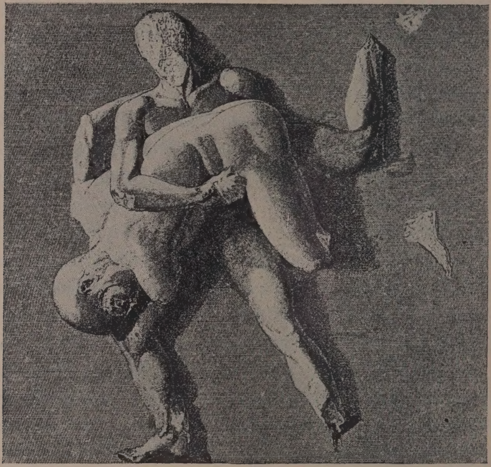

FIG. 81.—Metope of Theseum: Theseus and Cercyon (after *Mon. Inst.* X. xliv. 2).

of subjects adapted to treatment in the metope form. In some cases, however, he introduces a type unsuited to so limited a field; for instance, the invulnerable Caeneus, half buried by the huge stones which a centaur on either side piles over him, while other Lapiths, advancing to his relief, extend the scene in a manner more adapted to continuous treatment.

The eastern frieze stretches across the breadth of peristyle as well as cella, and we have already noticed[1] how the architectural conditions thus produced have influenced the composition of the frieze, a seated group of divinities being placed over each of the antae, as if to continue upwards the supporting member by a solid and restful effect. Outside these groups, over the peristyle, is a group in comparatively gentle action, such as the binding of a prisoner; while in the middle portion of the frieze is a wild scene of combat, Greek warriors fighting opponents who hurl huge stones against them. The combat cannot be identified with certainty; a probable suggestion identifies it as the fight between the Athenians and the wild inhabitants of Pallene. If so, both the friezes, as well as the metopes, would represent combats in which the Attic hero

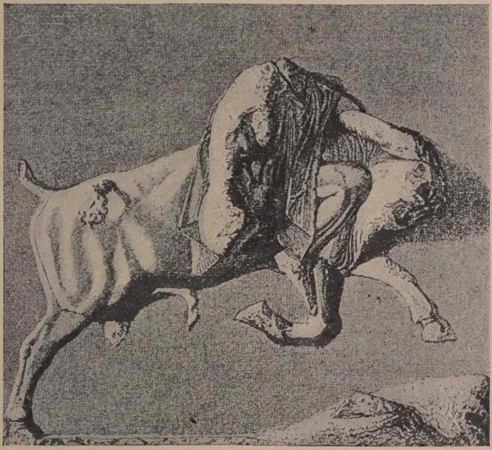
FIG. 82.—Metope of Theseum: Theseus and Bull (after *Mon. Inst.* X. xliii. 2).

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[1] Page 44.

Theseus was distinguished. Here again we see the same vigorous, almost exaggerated and distorted, action that characterises all the sculpture of the Theseum, and marks it as the product of that school of Attic artists which was especially devoted to athletic subjects; but in this eastern frieze we also see bold foreshortenings, especially in the fallen figures, which are avoided in the Parthenon, but recur on the frieze of the temple of the Wingless Victory.

The frieze of this little temple has some resemblance in subject also to the west frieze of the Theseum. It is less than eighteen inches in height; some blocks of it are *in situ* in the rebuilt temple; others were brought by Lord Elgin to England. On the east front is an assembly of gods, on the other three sides battle scenes, Greeks against Persians on the north and south sides, and Greeks against Greeks on the west; in this last scene most authorities see a reference to the battle of Plataea, in which the Athenians were engaged mostly with the Thebans and other Greek allies of Persia. The temple appears, from an inscription, to have been begun about 450 B.C.; but the style of the sculptures, with its effective use of floating drapery to fill the vacant spaces of the field, seems to belong to a time a little later than the Parthenon.

The temple stands on a little platform, around which was placed a balustrade, probably, to judge from the style of the sculptures which ornament it, shortly after the completion of the temple itself. On each of the three principal sides of this balustrade was a seated figure of Athena, and the rest of the field is occupied with winged Victories, who are mostly employed in erecting and decking trophies, leading cows to sacrifice, or performing other tasks in honour of their mistress. Those figures are wonderfully graceful in proportions and in attitude; but it is above all in the marvellous study of the texture and folds of almost transparent drapery, now clinging to the beautiful figures of the Victories, now floating in rich folds across the field of the relief, that the character of the work is seen (Fig. 83). We have already seen the perfect skill and delicacy with which such drapery was rendered in the Parthenon pediments: here the sculptor has gone even beyond that perfection, and however much we may wonder at his skill and at the beauty of the figures he has made, we can perhaps recognise in his work the germs of that over-elaboration and even affectation in the treatment of drapery to which Attic work had always a tendency unless it was checked by severer influence. We shall see a further development of this tendency in the often graceful, but conventional and imitative character of the Neo-Attic reliefs.[1]

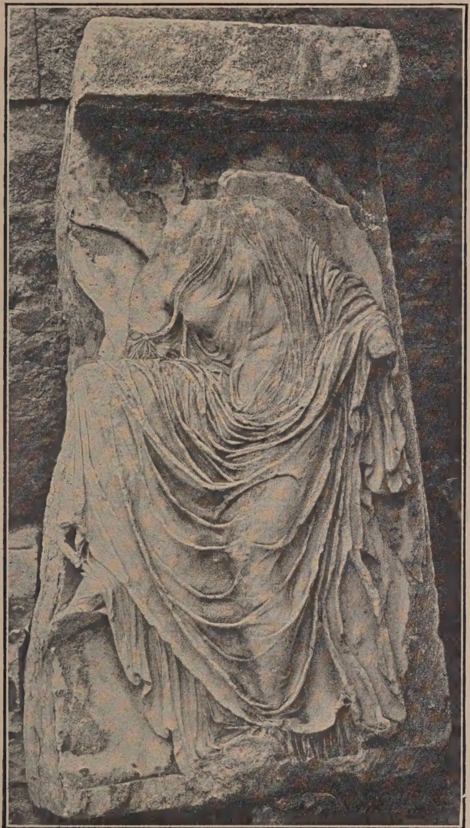

FIG. 83.—Victory binding sandal, from Balustrade (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

The Erechtheum was, next to the Parthenon, the most conspicuous temple of Athens, and was even more than the Parthenon the centre of Athenian worship. With the delicate refinement of its architectural ornament we are not here concerned. Two kinds of sculptural decoration were employed on it, in the Ionic frieze over the north and east porticoes, and in the Caryatids which carried the Pandroseum in its south-western corner. The frieze is mainly interesting as a curious experiment in the technique of relief. The figures, which are carved in moderate relief in Pentelic marble, were affixed to a background of black Eleusinian stone, which thus served as a substitute for the coloured ground often used in reliefs. As a natural result, though many of the figures are preserved, their order and arrangement are lost, and even the subject that they represented can no longer be identified. We do not know their exact date; all we know is that the Erechtheum was begun, and was left in an unfinished state for many years; and that in the year 409 B.C. it was again taken in hand and completed. The Caryatids (Fig. 84), or, as they are called in the official terminology of the Erechtheum inscriptions, the Maidens, are the best known example in Greek architecture of the substitution of the human figure for a column as the support of an entablature, which, however, is here specially lightened by the omission of the frieze, so that the burden may not appear too heavy for its bearers. The neck, too, which is in appearance the weakest portion of the human figure, is strengthened by closely fitting bands of hair, and a light, basket-like capital is placed upon the heads of the figures. These maidens are really like Canephori, basket-bearers, who had a place in the sacrificial procession, and delighted in the task that did honour alike to themselves and to the goddess. Their rich festal drapery and the simple severity with which it is treated fit them peculiarly for the place they occupy; and the elasticity of their pose obviates the impression that their burden is heavy, and gives an apparent stability to the whole composition, as each has the knee nearest to the middle of the structure bent, and thus there is an apparent inward thrust throughout. One can at once realise the value of this arrangement if one imagines any one of the Caryatids on the right side to change places with the corresponding figure on the left. One of these Caryatids is now in the British Museum; the rest—some of them in a fragmentary state—are *in situ* in the restored Pandroseum.[1] The question whether it is fitting to substitute a human figure for an architectural support is open to difference of opinion; but there is no doubt that, if it is done, the effect depends on the artistic skill and feeling with which the figure is treated, and the modification of the architectural surroundings to harmonise with the new conditions. In this respect the Caryatids of the Erechtheum compare most favourably with other examples, ancient and modern, of the same bold experiment.

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[1] See § 77.

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[1] The Erechtheum was greatly damaged during the siege of 1827. The Pandroseum was restored to its present state in 1845.

The great public buildings executed under the administration of Pericles and the artistic direction of Phidias must have gathered together a great body of artists and craftsmen in Athens; and we find their work not only in great public monuments like those we have so far considered, but in state documents and inscriptions, which at this period are often furnished with a symbolical relief at their head, and even on minor dedications and memorials set up by private individuals. Of these last the largest and most interesting class consists of the funeral monuments, which will be considered later, since they mostly belong to the fourth

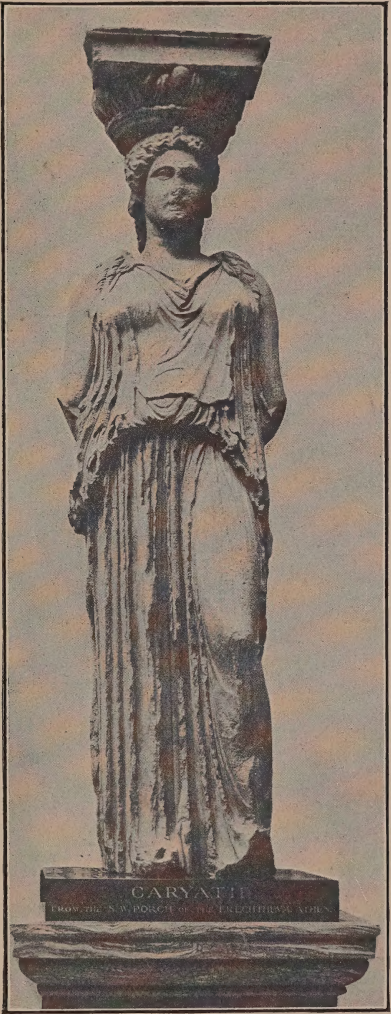

Fig. 84.—Caryatid, from Erechtheum (British Museum).

century.[1] But all combine to show how wide-spread was the artistic influence which found its highest expression in the sculpture decorating the public buildings of Athens. Thus, if the inscription recorded a treaty between Samos and Athens, the tutelary deities of the two states, Hera and Athena, were represented greeting one another in the relief at the top. Numerous examples of such symbolism could be quoted. Among the most interesting of these minor reliefs is one (Fig. 85) recently found built into a wall on the Acropolis, which represents Athena standing with her head bent down, and

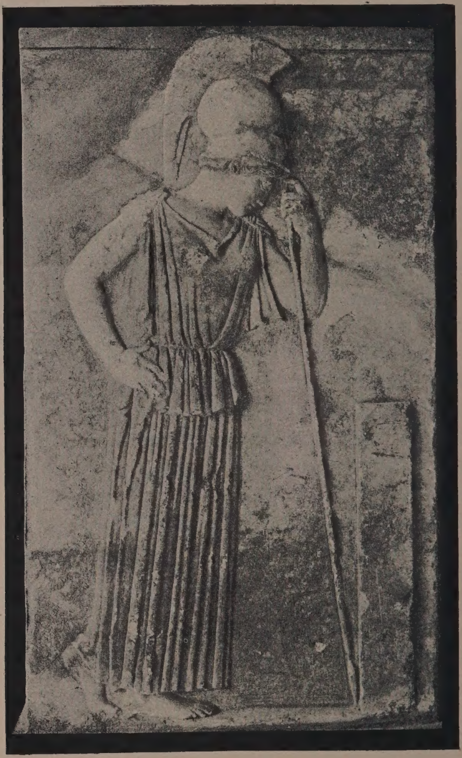

FIG. 85.—"Mourning Athena" (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

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[1] See § 51.

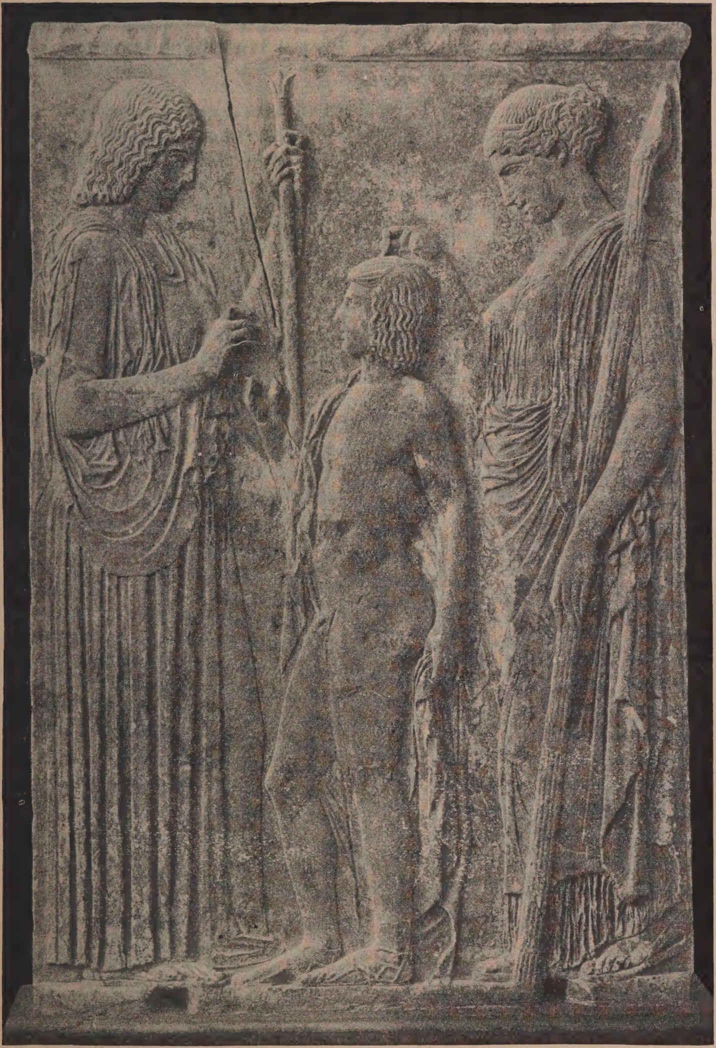

Fig. 86.—Relief from Eleusis (Athens, National Museum).

leaning on her spear, as if in mourning, while in front of her is a plain slab like a stela, on which a decree or a list of names might be inscribed. It has been suggested with much plausibility that the goddess is represented as mourning over a list of some of her chosen warriors who have fallen in battle. The period of this relief is probably about the middle of the fifth century. Its severe style and the stiffness of the folds of the lower part of the drapery may seem earlier. But we must always expect such productions of minor art to be behind the attainments of the greater masters of the same age. There is a simplicity and directness about this figure and its apparent significance which rarely fail to impress and to delight all who see it. Another (Fig. 86), perhaps the most noble of all dedicatory tablets, is a great relief from Eleusis, representing the great goddesses Demeter and Persephone, with a boy, probably Triptolemus. The simple and severe style of this relief perhaps implies that it is as early as the middle of the fifth century, but it may well be somewhat later. So much restraint and simplicity, especially in the treatment of drapery, show us how completely the graceful and ornate tendency, which we saw in early Attic art, and which we recognised again in a work like the balustrade of the Victories, was sometimes overpowered by a reaction towards a severer and nobler style. A study of these two extremes leads us to a better appreciation of that golden mean which we see realised, above all, in the sculpture of the Parthenon.

§ 37. *Scholars of Phidias—Agoracritus, Colotes, Theocosmus, Alcamenes.*—We have already seen something of the architectural sculptures which were executed under the supervision of Phidias. and which now serve better than anything else to give us some notion of his style. The works which are attributed to his associates or pupils by ancient writers are for the most part of a different nature, and resemble the great statues from Phidias' own hand, of which we could only infer the character from inadequate copies or descriptions. The resemblance in some cases appears to have been so close that the attribution was actually disputed, and we more than once find a statue recorded by some authorities as the work of one of the pupils of Phidias, by others assigned to the hand of the master himself.

Agoracritus of Paros is said to have been the favourite pupil of Phidias. His fame depended chiefly on his reputed authorship of the great marble Nemesis at Rhamnus, one of the best known statues in the ancient world. Many strange and incredible stories are told about this work, some of which need only be mentioned, while others require careful criticism. It was said that the Persians brought with them a block of Parian marble to Marathon, in order to make from it a trophy for their victory over the Athenians; and that after the battle the Athenians made from this block a statue of Nemesis, as a warning against the "pride that goeth before a fall." The proximity of Marathon to Rhamnus, and the obvious appropriateness of this story, are probably responsible for its invention by some seeker after a subject for an epigram. An even more absurd story is that the statue was originally sent in by Agoracritus in a competition with Alcamenes for the statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens at Athens, and that after his defeat he disposed of it to Rhamnus as Nemesis. We must give more weight to the statement, quoted from Antigonus of Carystus, that the inscription Ἀγοράκριτος Πάριος ἐποίησε was inscribed on a tablet attached to the statue, though Pausanias, who gives a detailed description of the Nemesis, knows nothing of this, and simply attributes the statue to Phidias himself. Nor can we ignore the tradition, repeated on many sides, that Phidias really made the statue, but conceded to his favourite pupil Agoracritus the credit of its design. The simplest inference is that Agoracritus adhered so closely to the manner of his master, and copied his style with so great success, that ancient critics had great difficulty in distinguishing his work from that of Phidias himself. It is, indeed, probable enough that Phidias may have assisted his pupil in the design of so great a work; but the inscription recorded by Antigonus can hardly be apocryphal, and would certainly imply that the statue was really made by Agoracritus. The officials at Rhamnus may well have destroyed or concealed such a record, in their wish to claim a more distinguished authorship for the statue that was the chief pride of their town.

Although this statue, from the less precious nature of its material, had more chance of preservation than most of the other great works of Phidias and his associates, it has been destroyed, with the exception of some insignificant fragments now in the British Museum,[1] and the remains of the relief which decorated its pedestal, now in the National Museum at Athens.[1] We are therefore again mainly dependent on the description of Pausanias. The goddess was represented as standing, of colossal size, about 15 feet high; on her head was a crown decorated with what Pausanias describes as small Victories and stags—evidently representations of the Oriental winged Artemis, holding stags in her hands as *πότνια θηρῶν*,[2] who was probably identified by the Greeks with the goddess of Rhamnus. In her left hand she holds a branch of apple, in her right a bowl wrought with figures of Ethiopians. On the pedestal was represented a subject from the myth of Helen, who was said to be the daughter of Nemesis, Leda being only her foster-mother; the principal figures were these three, surrounded by Tyndareus and various heroes of the Trojan war. The style of the portions of this relief which have been found shows a grace of design and delicacy of execution not unworthy of the highest period of Attic art; but they seem to lack the breadth and simplicity which distinguish the sculpture of the Parthenon. Another work attributed to Agoracritus by some authorities, the statue of the Mother of the Gods at Athens, was by others assigned to Phidias. This statue apparently established the type under which the goddess was worshipped, at least at Athens; she was seated, with a cymbal in her hand, and lions beneath her throne; but late reliefs,[3] which repeat this type, cannot give much notion of the statue. Another work of Agoracritus, in bronze, was the statue of Athena Itonia set up in the common meeting-place of the Boeotians at Coronea; beside this was also a statue described by Pausanias as Zeus, but identified as Hades by Strabo, who is apparently better informed, and knows of some mystical reason for the association.

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[1] *Mittheil. Ath.*, 1890, p. 64.

Colotes was another of the most intimate associates of Phidias; he was apparently not an Athenian, though the country of his origin was disputed. He is said to have assisted Phidias in making the great statue of the Olympian Zeus. He also made a table of gold and ivory at Olympia, on which the wreaths for the victors used to be laid; this table was decorated with reliefs like those that ornamented the pedestals of Phidias' great statues; on the front was an assembly of gods, extending round to the two sides, on which were minor deities; at the back was represented the ordering of the festival. The same precious materials were used in a statue of Athena at Elis, attributed by Pliny to Colotes, by Pausanias to Phidias; the inside of the shield was painted by Panaenus, the brother of Phidias, who also contributed the paintings to the throne of the Olympian Zeus; and in Cyllene, a port of Elis, was an Asclepius by Colotes, again of gold and ivory.[1] Colotes also appears in Pliny's miscellaneous list at the end of the bronze-workers as one of those who made "philosophers," probably a cant term for portrait statues in civil garb.

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[1] *Jahrb.*, 1894, Pl. i.-vii. (Pallat).

[2] According to the ingenious explanation of Dümmler in Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 106, n. 102.

[3] See Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 45-48.

Theocosmus of Megara does not appear to have been so closely associated with Phidias as the two sculptors we have just considered. He was employed to make the statue of Zeus in the Olympieum at Megara, which has already been quoted in the Introduction (*b*, 1) as giving us useful information about the technique of gold and ivory statues. The statue was left unfinished, owing to the straits into which the city fell at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (432 B.C.); the head only was completed in gold and ivory; the rest was in clay and plaster; and behind the temple lay the half-finished wooden framework intended to be covered with gold and ivory for the completion of the statue. No doubt the artist made first his full-sized model in clay and plaster, and when the work had to be abandoned after the head only was finished, this model itself was substituted for the precious materials which it was found impossible to provide. Phidias was said to have assisted Theocosmus in the design of this statue; whether this be true or not, it certainly appears from its character to have belonged to the series of great temple statues made under the direct influence of Phidias, if not by his pupils. Above the head of Zeus, presumably on the back of his throne, were the Hours and the Fates; the same position was occupied by the Hours and the Graces on the Olympian throne. If Theocosmus, when a young man, fell under the influence of Phidias, we find him in a very different connection thirty years later, when he was one of the sculptors employed to make the great dedication offered by the Spartans and their allies at Delphi after the crushing defeat of Athens at Aegospotami in 405 B.C. His colleagues in this work belonged to the school of Polyclitus, and his share was the statue of Hermon, a naturalised Megarian, who was the steersman of Lysander's ship. The inveterate enmity of Athens to Megara, which had compelled him to abandon the completion of his chief work, may well have led to his later association with the rival school of sculpture in the Peloponnese.

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[1] Strabo, viii. p. 344, says, "ἐλεφάντινον" only; but this is his usual description of chryselephantine works; *e.g.* of the Athena Parthenos, ix. p. 396, and the Zeus at Olympia, viii. p. 353.

Alcamenes, who occupies the first place among the reputed pupils of Phidias, has been reserved to the end, partly because he appears to have been amongst the youngest of them, partly because his relation to Phidias is not quite so clear and direct as that of some others. And in any case, his artistic eminence and independent fame entitle him to a separate treatment. Like Phidias, he seems to have contributed some of those broad and dignified expressions of the ideals of the gods that influenced all later sculpture, notably in the case of Dionysus and Hephaestus.

A welcome addition to our knowledge was made by the discovery at Pergamum, in 1903, of a herm with a bearded head (Fig. 87), and with an inscription upon its front stating that it was "the beautiful statue of Alcamenes, the Hermes before the Gates,"[1] doubtless a copy of the famous Hermes Propylaeus on the Acropolis at Athens—a work of which the authorship was previously unknown. At first sight of the head one may perhaps feel some disappointment, in comparison with the hopes raised by such an identification. The character of the work is somewhat archaic, not to say archaistic, and this effect is enhanced by the three rows of conventional spiral curls above the forehead; it has also, in all probability, been exaggerated by the Roman copyist, who could copy the form more readily than the character infused into it by the master. This form was doubtless prescribed. In looking at the herm we are reminded of the epigram :—

ὦ λῷστε, μὴ νόμιζε τῶν πολλῶν ἕνα
Ἑρμῶν θεωρεῖν· εἰμὶ γὰρ τέχνη Σκόπα.

It is, in short, no ordinary herm, as one might suppose at first sight, and this is sufficiently attested by the fact that many

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[1] The inscription runs :—

εἰδήσεις Ἀλκαμένεος περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα
Ἑρμᾶν τὸν πρὸ πυλῶν· εἵσατο Περγάμιος.

The date is probably the age of Hadrian.

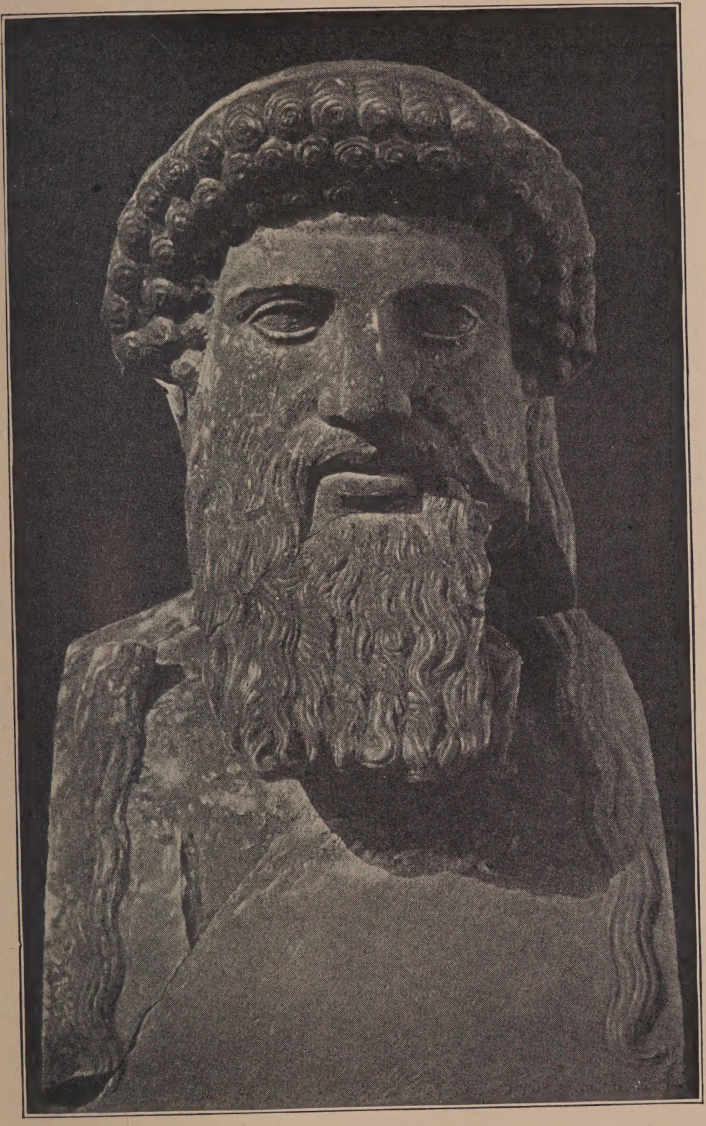

Fig. 87.—Hermes Propylaeus of Alcamenes.

other copies of the same original have since been found scattered through our museums. The hair of the beard is rendered in the same simple manner as in the Zeus of Phidias, and with the same effect of dignity; the features are treated in a broad and massive way in their modelling, and especially in that of the cheeks there is a suggestion of middle age. The broad and flat forehead, the wide-open eyes, framed by slightly projecting lids, the expressive lips, serve to render a character of dignity and benevolence which is in accordance with this conception of the bearded Hermes, in contrast to the type of the youthful athlete with which we are elsewhere familiar. The whole type is perhaps a little conventional, but it gives us the convention of the Phidian age, and by its help we can realise more clearly the way in which the chief gods were represented at this time. The individuality of the fourth century is not yet aimed at, but the more general conception of the deities is rendered in a manner that embodies the sculptor's ideal of the dignity and benevolence of the god he represents.

Alcamenes was, according to some accounts, a Lemnian, but he worked mostly in Athens, and in a contest with the Parian Agoracritus, he is actually said to have been preferred to a foreigner by his fellow-Athenians. His most famous work was the Aphrodite in the Gardens,[1] which was said by some to have received its finishing touches from Phidias himself, and was reckoned by many as one of the most beautiful statues in the world; in the passage of Lucian, quoted in full under Calamis,[2] this Aphrodite supplies to the ideal statue imagined by the critic "the round of the cheeks and front part of the face," "and the hands too and the beautiful flow of the wrist, and the delicately shaped and tapering fingers shall be after the same model." When we remember that the other statues which were laid under contribution were the masterpieces of Calamis, Phidias, and Praxiteles, we realise that, at least for these features, Alcamenes must have been unsurpassed. Unfortunately we have no more detailed description of the posture or attributes of this statue to help us in identifying copies of it among extant works, though it is likely enough that copies may exist of so famous a statue.[3]

Alcamenes is said to have originated the type of Hecate known to us from so many reproductions, in which the goddess is represented by three figures set back to back, typifying her threefold aspect. It is probable that we may recognise in such figures not a modified and softened survival from primitive idols, but rather one of those mythological refinements in the subtle distinction of personalities such as we shall meet with in the next century: Alcamenes, in this way, seems to be the forerunner of Scopas. The statue of Hecate was set up on the bastion beside the temple of the Wingless Victory. Alcamenes also made several other well-known statues in Athens. One was the Dionysus, in gold and ivory, that was in the temple close by the great theatre. The foundations both of the temple and of the basis of the statue are still extant; and reproductions of the figure upon coins show that the god was represented as seated on a throne, holding a cup in one hand and a sceptre or thyrsus in the other.[1] Of a statue of Ares made by Alcamenes we know nothing but that it stood in a temple of the god. His Hephaestus, also in Athens, is selected for praise by Cicero; the god was represented as "standing on both feet, and, with the help of the drapery, his lameness was slightly indicated, yet not so as to give the impression of deformity." It is natural to compare this statue with the limping Philoctetes of Pythagoras, whose pain seemed to make itself felt by those who saw him. The contrast gives us the essential difference between the moderation and reserve that mark the associates of Phidias, and the powerful and even painful vigour of the earlier sculptors, who, in the first exuberance of freedom from archaic trammels, sometimes transgress the limits of artistic reticence and sobriety.

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[1] See note at end of this section on the *Aphrodite in the Gardens.*

[2] P. 260.

[3] See note at end of this section on the *Aphrodite in the Gardens.*

Another statue of a god by Alcamenes was an Asclepius, in a temple at Mantinea; he also made a colossal Athena and Heracles of Pentelic marble,[2] set up by Thrasybulus at Thebes, as a memorial of his starting from that city on the expedition which terminated successfully in the expulsion of the thirty tyrants in 403 B.C. This last commission gives us the latest date in the career of Alcamenes, and shows us that he was still in full artistic vigour at the end of the fifth century. If he was also a pupil and even a rival of Phidias, according to a widely spread tradition, his career must have been a long one, for even if we exclude the Olympian pediments from our consideration, we must still allow that he had already attained an eminent position before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

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[1] *Num. Com. on Paus.*, CC. 1-4; *J.H.S.* xxiv. p. 258.

[2] Perhaps a relief, if we accept the simple emendation, *ἐπὶ τύπου λίθου τοῦ Πεντέλησιν*; but the reading is doubtful.

Two statues of goddesses by Alcamenes are mentioned in connection with stories of an artistic competition. He is said to have made an Aphrodite which was preferred to that sent in by his rival Agoracritus, rather from the partiality of his fellow-Athenians than from the superiority of his work. We have already seen, in considering Agoracritus, the sequel of this same story, which tells how the defeated competitor disposed of his statue as Nemesis. Whether the Aphrodite in question was the goddess "of the Gardens" or not there is no evidence; but the identification seems probable, when we consider that this was the one work of Alcamenes said to have been made with the help of Phidias, and that the Nemesis also had the credit of the same assistance. Thus the story, whatever be its worth, seems to record a contest between two pupils of Phidias, each of them helped by their common master. There is yet another story of a competition between Alcamenes and Phidias himself, recorded by Tzetzes, on what authority we cannot tell. In this case the commission was for two statues of Athena, to be set up upon lofty columns;[1] and it is said that the work of Alcamenes, being graceful and delicate, pleased best before the two were mounted and in position, but Phidias had calculated all his effects and proportions for the height at which they were to be seen, and therefore, though his statue, with its parted lips and distended nostrils, did not look well close, it testified the skill of the artist by its fine effect when it was set up at a height. Though it is unlikely that there is any historical foundation for this story, it embodies a valuable piece of criticism, probably due originally to some one who was familiar with the works of both artists. It is well in accordance with what we know of Phidias, in whose colossal statues the application of principles of geometry and optics was indispensable; while Alcamenes is praised elsewhere for the delicacy of his work in detail.

Besides these statues of divinities, only one athlete is ascribed to Alcamenes, a bronze "pentathlus," who was called the *encrinomenos*, a word of which the exact meaning is hard to catch.[1] It should mean "entering a contest," or "being examined for qualification"; and so may have represented an athlete, presumably not in action, but standing so as to display himself to the best advantage. Being a competitor in the "pentathlum," he would be an "all-round" athlete, evenly developed in all parts of his body; and such a subject might well offer an opportunity for an ideal rendering of the athletic figure in its finest proportions and development. If we possessed this figure[2] it would be interesting to compare it with the Doryphorus of Polyclitus, a statue of similar intent, with which it is probably about contemporary. We can hardly doubt that the athletic type chosen by Alcamenes would be much lighter and more graceful, as opposed to the massive and powerful form preferred by Polyclitus. Nor is this contrast inconsistent with another drawn between the same two sculptors by Quintilian, who here couples Phidias with Alcamenes in his criticism. He praises Polyclitus for the beauty and laborious finish of his work, yet says it lacks that nobility of conception[3] which we find in Phidias and Alcamenes. All we learn from other criticisms is that Alcamenes was placed in the very highest rank among sculptors; by some second only to Phidias. He seems to have been the most original and the most versatile among his fellow-pupils. Being the youngest of them, and surviving his master by many years, he probably escaped to a great degree from the overshadowing influence which, in their case, led to their fame being practically absorbed in that of

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[1] Statues set up "on columns" were not usual until Roman times, and it is most tempting to translate "above the columns," *i.e.* in the pediments of a temple, and even to refer this story to the two Athenas in the east and west pediments of the Parthenon. But this is best set aside as a possible, but not profitable speculation. Even if the story did refer to these two, it would have but little weight as to their real authorship, being clearly rhetorical in character.

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[1] It is commonly rendered in German *mustergültig*, which seems to imply a translation "chosen as a model," ignoring the present tense. In other cases, such as *apoxyomenos*, *anadyomene*, etc., such present participles seem always to refer to some process the subject is undergoing in the representation, and this analogy should if possible be followed here. Klein (*Praxiteles*, p. 50) defends the emendation *enchriomenos*, and identifies the statue with that of a young athlete anointing himself, known to us from copies in Munich and elsewhere. The suggestion is possible, but not certain enough to use as a basis for an estimate of the style of Alcamenes. Others assign this same statue, perhaps with more probability, to a son or pupil of Myron.

[2] It has been suggested that we may recognise it in a figure of a pentathlus, standing with the discus in his left hand. But he is evidently preparing for the throw, not merely standing before judges (see Overbeck, 3rd edition, I. p. 276).

[3] It may seem strange to translate *pondus* in this way, but the contrast shows that this must be the meaning, which is in accordance with the Latin use of *gravitas*, etc.

Phidias. He worked in gold and ivory, in marble, and in bronze; but, with the exception of the athlete just mentioned, his works represent gods, and a large proportion of them seem to have been temple statues. This fact seems to justify us in following the tradition of ancient writers, and classing Alcamenes among the pupils of Phidias.

In the fifth century the old images of the gods, which had hitherto been the chief objects of worship, came to be considered more and more inadequate, partly because the old mythological conceptions failed to satisfy any longer the more enlightened aspirations of the people, partly because the primitive idols contrasted too crudely with the wealth of sculptural offerings that surrounded them. In this crisis the art of sculpture came to the assistance of religion. We have already seen the incalculable influence of works like the Zeus and Athena of Phidias, in raising and ennobling the religious conceptions of the many, and in reconciling the few to the old forms which they might else have been inclined to reject. The numerous temples and various divinities of Greece demanded many such embodiments of the religious conception belonging to a particular shrine, and the pupils of Phidias seem to have set themselves especially to meet the need. In doing this they often followed their master so closely that their separate existence was almost forgotten; but it was no small achievement for them to have produced a series of great statues which were deemed worthy of attribution to the greatest of Greek sculptors. If Phidias founded no definite school which extended beyond the lifetime of those who had actually worked with him, this was chiefly because his influence was more personal in character, and imparted lofty ideals and noble conceptions of the gods, rather than any systems of style and proportion, or skill in particular kinds of technique. But here and there in later times we shall come across other artists who seem to draw their inspiration directly from Phidias; and though we cannot class them also as his pupils, they serve to show that the power of his example remained, and that his great statues retained their position in the reverence and affection of Greece, even after the art of sculpture had turned aside to follow new methods and different aims.

Note on the Aphrodite in the Gardens.—A statue of Aphrodite, of very delicate and refined style, clothed in a transparent, clinging drapery, exists in several copies; the best known is that in the Louvre. It is generally called Venus Genetrix, because it appears on coins which have been brought into relation with the statue made by Arcesilaus for the Julian family (see § 78). The type occurs earlier—for example in terra-cottas from Asia Minor,—but Arcesilaus, like his contemporary Pasiteles, might well have adopted types from earlier artists, which he reproduced in their general character, while adding to them the impress of his own manner and execution. It is therefore legitimate, without refusing to assign this work to Arcesilaus, to look for the famous earlier statue which he reproduced. Furtwängler and others identify it as the Aphrodite in the Gardens of Alcamenes. The identification is a possible one, but lacks definite evidence. It is worth recording as a conjecture, and as an indication of the impression produced on some authorities by the literary evidence, but cannot be inserted as a piece of verified information. More detailed consideration is therefore reserved here, as in the case of the works of Pasiteles, for the section concerning the sculptor from whom the extant copies are derived. The same statue is by some assigned to an original by Calamis (Winter), or by Callimachus—a suggestion which accords very well with its delicate and somewhat affected style, but which can only be regarded as a conjecture.

§ 38. *Scholars of Calamis and Myron, and other Attic Sculptors.*—*Praxias* the Athenian, a pupil of Calamis, began the sculpture in the pediments of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, which were completed after his death by Androsthenes. We know nothing of this sculpture except its subject—Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, with the Muses, in the eastern pediment, and Dionysus and the Thyiades in the western. Here we see again the principle of contrast, which we have already noticed elsewhere, between the quiet and stately subject on the front of the temple, and the rout of bacchantes at the back. And the setting sun on one pediment, presumably balanced by the rising chariot of the moon at the opposite corner, recalls the rising sun and setting moon in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, and may even have suggested that splendid device for filling the extremities of the triangular field, and at the same time giving appropriate surroundings to the central subject. Unfortunately the French excavations have not led to the recovery of any remains of these pediments, which must have been entirely destroyed or removed. It seems natural to connect the employment of Attic artists upon the temple at Delphi with its rebuilding by the Attic family of the Alcmaeonidae, who supplied a front of marble when they only contracted for stone; but the remains of the pediments which date from this rebuilding (p. 202) are much earlier than Praxias. It hardly seems likely that a pupil of Calamis would have been employed to decorate a temple like that of Delphi, after the pre-eminence of Phidias and those who worked under him at Athens had been acknowledged; and so we must probably assign these pediments to the first half of the fifth century. Both the pediments and the metopes, which contained scenes from a gigantomachy and exploits of Heracles and Perseus, are referred to in the *Ion* of Euripides. But this does not necessarily imply that they had been recently erected when the play was brought out, though the credit Athens gained by their presentation to the temple may have induced an Attic poet to dwell upon them.

Lycius, the son and pupil of Myron, seems to have followed in his father's steps. His date is established by an inscription on the basis crowning one of the two buttresses that form the extremities of the wings of the Propylaea at Athens. Pausanias saw the equestrian statues that stood on these buttresses, but, by a strange misunderstanding, connected them with the sons of Xenophon. His mistake was explained by the discovery of the inscription, which records a dedication made by the Athenian knights from the spoil of their enemy in a victory gained under the leadership of Xenophon (of course not the historian[1]) and others; the name had evidently caught the eye of Pausanias, and he had made a note of it without reading the whole inscription. Below comes the artist's signature, *Λύκιος ἐποίησεν 'Ελευθερεὺς Μύρωνος*. If the statues were first set up on these buttresses, they would necessarily be either contemporary with the building of the Propylaea (437–432 B.C.) or else later. But the inscription on the basis is re-cut, on the other side and the other way up, in slightly later characters; and this seems to prove that the statues were originally dedicated a few years earlier, probably about the middle of the century, and were later transferred to these buttresses. The date thus gained is of especial interest as deciding beyond dispute the period of Myron himself; but we cannot well place that period much farther back, and therefore we must class these statues among Lycius' earlier works.

A great group of Lycius, dedicated at Olympia, represented the combat between Achilles and Memnon.[2] It stood on a semicircular base, on either extremity of which stood the opposing champions. In the middle was Zeus, supplicated by Thetis and Eos, each on behalf of her own son. In the intermediate space were other famous heroes on the Greek and Trojan sides, opposed in pairs. This group reminds us irresistibly of the similar compositions made by Onatas of Aegina, one of them representing the heroes of the Trojan war, and even standing on a similar semicircular base It seems a fair inference to trace Aeginetan influence in the more athletic side of Attic sculpture, as represented by Myron and his associates, and to suppose that, when Aegina lost its political independence, the tradition of its art survived in works like this of Lycius. The commission was given by the city of Apollonia in Epirus, as a dedication for a victory over the Abantes of Thronium.

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[1] It is tempting to suggest that it was his grandfather; if so, the talent of Xenophon as a cavalry general would be hereditary.

[2] The subject is a favourite one with vase-painters, who mostly follow the version of Ictinus, and represent Zeus weighing the souls of the heroes in a balance, and deciding accordingly. We do not know whether Lycius adopted this form of the story.

Besides statues of Argonauts, of which we know nothing further, and a portrait of the athlete Autolycus, whose beauty is celebrated in Xenophon's *Symposium*, Lycius made two statues of boys which have led to much discussion: one held a sprinkler for holy water, and was set up on the Acropolis, before the temenos of Artemis Brauronia; the other was blowing up with his breath a smouldering fire. It is impossible to separate this last from a similar work by Styppax of Cyprus, which represented a slave roasting entrails, and at the same time blowing up the fire with his breath. This last slave is further identified as a favourite of Pericles, one of the skilled workmen employed on the buildings at Athens, who fell from a height and was injured so seriously that his life was despaired of, until Athena appeared in a dream to Pericles, and told him to make use of the herb Parthenium[1] as a remedy. As a thank-offering there was set up not only the bronze statue of Athena Hygieia by Pyrrhus, of which the basis may still be seen *in situ* in front of one of the columns of the Propylaea, but also a portrait of the slave himself, in the attitude already described. It seems likely that two examples of so curious a subject, made by Lycius and Styppax respectively at about the same time, must have had some relation to one another; but it would be futile to conjecture exactly what that relation was. It is more instructive to note the characteristics of this little group of bronze statues, which belong to a class which has been quaintly but not inappropriately termed "religious genre." The subjects were evidently intended to interest, not only for their own sake, but also for the opportunity which they gave for the display of the artist's skill, yet they are dedicated to religious purposes, and one is actually a thank-offering for a deliverance. Perhaps, in this case, the nature of the subject was a device to justify the setting up of a statue to a slave within the sacred precinct, somewhat as, at the end of the previous century, a similar difficulty had been met in the case of Leaena, the companion of Harmodius and Aristogiton. When her fortitude vindicated for her a statue on the Acropolis, which seemed to be precluded by her profession, Amphicrates had symbolically recorded her heroism, by representing her in the guise of a lioness, the beast whose name she bore. So too Styppax may have rendered this slave, under the guise of a minister attending the sacred fire on the altar.[1]

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[1] Not what we call Parthenium, but a plant common on the Acropolis, and still used for healing purposes in the Levant; it is called *ἀνεμόχορτο* or *erba di vento* (so Heldreich).

Cresilas of Cydonia was a Cretan, but his association with Pericles, and the presence of some of his most famous works in Athens, make it natural to class him among the Attic artists. The basis of his portrait of Pericles has been found during the recent excavations on the Acropolis at Athens, and the work is doubtless the original from which are derived several extant copies, one of them in the British Museum (Fig. 88). This portrait, by its simple and severe treatment, especially in the modelling of eyes and beard, shows the character of the fifth century; and at the same time the nobility and ideal treatment of the face make one understand the words of Pliny applied to this work, "mirumque in hac arte est quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit."[2] It is not so much an accurate presentment of the features of Pericles that we have before us, as an embodiment and expression of the personality of the man who summed up in himself the glory and artistic activity of Athens in the fifth century; there is no attempt to catch the minor details and more accidental traits of the individual, as in later portraits. The statue is dated by the inscription to about 440-430 B.C.;[1] yet it shows no sign of advancing age in the face of Pericles, who is represented as in the full perfection of manhood.

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[1] The suggestion that this slave was represented as actually crouching before the feet of the Athena of Pyrrhus, and blowing up the fire on her altar, is untenable. The altar of Athena Hygieia is a large one at some distance in front of the statue; and the statue of the goddess is a dedication, not an object of worship.

[2] Perhaps translated from an epigram, *ἀλλ' ἡ τέχνη καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάζειν ἔχει· τοὺς εὐγενεῖς ἔτευξεν εὐγενεστέρους*, *i.e.* "the marvel of this art is, that it has added to the nobility of noble men"; but, as H. Stuart Jones remarks, *nobilis* in Pliny usually means only "famous"; so it may mean the skill of the artist "has added to the fame of famous men," by making their portraits.

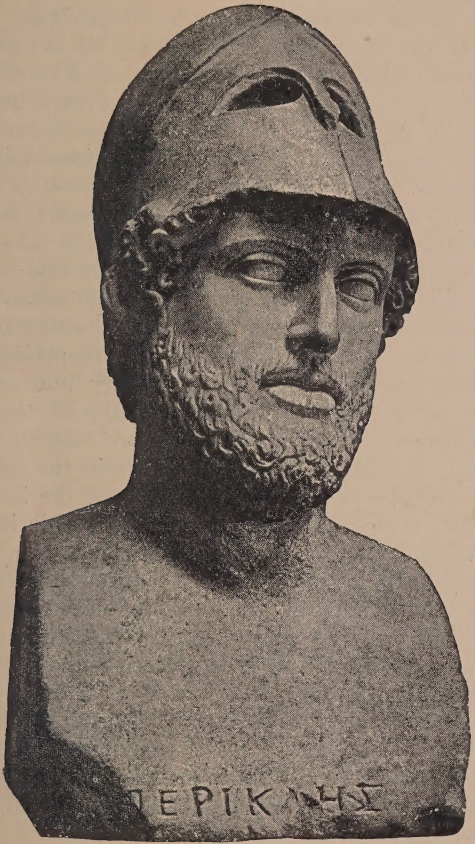

FIG. 88.—Portrait of Pericles, probably after Cresilas (British Museum).

Another statue by Cresilas, which has given rise to much discussion, is one described by Pliny as "a man wounded and fainting, in whom one can feel how little[1] life is left." This work is by general consent identified with a bronze statue on the Acropolis at Athens, described by Pausanias, representing the Athenian general, Diitrephes,[2] wounded with arrows; a basis found on the Acropolis, recording Hermolycus the son of Diitrephes as the dedicator, and Cresilas as the artist, must almost certainly belong to this statue, and dates from about the middle of the fifth century. The basis is square, and has two square holes in it, lying in one of its diagonals, for fixing the statue, which must therefore have been represented in some unusual position. A figure of a warrior pierced with arrows, and staggering, with his feet some distance apart, is found on an Attic lecythus of about this period; and it has been conjectured[3] that it may represent the death of this same Diitrephes, which evidently caused a good deal of sensation at Athens from its peculiar circumstances. Of course considerable caution is necessary in recognising a copy of a contemporary statue on a vase of this period; such a thing is very unusual, but the coincidences are strange if we do not suppose these various pieces of evidence to be connected. If we imagine the statue to have been in much the position we see in the figure on the vase—as is probable from the indications on the basis—it was certainly a *tour de force* in bronze technique; and in its curiously distorted attitude, and its representation of a man fighting to the verge of death, it reminds us of Myron's Discobolus and Ladas, and seems to show that Cresilas fell strongly under Myron's influence. Of other works of Cresilas we know nothing but the names; two more bases have been found with his name—one at Athens, belonging to a statue of Athena, another at Hermione, from a statue of Demeter Chthonia; he is also said to have made a Doryphorus[4] and a wounded Amazon—one of those in the famous Ephesian competition.[5] These suffice to mark him as an artist of considerable variety as well as of high ideals and technical skill.

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[1] Δελτ. 'Αρχ., 1889, p. 36.

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[1] See H. S. Jones, No. 148, note.

[2] Not as Pausanias supposed, the Diitrephes who is mentioned by Thucydides vii. 29 (413 B.C.), but an earlier man of the same name, perhaps the father of Nicostratus (iii. 75, etc.). So Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 123.

[3] See Furtwängler, *loc. cit.* p. 124.

[4] So only by a probable emendation; Pliny's MSS. ascribe the work to a Ctesilaus otherwise unknown.

[5] See p. 368 below.

Strongylion is another artist of considerable fame and variety, of whose works we know but little. One of them which is often referred to represented, in bronze, a colossal figure of the wooden horse of Troy, with some of the Greek heroes looking out of it. The basis of this horse has been found on the Acropolis at Athens, and appears to date from a year not long before 414 B.C., when it is referred to in the *Birds* of Aristophanes: Strongylion is said to have been famous for his sculpture of horses and bulls; whence it has been conjectured that a bronze bull, dedicated near the horse on the Acropolis, was also by him. As to another work of his we have more satisfactory information. He made a statue of Artemis Soteira at Megara, of which a replica was set up at Pagae. The coins of these two towns show an identical figure of Artemis, at Pagae actually in a temple and on a basis; this must certainly be the statue made by Strongylion.[1] It was of bronze, and the coins show us that the goddess was represented as holding two torches, and in rapid motion. She wears a short chiton, girt round the waist and barely reaching to the knee, and high hunting boots—the regular dress of the huntress Artemis in late Greek art; indeed, it seems likely enough that we must attribute to Strongylion the creation of this type, one of the most familiar in Greek mythology. If so, though we may not be able to identify any copy of his Artemis at Megara, we may see her more or less remote reflection in many well-known statues. Other works by Strongylion were a boy on a small scale, famous for the admiration felt for it by Brutus, an Amazon, who was called Eucnemus, or "of the beautiful shin"[2] (not one of those in the Ephesian competition), and three statues of Muses on Helicon. From these few facts we can infer neither the origin nor the school of Strongylion; he lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war, and as he worked for both Athens and Megara, we cannot assign him with certainty to any influence. He seems to have worked almost exclusively in bronze, and created a type which was of wide influence in later art; excessive admiration of his work was among the affectations of Roman amateurs.

Callimachus is an artist whom we have already seen coupled with Calamis, as an example of the graceful subtlety of Attic sculpture, in contrast to the grandeur and breadth of Phidias and Polyclitus. He, indeed, represents more than any other the direct succession of purely Attic art, which we traced to its culmination in Calamis before the reaction to a stronger and severer style under Doric influence. Callimachus is said even to have carried this refinement and delicacy so far as to be a fault; he is called *catatexitechnus*, the man who frittered away his art on details, and is said to have been so difficult to satisfy with his own work that the excessive and laborious finish which he gave it destroyed its beauty. In him some have seen, not without reason, the originator of those over-refined and affected works which later, as the Neo-Attic reliefs, occupied a prominent place in decorative art. Besides a statue of Hera at Plataea, we learn of only one work of sculpture by Callimachus, some dancing Laconian maidens, probably those who danced at the festival of Artemis at Caryae, and were called Caryatids; these must not be confused with the figures later called Caryatids in architecture.[1] Such dancing figures are not uncommon in later reliefs, and may be ultimately derived from the statues by Callimachus. We hear of him not only as a sculptor, but also as skilled in other branches of decorative and mechanical art; thus he made the lamp in the Erechtheum, which burned all the year round, and had a golden palm-tree to serve as chimney; and he is credited with the invention of the Corinthian capital—perhaps in error, as it is already found in the temple at Bassae; but Ictinus may have used there the invention of his fellow-Athenian. He is also said to have first used the drill in marble—that is to say, probably, the running drill for cutting the folds of drapery and other deep lines of modelling. In fact, his influence on later art and his mechanical and technical inventions distinguish him beyond his actual attainment in sculpture.

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[1] Imhoof and Gardner, *Num. Com. on Paus.* Pl. A, 1.

[2] She was presumably also on a small scale, since Nero had her carried about with him; but perhaps the eccentricities of that Emperor are beyond calculation. There is no sufficient ground for identifying any extant Amazon with this statue.

§ 39. *Attic influence outside Athens; Phigalia.*—The temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae, near Phigalia, was one of the most famous in the Peloponnese,[2] alike for the magnificence of its position, and the beauty of its architectural forms and its sculptural decoration. It was built by the people of Phigalia in thanks to Apollo, to whom they attributed their immunity from a plague that ravaged the surrounding country during the Peloponnesian war. It has been disputed whether this was the great plague of 430 B.C., described by Thucydides, but said by him to have spared the Peloponnese, or another plague ten years later. Architectural and sculptural forms combine to confirm the attribution of the temple to this period.

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[1] These architectural figures were simply called κόραι in the fifth century.

[2] Pausanias says it was second only to the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which was built by Scopas (see § 49).

The temple is of peculiar design, and shows us the freedom with which a great architect like Ictinus, who was employed on this temple as well as the Parthenon at Athens and the Hall of the Mysteries at Eleusis, dealt with the conventional plan of a Greek temple. At first glance the temple appears to be of the usual form, with pronaos and opisthodomus and surrounded with a peristyle, except that it faces north and south instead of east and west. But the interior of the building deviates strangely from the normal arrangement; it consists of a small cella at the south end, opening toward the east by a door in the long eastern side of the temple; here doubtless was the statue, facing east as usual. To the north of this cella is an open court, taking up all the rest of the building, and surrounded by attached Ionic columns, varied by one Corinthian, the earliest known, in the middle of the space between the cella and the court. Over these columns ran the continuous frieze of the temple, round the interior of the oblong court. Hence, unlike the friezes that usually surround the outside of a building, it was all visible from one point. Over the pronaos, at the north end, in a position similar to that occupied by the metopes at Olympia, were metopes, sculptured in high relief. Of these only comparatively insignificant fragments have been recovered. These, as well as the frieze, which is in a fine-grained Peloponnesian marble,[1] are now in the British Museum. The Phigalian sculptures were excavated in 1811, by a party of explorers, including the architect Cockerell; and were purchased by the British Government in 1814. Being added to the Elgin marbles, they make our national collection unrivalled for the study of architectural sculptures of the fifth century.

The subject of the frieze was divided into two parts, a battle of Greeks and Amazons and a battle of Lapiths and Centaurs, the former occupying two sides of the court, and one slab over, the latter filling the rest of the other two sides. As to the exact order of the slabs there is a good deal of uncertainty, but it seems clear that each of the short sides, north and south, had a group of especial interest, to afford a centre to the composition.

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[1] From the quarries of Dolianá, near Tegea.

The battle with the Centaurs probably began at the south-west corner. To this subject belongs the group of Apollo and Artemis in a chariot; she drives, while he bends his bow against the monsters. Perhaps the goddess is hastening to the help of those who, on the next slab, have taken refuge at her image. The Centauromachy continues all along this side, and turns the corner to the north, where it ends in the great group of which the invulnerable Caeneus is the central figure. We have already seen, in the case of the Theseum, how this theme lends itself to effective composition in a frieze. After the Caeneus group comes the beginning of the battle against the Amazons, which encroaches by one slab on the north side, while it fills the east and south sides entirely. In the middle of the south short side was Heracles, distinguished by his club and lion-skin; his opponent is presumably the queen of the Amazons (Fig. 89). The two combatants cross each other's path and strike back at one another, thus making a balance in the composition, peculiarly suitable for figures that form the centre of a larger group. The effect is similar to that of Athena and Poseidon in the western pediment of the Parthenon.[1] The rest of the frieze is rich and varied in motion, full of imagination and originality of

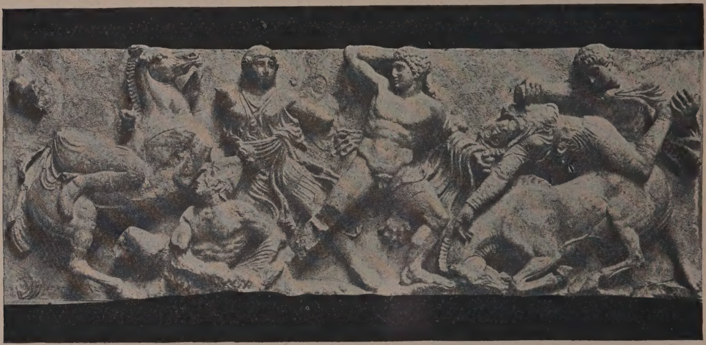

FIG. 89.—Slab from Phigalian frieze: Heracles (British Museum).

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[1] So A. H. Smith, British Museum Catalogue.

design, with here and there a group which is almost startling in its unconventionality—that, for instance, of a Centaur who bites one adversary in the neck, while he lashes out with his heels against another who holds his shield against this savage attack; or that of a Greek who tilts an Amazon off her horse by seizing her shoulder and her foot. The treatment of the nude is mostly vigorous and correct, especially in the male figures, and the athletic frames of the Amazons; but it is uneven in quality, and is particularly weak in the nude female form when exposed, as in the Lapith women. The drapery is remarkable; it is designed, though not always executed, with great skill and freedom, and floating masses of it are often used to fill vacant spaces in the field—a feature which we have already seen in Attic work of this period. But the extremely low relief of some portions shows a greater dependence on the help of colour, and a greater subjection to influence of pictorial method, than we often find in Athens itself; and there are some mannerisms peculiar to this Phigalian frieze—for example, the way in which the drapery of the short chiton is stretched across in horizontal folds between the knees.

All these characteristics of design and of execution, taken together, seem to show that the design is due to an Attic artist, as we should expect from the employment of Ictinus, the architect of the Parthenon. But the frieze does not appear to be the work of the same hands as the decorative sculptures which we see on the various buildings of Athens itself. Some of their excellences and defects, their superiority in rendering the male form, the mannerisms in the treatment of drapery, make it likely that local artists of Peloponnesian training were employed in the execution, under the general direction of an Attic master. In this way we can best explain the obvious affinities in design to works of the Attic school; while the pictorial and decorative elements, especially in the treatment of drapery, were naturally either exaggerated or inadequately mastered by the local artisans to whom they were unfamiliar. Here the internal evidence offered by the style is confirmed by literary authority; and so the Phigalian sculptures offer a clue to guide us when we meet with a somewhat similar character in other sculptures both in the Peloponnese[1] and in Asia Minor.[2]

[1] See p. 374.

[2] See p. 377.

§ 40. *Polyclitus.*[1]—Two names stand out beyond all others as representative of the sculpture of the fifth century—those of Phidias and Polyclitus. So far we have considered either works in which the influence of Phidias is predominant, or artists whom it is natural to associate with the school of which he was the most distinguished figure, if not the acknowledged head. But Athens in the fifth century shows no artistic exclusiveness; she seems rather, in claiming for herself a pre-eminence among the Greeks in the arts of peace, to have become to a certain extent representative, and to have absorbed into herself much of what was best in the work of her neighbours in addition to continuing her own earlier traditions. We have seen, in particular, how the monuments testify to a strong accession of Peloponnesian influence in the Attic art of the earlier part of the fifth century, and how tradition assigns Ageladas of Argos as a master to two of the greatest of Attic artists at this time. The third pupil accorded to Ageladas by tradition is Polyclitus, who succeeded him as the recognised head of the Argive school of athletic sculpture. The relation has in all three cases been disputed. Although we might have expected it to pass unchallenged in the case of Polyclitus, whose Argive origin and artistic connections seem to vouch for its historical truth, the difficulties due to the respective dates of the two sculptors were formerly thought to be so serious as to make the story impossible. If, however, we admit that Ageladas accepted a commission as late as 459 B.C.,[2] there is no difficulty in supposing that Polyclitus—whose earlier athlete statues are dated by the Oxyrynchus list in 452, and even, by inference, in 460 B.C.—may have worked in his earlier years under his veteran predecessor. However this may be, he certainly accepted the tradition of the Argive school as it had been handed down by earlier sculptors and consolidated during the long life of Ageladas; and though he was regarded by later time as the first to introduce a system of athletic sculpture, and to establish a canon of proportions, it is difficult to tell how much of this he owed to his predecessors. But his great creative imagination, which enabled him to make a temple statue second only to those of Phidias, and his wonderful technical skill—in which he was considered by many to stand first among all the sculptors of antiquity,—gave him a position above all previous masters of the Argive school. What, however, was generally regarded as the most characteristic work of Polyclitus was the statue in which he embodied the ideal of bodily perfection, as conceived by the athletic schools of the Peloponnese in their earlier period—a statue which served, as it was intended, for a model to all later artists, and exercised as much influence on the bodily type of Greek sculpture as the Zeus of Phidias exercised on its religious ideals.

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[1] The Greek Πολύκλειτος is transliterated Polycletus by Cicero and Quintilian, hence the French Polyclète, the German Polyklet, and the form sometimes used by English scholars. But Polyclitus, the form used by Pliny, is probably more familiar to English readers. Cf. Clitus = Κλεῖτος in Shakespeare.

[2] See p. 217; and for Polyclitus' date, Robert, *Hermes*, 35, p. 185.

So far, it has been assumed without discussion that Polyclitus was an Argive. This statement, which rests on the highest authorities, would require no comment but for Pliny's assertion that he was a Sicyonian. The schools of Argos and Sicyon seem always to have been closely united; and the fact that their common centre was transferred to Sicyon in the fourth century suffices to account for the confusion. The bases of the statues of victorious athletes which he made for Olympia have been found, and give us valuable information as to his earlier work. Presumably he devoted himself during this time to acquiring that knowledge of the athletic human form which was the chief tradition of the Argive school, and to making the statues of athletes that formed its commonest product. His earliest recorded work is a statue of the Olympian victor Cyniscus, who won in the boys' boxing match; this may be assigned to about 460 B.C.[1] Other bases of athletic statues bearing the name of Polyclitus have been found at Olympia; two of these were set up in honour of Pythocles and Aristion, both of whom were victorious in 452 B.C. The two greatest works of the athletic type—both of which are preserved to us in various copies—were not intended as statues of any individual athletes, but rather as ideal embodiments of what an athlete should be. The one is known as the Diadumenus, because he is represented as a victor in the games, binding about his brow the fillet over which the wreath is to be placed; the other as the Doryphorus, because he holds in his left hand a spear sloped over his shoulder. This Doryphorus was also known as the Canon, because Polyclitus had embodied in it not only his conception of the male form in its most perfect development, but also the system of proportions which he adopted as normal. Indeed, he actually wrote a treatise which went by the same name as the statue, and the two were mutually illustrative of each other. Unfortunately, this statue, like all others that can be attributed to Polyclitus, is only preserved to us in copies of Roman period, which not only fail to enable us to realise the beauty of their original, but do not even preserve accurately the system of proportion embodied in the Doryphorus. The copies we possess vary to some extent among themselves, so that it is difficult for us to gather from them more than a general notion of the proportions adopted by the sculptor; while, on the other hand, they exaggerate some of the characteristics, especially the massive and heavy build, so as to produce an appearance of clumsiness which we cannot readily accept as belonging to the work of Polyclitus himself. We must, however, make the best of the evidence we possess, while making due allowance for its inadequacy. It must especially be remembered how much is lost in the translation from bronze into marble of the work of an artist who, in the art of finishing a bronze statue, is said to have surpassed all others, not excepting Phidias himself.

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[1] So Robert, *loc. cit.*; it is earlier than 452, and cannot be 456. These dates are all derived from the Oxyrynchus papyrus.

The Doryphorus, or Canon, is preserved to us in several copies; the completest is that from Pompeii, now in the Naples museum (Fig. 90). It is, however, a heavy and mechanical copy, and can give us but little notion of the finish of Polyclitus' style, in which his chief excellence lay. A bronze copy of the head by the Attic artist Apollonius[1] at least reproduces the material of the original, and so may be expected to follow its technique; but it is a conventional work of the Augustan age, and is hardly more to be trusted. But all the copies, whatever their defects, agree so far that we can safely infer from them the physical type chosen by the artist, both for body and for face, and also the pose and general character of the statue. It represents a young man in the very prime of athletic condition, but remarkable rather for massive strength than for agility. All his muscles are strongly developed, though we must allow something here for the exaggeration of the late copyist; his head is large in proportion, about one-seventh of the total height, and its squareness of skull and rather heavy jaw imply that his athletic prowess is due rather to obstinate power of endurance

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[1] Collignon, I. Fig. 252.

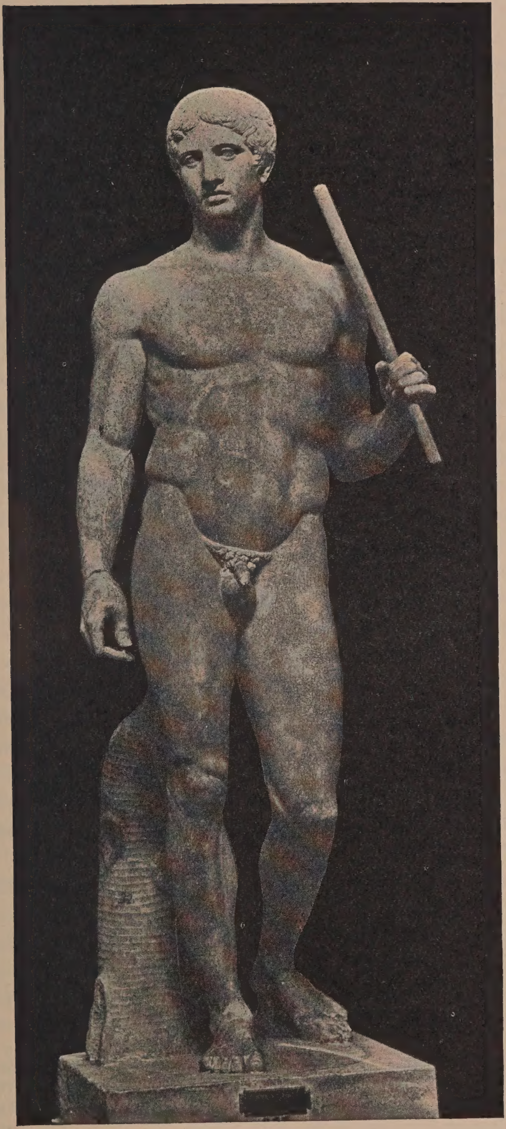

Fig. 90.—Doryphorus, after Polyclitus (Naples).

than to quickness or versatility. Not that the Polyclitan Doryphorus shows any of that brutality which sometimes marks the professional athlete of later Greece; he represents a thoroughly healthy and evenly developed type; and the deformed and swollen "boxer's ear," so conspicuous in Apollonius' head, does not appear in other copies, and is probably a modification introduced by the later artist.

Some faint reflection of the inimitable bronze technique of Polyclitus may be traced in extant copies of his best known work. Perhaps the most accurate in this respect is the torso in the Pourtalès collection at Berlin, which shows a remarkable treatment of the muscles of the body, unintelligible in marble, but easier to understand if we imagine it transferred to bronze.[1] Here, though the relief of the various muscles is less accentuated than in other copies, the lines of demarcation between them are more clearly and definitely indicated; there is less of that play of light and shade over the whole on which marble work depends for its effect; more of the evenly curved surfaces, intersecting in definite lines, which in a metal statue reflect the light and bring out all the delicacies of the modelling. As to the treatment of the hair, all copies are pretty well in agreement; it lies close to the scalp, coming down low over the forehead, and is divided all over its surface into short waving tresses, which seem as if drawn on it, but never stand out separately in relief; it contrasts alike with the bronze hair of later art, standing out freely from the head, and that in the best copy of Myron's Discobolus, in which the hair, rather than the separate tresses, is outlined in a harder line over the forehead, and is subdivided into more minute curls, clinging close but not waving, all over the head.

The other of Polyclitus' two famous athletic statues, the Diadumenus, is also preserved to us only in inadequate copies. Until recently, the most trustworthy of these were a statue from Vaison in France, now in the British Museum (Fig. 91), a statue in Madrid, and a bronze statuette in the Louvre.[2] To these may now be added a head recently acquired by the British Museum, and placed beside the Vaison statue, and a statue discovered on Delos, which is perhaps the finest of all. The Diadumenus is represented as a victor in the games, binding about his head the sacred fillet over which the judge was to place the wreath. The position of the arms is much the same as in many statues and statuettes in which later sculptors delighted to represent Aphrodite binding her hair; and the motive of the artist is the same in both cases; it affords an excellent opportunity for displaying the symmetry and proportion of the arms and chest. Unlike the Doryphorus, who is slowly advancing, the Diadumenus is standing still; and thus, though the weight of the body here also is borne mainly by the advanced right leg, the poise of the figure is different; the centre of gravity is behind the right foot, instead of above it and on the point of advancing beyond it. It is evidently in subtle distinctions like this, and in the consequent modification of all the muscles and the whole pose of the statue, that the art of Polyclitus excelled; a comparison of the two works is the best possible comment on the monotony complained of by some ancient critics. Even in copies it is possible to appreciate to some extent the refinement and delicacy of their differentiation; if we possessed the originals, it would doubtless be far more admirable. Of other athletic statues by Polyclitus we have nothing but the name recorded; one is described by Pliny as an athlete using the strigil, *destringentem se*, and is interesting for the identity of its subject with the "Apoxyomenus" of Lysippus, which may have been intended as a rival to Polyclitus' Canon.

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[1] Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art*, I. Pl. 29, p. 2.

[2] Some copies of the Diadumenus are much softer in type, perhaps showing Attic influence. It is doubtful how far this character belonged to the original. The Farnese Diadumenus in the British Museum is of an altogether distinct type, and probably the work of an Attic artist; the terra-cotta statuette published in *J.H.S.* Pl. lxi., is more clearly derived from the Polyclitan type: the modification in this case is Praxitelean, though it may be doubted whether

It was, however, not only in athletic sculpture that Polyclitus excelled. His great gold and ivory statue of Hera in the Heraeum near Argos was recognised as the visible embodiment of the goddess, and is mentioned as a worthy counterpart to the Olympian Zeus of Phidias. Indeed, Strabo goes even further, and says that the Argive statue excelled all others in its art, though the works of Phidias were more costly and on a larger scale. Such a criticism is probably based on the work of some writer unduly partial to the Argive school, and so must

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the copy is the work of an ancient or of a modern artist. The copy from Delos, now in Athens, is a fine Hellenistic copy, more free in style and consequently reproducing the details of the original less mechanically than a copy of Roman date.

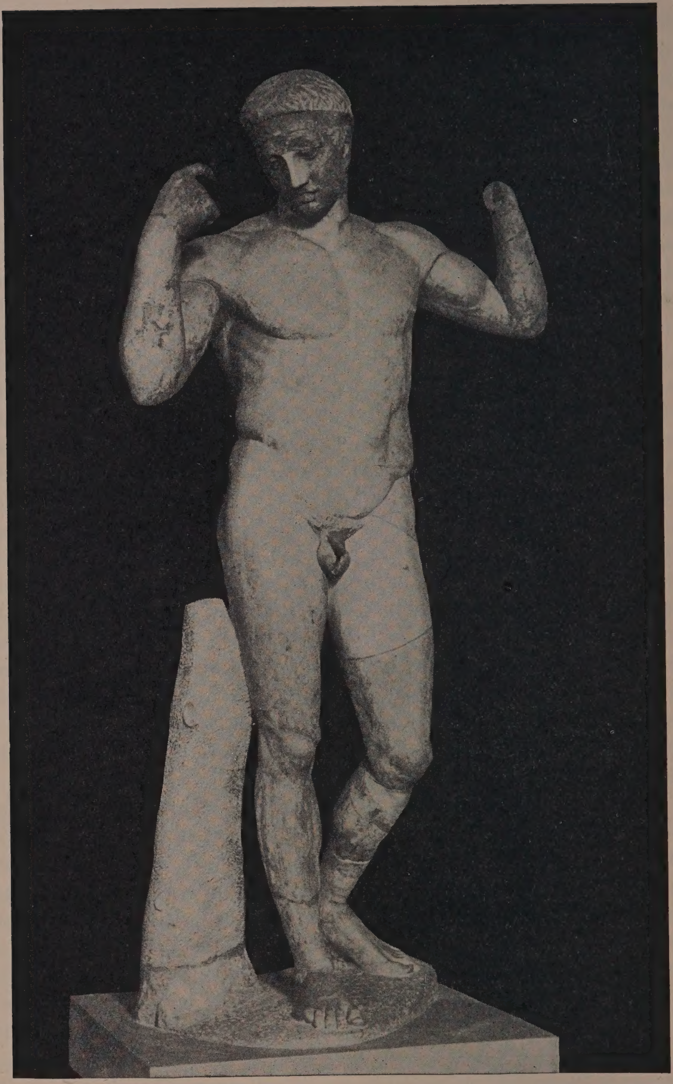

Fig. 91.—Diadumenus from Vaison, after Polyclitus (British Museum).

not be allowed much weight. We can, however, safely infer that Polyclitus excelled in the ideal representation of divine power and beauty; but the type of Hera, in Greek mythology, is a less sublime and intellectual conception than that of Zeus or Athena, and for this reason more adapted to the limitations of the Argive school. Hera in the Argive ceremonies was especially worshipped as the bride who yearly renewed her virginity; and it was thus, probably, that Polyclitus represented her. She was enthroned, with a pomegranate in one hand, in the other a sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo, the bird in likeness of which Zeus was said to have shown himself to Hera. On her head was a crown, decorated with figures of the Graces and the Hours. In short, she was represented as the bride and consort of Zeus—the perfect type of youthful womanhood—a conception that gave full scope to the study of perfection in physical form and dignity of type which belonged especially to the Argive tradition. We may obtain some notion of what this type was like from the contemporary coins of Argos and of Elis, which, however, must not, like Roman coins, be taken as copies of the work of Polyclitus, but rather as the die-cutter's conception of the type of Hera which found its most perfect expression in the work of Polyclitus.[1] The statue was made immediately after the fire which consumed the Heraeum in 422 B.C.

As to other statues of gods by Polyclitus, we know nothing for certain beyond the names; they were a Zeus Meilichius—the god of atonement—at Argos, set up after a massacre in 418 B.C., and made of white marble;[2] a Hermes in Lysimachia, which must have been moved from elsewhere; a Heracles, moved to Rome, and an Aphrodite at Amyclae, supporting a tripod set up after the battle of Aegospotami (405 B.C.). In most of these cases, as in some others, there is the possibility of doubt whether the work should be attributed to the elder or the younger Polyclitus; a similar doubt exists in the case of a group of marble, representing Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, on Mount Lycone near Argos.[3] The two artists were evidently not clearly distinguished from one another in antiquity; and, if we had not the evidence of inscriptions to help us, we should find it very difficult to keep them apart.

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[1] Cf. also the head in the British Museum (Waldstein, *J.H.S.* xxi. Pl. ii. iii.), which is certainly Polyclitan, though the identification as Hera is doubtful.

[2] The material is strange for either the elder or the younger Polyclitus; the massacre may be wrongly identified. That the younger Polyclitus used marble is a mere assumption.

[3] Also attributed to the younger Polyclitus because of material. See last note; this is merely arguing in a circle.

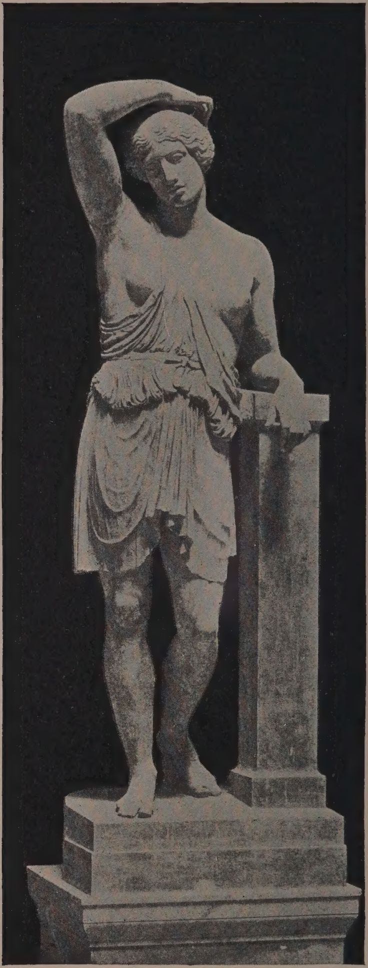

FIG. 92.—Amazon, after Polyclitus (Berlin).

As to another work of Polyclitus, his Amazon, we have more evidence; and it will be well to include here a brief

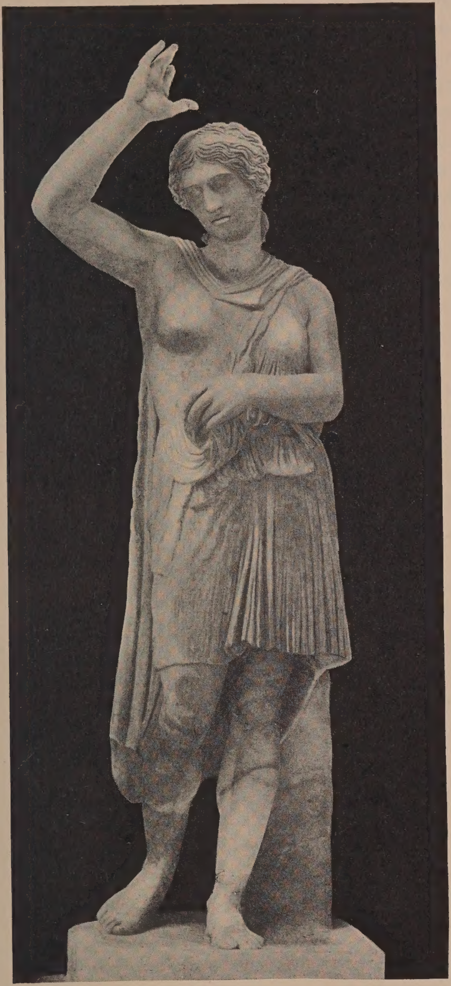

FIG. 93.—Amazon, Capitoline type (Rome, Vatican).

notice of the set of statues of Amazons to which it belongs; they are best treated together, and Polyclitus is the only artist to whom one of them is attributed by a general consensus of opinion. Pliny says that there were certain Amazons dedicated in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, a town said to have been founded by Amazons. These were by sculptors of different periods; but, in a competition of merit, decided by the artists themselves, Polyclitus was placed first, Phidias second, Cresilas third, and Phradmon, an Argive, of whom little else is known, fourth.[1] Among statues of Amazons, of which many are preserved in our museums, there are some which clearly show the style of the fifth century. To omit minor variations or later modifications, there are three main types:—[2]

1. An Amazon, leaning with her left elbow on a pillar, her right hand resting on her head (Fig. 92); her chiton is fastened only on the right shoulder, leaving her left breast bare; on her right breast, just outside the edge of the drapery, is a wound.

2. *The Capitoline type.*—An Amazon, with her right arm raised, leaning, probably on a spear (Fig. 93); her head is bent down, her chiton is fastened on the left shoulder, it has been unfastened from her right by her left hand, which still holds the drapery at her waist, so as to keep it clear of a wound below the right breast; there is another wound above it; she wears also a chlamys.

3. The so-called Mattei type (Fig. 94), representing not a wounded Amazon, but one using her spear as a jumping-pole to mount her horse; it is on her left side, and she grasps it with both hands, her right passing across over her head. Her chiton is fastened on her right shoulder, leaving the left breast bare, and it is curiously drawn up below so as to expose the left thigh.

These types very probably go back to the statues of Amazons in the temple at Ephesus, which gave rise also to Pliny's story. Pliny probably gives correctly the names of the artists to whom these statues were attributed; beyond this his story is of little value, though it probably records, in a rhetorical form, the opinion of some ancient critic. We may, then, make use of the names he gives to help us in considering the extant statues of Amazons.

It is generally agreed that the original from which the extant statues of type (1) are derived must have been made by

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[1] Pliny says fifth, making Cresilas Cydon (the Cydonian) into two sculptors.

[2] I follow here Michaelis, *Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 14.

Polyclitus. Its excellences and its defects alike claim him as

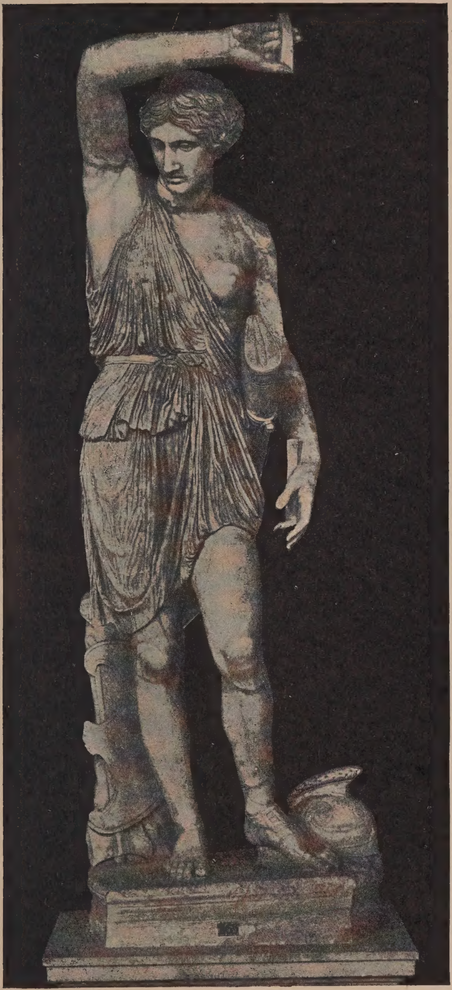

FIG. 94.—Amazon Mattei (Rome, Vatican).[1]

their author. The attitude recalling that of the Diadumenus, the squarely made and vigorous form, the athletic type of the Amazon, who though female in sex, is male in modelling and in proportion, the resemblance of the head to that of the Doryphorus, with the squarely shaped skull and heavy jaw, the absence of any expression of emotion or pathos, except of mere weariness of battle; the absence of any adequate consideration of the modification necessitated by the wound in the position of the figure or its expression—all these are characteristics which we should expect to find in the work of the Argive master. With type (2) the case is not nearly so easy to decide. The whole character and type of the figure is softer and more womanly, and the wound and its effect upon the Amazon are never, even in details, lost sight of as the central motive of the whole figure. It might seem, as has been well said by Michaelis, that type (2) was consciously made as a protest against the inconsistencies of type (1). The type of the head is not dissimilar, but is entirely transformed by the pathos of the expression, as she looks at her wounds.

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[1] The head of the Mattei Amazon does not belong to it, but to a copy of the Capitoline type.

It is best to be cautious about the attribution of this second type.[1] Some attribute it to Phidias, others, as confidently,[2] to Cresilas, appealing to the designation of his work as the wounded Amazon; the wound is certainly the leading motive in his statue, and is not mentioned in other cases. Yet it is certainly present,[3] though not allowed to form the leading motive, in the Amazon of Polyclitus. All that seems certain is that we see here a fifth-century type, by an artist who prefers womanly grace to athletic and almost virile character and proportion, even in an Amazon; and who, when he introduces a wound into the statue, does not treat it as an accessory, but modifies the whole conception to suit it. As a result, the spectator may indeed be said "almost to feel her pain," as was said of the Philoctetes of Pythagoras; but, without more certain standards of comparison, it would be rash to say definitely who was the author of this Amazon.

As to the third type (Mattei), even more doubt is possible; indeed, it is by no means certain that it belongs to the same period as the other two; the way in which the drapery is drawn up to show the modelling of the left thigh reminds one of a similar device in the Artemis of Versailles, and is not adequately explained by the position, any more than the drapery of the Aphrodite of Melos; the slim and graceful proportions of the figure also suggest a later period. We cannot, however, assign her with confidence to any later artist, though her extreme grace is in favour of a Hellenistic origin.[1] Perhaps, however, so late an attribution must be given up, especially in view of the simpler character of the example at Petworth,[2] which, however, seems to belong to the fourth rather than the fifth century.

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[1] The Capitoline Amazon has the name of Sosicles inscribed on it. But he is only the copyist; the same type is repeated elsewhere, *e.g.* in the statue in the Vatican (Fig. 93).

[2] So Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 286.

[3] Michaelis (*loc. cit.*) refutes Overbeck's suggestion that the wound was introduced here from the Capitoline type.

§ 41. *Scholars of Polyclitus.*—As the artistic activity of Polyclitus falls in the latter part of the fifth century, his scholars, as was to be expected, mostly fall into the next period; but we have such scanty information about most of them, apart from their relation to their master, that it seems best to include most of them here, especially as the great common work on which many of them were engaged was the group set up by the Spartans in commemoration of the victory at Aegospotami in 405 B.C. Of many of them we know little more than the name; the most interesting group is the family of Patrocles, who was perhaps the brother of Polyclitus. Two of his sons were Naucydes and Daedalus.[3] To these must be added the younger Polyclitus, who is described by Pausanias as the brother of Naucydes. He was also the pupil of Naucydes, and worked in the first half of the fourth century. Another pupil of Naucydes was Alypus. Of most of these sculptors we know little beyond the fact that they made statues of athletic victors—the stock subject of the Argive and Sicyonian schools. Naucydes also made a Discobolus, a Hermes, and a man sacrificing a ram, commonly, but without much reason, identified with a statue of Phrixus on the Acropolis at Athens; a basis with his name has been found there. He also made a portrait of the Lesbian poetess, Erinna—probably one of those ideal portraits of famous men and women of old time that later became common. His brother Daedalus too produced what we may call athletic *genre* as well as athletic portraits—boys scraping themselves with the strigil. Naucydes worked with Polyclitus the elder in the Heraeum, and made a Hebe of gold and ivory as a pendant to the great statue of Hera; other statues of gods are attributed to him, as well as to his pupil and younger brother, the younger Polyclitus, who worked in the first half of the fourth century.

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[1] Winckelmann identified the Mattei Amazon as Strongylion's *εὔκνημος*; but it should rather be *εὔμηρος*.

Furtwängler suggests that this third type is that of Phidias, a theory which will hardly gain in acceptance by his additional conjecture that the Herculanean bronze head belongs to this type. That head has been generally recognised as Polyclitan in origin.

[2] *Jahrb.*, 1886, Pl. 1.

[3] This rests on the authority of inscriptions (Loewy, 86, 88). Daedalus and Naucydes called themselves Sicyonians, the younger Polyclitus an Argive. The artistic relations of Argos and Sicyon were then close; and the centre of the school varied between the two.

The great group dedicated by the Spartans after Aegospotami reminds us of some of the earlier dedications from the spoils of the Persians, notably that made by Phidias after Marathon, which was also erected at Delphi, and was also of bronze. The subject was an assembly of gods, with Poseidon crowning the victorious admiral Lysander, in the presence of the leaders of the Spartan allies. Another somewhat similar but smaller group was dedicated by the Tegeans, after a victory over the Spartans in 369 B.C.; it represented the Tegean heroes, and was made by Daedalus of Sicyon, with Aristophanes and others. These bare enumerations suffice to show how numerous and influential was the school which owned Polyclitus as its master. Though statues of athletic victors are its most frequent theme, it produced many statues of the gods, and also great groups of historical and mythological figures, which seem to continue the tradition of earlier times and worthier occasions.

We might naturally expect to find that the sculptors of the Heraeum near Argos would bear the same relation to Polyclitus that we felt justified in claiming for Phidias in the case of the sculptors of the Parthenon. But it must be remembered that it was in single statues rather than in great decorative compositions that the Argive school excelled, and that we have no reason to suppose that Polyclitus was entrusted with the main direction of the works at Argos as Phidias was at Athens. Some of the sculptures of this temple have been known for some time; others were recovered in the recent American excavations.[1] Pausanius tells us that the metopes represented subjects partly from the myth of the birth of Zeus, partly from the battle of Gods and Giants, and the Trojan war and capture of Ilium. The fragments that have been recovered do not suffice to give us any general notion as to how these subjects were treated, but their style is remarkable, and different from what we should have expected. There is a good deal of variety in them, but few, if any, show the heavy forms of the Argive type. The nude male figure is treated with firmness and precision, but at the same time shows a lightness of proportions

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[1] See Waldstein, *Excavations of the Heraeum.*

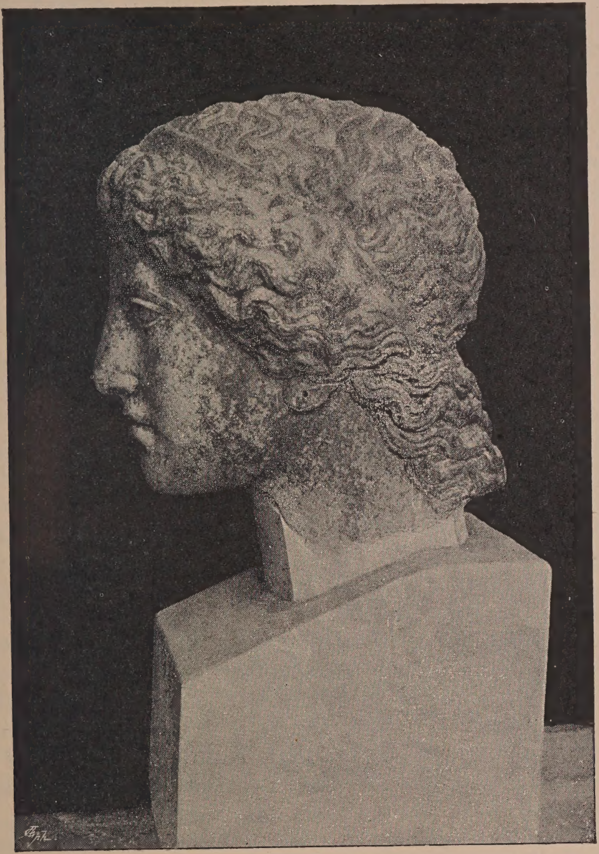

FIG. 95.—Head from Heraeum, near Argos (Athens, National Museum).

and variety of pose which is more like Attic work; the drapery, with its sometimes clinging, sometimes floating folds, again recalls the Attic sculptures of the same period; and of the types of face, though some are distinctly Argive, others resemble those on Attic monuments. When it is added that the material is Pentelic marble, the conclusion seems irresistible that the wonderful successes in decorative sculpture of Athens under Pericles had caused the influence of Attic art to spread even to Argos; and that, just as we recognised in the restraint and severity of many Attic works the influence of Peloponnesian art, so too this influence was later repaid by a reaction of Attic grace and lightness upon the dignified but somewhat heavy and monotonous style of the Argive sculptors. Another head (Fig. 95), in Parian marble, which probably does not belong to the architectural sculptures but to a free statue,[1] bears out the same conclusion. This head, which is one of the freshest and best preserved examples of the sculpture of the fifth century, strikes us at first sight with its resemblance to the heads of the Parthenon frieze, and has little resemblance in character or proportion to the head of the Doryphorus, or of the Amazon which we saw good reason for attributing to Polyclitus. Yet when we examine it more carefully we see a simplicity and severity of treatment, and absence of softness in modelling, which contrast with Attic work. It is rather what one would expect of an Argive sculptor who had fallen under Attic influence, and appreciated the grace and beauty of the sculpture of the Parthenon, without losing his strong sense of artistic moderation and clear-cut form. Doubtless sculptors from Argos as well as elsewhere were attracted to Athens by the great artistic activity under Pericles and Phidias; and it is in the later employment of such sculptors at Argos that both this head and the architectural sculptures of the Heraeum find their natural explanation.

§ 42. *Other sculptors and works of this period.*—Paeonius of Mende, in Thrace, has already come under our notice as the sculptor to whom Pausanias assigns the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. We also possess a work from his hand which is attested not only by the statement of Pausanias, but also by the inscribed basis on which it was erected. This is a statue of Victory, set up on a lofty triangular pedestal narrowing block by block up to the top, over which the goddess appears to be floating (Fig. 96). The inscription records that this Victory, made by Paeonius, was dedicated by the Messenians and Naupactians from the spoil of their enemy—that is to say, of the Spartans who fell or were captured at Sphacteria in 424 B.C.; such at least was the Messenian tradition.[1] On the inscription Paeonius states that he was also the victor in a competition to crown the gables of the temple with acroteria, which were probably similar floating figures of Victory.[2] The goddess is represented as floating with outstretched wings through the air. She is not alighting, for on the pedestal just beneath her feet is a flying eagle, as if to show she is still in the air; the rough block on which she is supported may well have been painted blue, so as to keep up the illusion, and be barely distinguishable from the sky. Her face is lost:[3] the drapery is a very beautiful and careful study of the effect of wind and rapid motion, as it clings to the graceful and girlish form, or floats in wide tempestuous folds, while a loose mantle, held in one hand, sweeps out in a full curve behind the figure; but at the same time it gives the impression of a study or an experiment, rather than of that mastery which we see in the best Attic work. It is interesting to compare this statue with the Victory of Samothrace,[4] when, in spite of the vigour of the later work, the simplicity and directness of observation in Paeonius' figure and its graceful poise in the air stand out in contrast. It is difficult to assign so original a work to an old artist, who had followed a very different style in his younger days, and had late in life fallen under the all-pervading Attic influence; but such is the only possibility for those who wish to adhere to the statement of Pausanias about

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[1] It is about two-thirds life size, and so too big for the metopes. It may be from the pediments, of which, however, no other traces have been found. It would rather seem from the words of Pausanias, who describes the metopes only, that the pediments had no sculpture.

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[1] Pausanias without sufficient reason doubts it, and quotes an expedition against Oeniadae in 452 B.C. He was probably influenced by his belief that Paeonius made the pediment; but it is incredible that the same man could have made this Victory only a few years later.

[2] It has been suggested that a confusion between acroteria and pediments may be the origin of Pausanias' statement about the latter.

[3] On Grüttner's restoration, which is widely known, her face is restored from the pediments; this begs the question of Paeonius' authorship of the latter, and tends to prejudice our judgment on the question. Of the original head only the back is left; and by its help a copy has been recognised in Miss Hertz's collection in Rome.

[4] See p. 529.

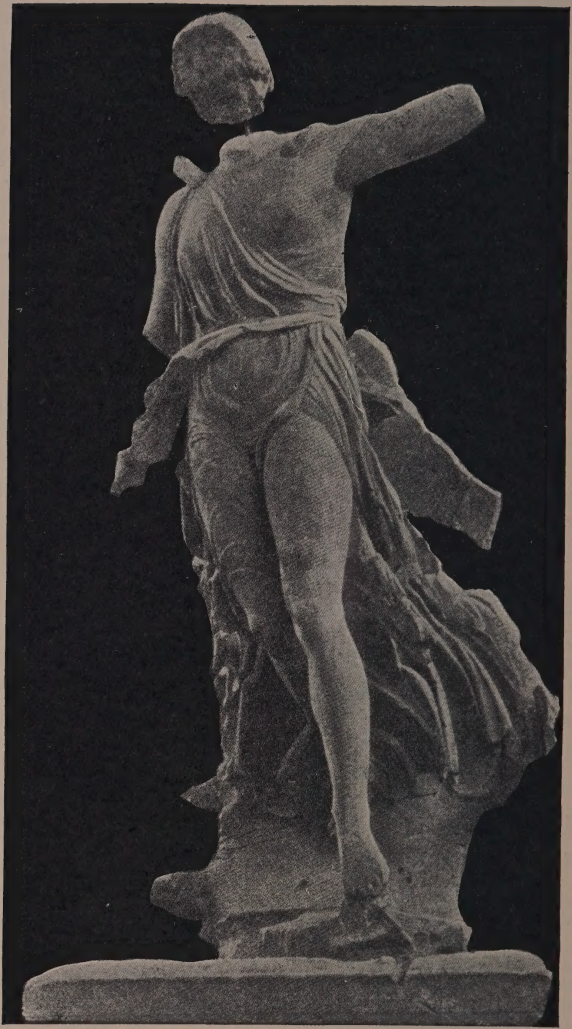

FIG. 96.—Victory by Paeonius (Olympia).

the pediments. When we consider the grave difficulties that met us in the case of Alcamenes also, we must acknowledge that the hesitation which so many have felt in attributing the Olympian pediments to these two artists is certainly justified.

Various series of sculptures, mostly architectural, have been found in widely separated districts of the ancient world, which may be ranked either as examples of Greek sculpture of the fifth century, or as falling directly under its influence. We have already had to turn to the sepulchral sculpture of Lycia as illustrating the contemporary tendencies of Greek art, and in the "Harpy tomb" we saw an example of the lax archaic style derived from Ionia. We must return to Lycia again in the fifth century, to see once more an art entirely subservient to that of Greece; but the predominance of Athens has already asserted itself, and we shall see in Lycia the reflection of many types and many artistic devices which we have noticed either in Athens or in works made outside Athens under Attic influences.

The most extensive of these Lycian monuments is the sculpture on the precinct wall surrounding a tomb at Trysa (the modern Gjölbaschi);[1] it has now been removed bodily to Vienna. The material in which it is carved is unfortunately a soft and porous stone, which has suffered much from exposure to the weather, and can never have been adapted to refinements of modelling. The artist probably trusted for his effect in great measure to colour, and indeed his compositions on the whole are pictorial rather than sculpturesque in character. It is difficult to decide how far we are entitled to quote this monument as a work of Greek sculpture at all. It consists of whole series of friezes, often set one above another on a wall in defiance of all Greek architectural principles, and recalling the sculptured chronicles which adorned the palace walls of Oriental monarchs. Some of its scenes are historical records of actual combat; others are decorative or conventional; but the majority form a varied gallery of mythological subjects. The battles of Greeks and Amazons and of Lapiths and Centaurs, the exploits of Theseus, the slaying of the suitors by Odysseus, these and many more find their place here; and while some of them repeat the types with which we are already familiar from Attic decorative sculpture, others show representations which can be more easily paralleled upon vases. When we consider the strong influence which Ionic art exercised at an earlier period in Lycia, and also the character and treatment of the composition, which, wherever it is not mere chronicle, is governed by the principles of painting rather than those of sculpture, it is impossible to seek the origin of the art they represent anywhere else than in the paintings of the great Ionic artist Polygnotus.[1] The affinity of his great historical and mythological compositions with the reliefs of Trysa is obvious; the repetition of some of the same scenes upon Attic vases is undoubtedly due to his influence. And it is an interesting question how far we may trace that same influence in the Attic reliefs which we have hitherto considered. It is probable that these Lycian sculptures derived the influence of Polygnotus in part directly from the painter; but we can also see many features which betray an acquaintance with the Attic reliefs of the age of Pericles, from which the Heroum of Trysa cannot be far removed in actual date.

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[1] Without illustrations it is impossible to speak except in a general way of these reliefs; and illustrations of details would not suffice; to gain a general notion of the whole composition it is necessary to turn over the plates of Benndorf's great publication, *Das Heroön von Gjölbaschi-Trysa.*

Another Lycian monument of later date, but still, in all probability, falling within the limits of the fifth century,[2] is now in the British Museum. This is the Nereid monument, so called from the figures in floating and clinging drapery which once stood between its columns, and which appear, from the marine attributes with which some of them are provided, to represent Nereids. There is considerable resemblance between some of these Nereids and the Victory of Paeonius, especially in the drapery, and the reason for this resemblance is probably not to be sought in any influence of the one upon the other, but rather in some common influence which affects both. It is possible that this influence should be recognised as that of Attic art, and that in both cases alike we see the experimental, sometimes even exaggerated, attempt of a foreign hand to imitate the consummate skill and grace in the treatment of drapery which mark the Attic art of the latter part of the fifth century. But perhaps an explanation at once simple and more probable may be found in the pictorial character of Ionic art, of which we have already seen so striking an example in the Heroum of Trysa, though some relation to contemporary Attic art cannot be denied. The position of the Nereids, set as figures in rapid motion between the rigid lines of the colonnade, shows a device familiar to architectural sculpture. The other decorations of the building consist of four friezes; of these two were probably placed one round the cella and another over the columns of the small Ionic temple that forms the body of the monument, and two others surrounded the lofty basis on which it is erected. This system of decoration is a great advance on that of the Heroum at Trysa, where the friezes are simply carved on the wall in no architectural relation either to it or to one another; in this respect the distribution of the sculpture of the Nereid monument resembles the decoration which we shall meet later on the greatest of all Asiatic monuments, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. In subjects the resemblance to the Trysa monument is again conspicuous. We have the record of battles and the capture of a town, partly in a style and composition which recalls the frieze of the temple of the Wingless Victory at Athens, partly in pictorial treatment, great spaces of wall and town being introduced in the manner of some of the scenes of the Heroum of Trysa—a device more familiar on the mural chronicles of Asiatic sculpture than in the art of Greece. The sculptors of the Nereid monument have the advantage over those of Trysa in their material, Parian marble, which has not only led to the better preservation of their work, but also gave more opportunity for surface modelling. It may be doubted to whom the design and execution of such a work should be attributed. The local characteristics, alike in style and accessories, seem to exclude the possibility of the employment of Attic artists. It seems more reasonable to suppose the monument to be the work of local sculptors, brought up under the Ionic influence which prevailed in Lycia, and not unacquainted with the great series of architectural sculptures with which the age of Pericles had enriched Athens.[1]

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[1] See p. 381, below.

[2] The old view is that it was the monument of the Lycian prince Pericles, and referred to his capture of Telmessus in about 370 B.C. But Furtwängler, *Arch. Z.*, 1882, p. 359, and Benndorf, *Das Heroön von Gjölb.-Trysa*, p. 243, give good reasons for assigning the tomb to the fifth century, though its association with the Lycian Pericles is still possible.

We have already noticed the Sicilian sculptures, which occupy a prominent position in the earlier history of Greek art; another of the temples at Selinus has a set of metopes which, from their style, must be attributed to about the middle of the fifth century. These, like the earlier ones, are now in Palermo. It is a peculiarity of these metopes that they have the faces, hands, and feet of the female figures inserted in white marble, the rest of the sculpture being in coarse local stone. This inlaying makes us realise how much the effect of colour as well as of form was relied upon in such architectural sculptures, especially when they were made of inferior material. The subjects of the metopes preserved are the wedding of Zeus and Hera —he is seated on a rock, and she stands before him, holding her veil up with one hand—the punishment of Actaeon, who is attacked by his own dogs while Artemis stands looking on at the side, and the combats of Heracles and Hippolyta, and of Athena and a Giant.[1] Selinus was a Dorian colony, and we can see, especially in the female figures, some resemblance to the corresponding figures in the Olympian metopes; but there is less vigour and more mannerism about the Selinus sculptures. They represent a further development of the tendency which we noticed in some of the earlier metopes from the same site —notably that of Europa on the bull. Together with their refinement and delicacy of sentiment they betray the weakness which too great prosperity had brought to the Sicilian Greeks.

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[1] See also Sidon sarcophagi, pp. 465-469.

A very different series, though of about the same date, are the colossal figures[2] which served as pilasters in the upper part of the interior of the huge temple of Zeus at Acragas. These, however, are treated architecturally rather than sculpturally; there is a stiffness and archaic character about them which is evidently intended to adapt them to their position as supports. They contrast alike with the easy and graceful service of the maidens who carry the light entablature of the portico of the Erechtheum at Athens, and with the constrained, sometimes almost painful sense of oppression beneath a heavy load which we sometimes find in later and less conventional supporters.

§ 43. *Summary.*—We saw in the last chapter how the various schools of sculpture in Greece were all advancing towards a common goal in the evolution of artistic types, and in the attainment of mastery over technique; we also saw how these various schools influenced one another even during the earlier years of the rise of sculpture. But, with the feeling of national unity and combination against the Persian enemy, and the common dedications in thanksgiving for the victory, the relations of the various states of Greece became yet closer, and it was the mutual influence of their local schools that gave rise, not merely to the art of Athens or of Argos or of Aegina, but to that Greek art of the fifth century which has never been rivalled in the loftiness of its ideals or the perfection of its execution. The last steps towards technical mastery were very rapid; but men like Calamis and Myron and Pythagoras were themselves but the last of a long series of sculptors who had each added his contribution of thought, of study, or of observation to a progress which seems swift in its culmination.

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[1] Baumeister, Figs. 367, 368.

[2] They are commonly stated to be Giants; why, I do not know, except from their size; they have none of the characteristics of Giants in Greek art. They are also known as Atlantes or Telamones. See Baumeister, Fig. 270.

In the first exuberance of conscious power and mastery over the material, we meet with some examples in which the skill of the sculptor impresses us more than the subject, which he perhaps seems to have chosen rather for the sake of its difficulty than for its adaptation to sculptural treatment. But these are the exception; and it is not the least remarkable thing in the history of Greek art that just at the moment when it attained perfect technical skill, this skill was not regarded by the greatest artist as an end in itself, but as a means for the expression of the ideals which sculpture had hitherto been unable to approach worthily. And in the nobility of conception and design which distinguishes the art of the fifth century it is not sculpture alone that can claim pre-eminence. The same character is attributed to the great compositions of the painter Polygnotus, who worked in Greece during the period immediately following the Persian wars, and covered with his paintings the walls of buildings at Athens and at Delphi. He was a Thasian by birth, and we have already noticed the pictorial character which the sculpture of northern Greece and of Ionia possessed before his time, and which, owing mainly to his influence, was still more widely spread in later times. Polygnotus occupies much the same position among Greek painters that Phidias holds among Greek sculptors; and although we cannot attribute to him the same technical perfection in his branch which we must attribute to his greater contemporary, it would be difficult to overrate his influence. We can only judge of his work from more or less remote reflections of it in sculpture or on vases; but all ancient writers agree to praise the nobility of his aims and the breadth and simplicity of his style. It may even be that these same qualities, which we noticed as modifying in the fifth century the tendency towards excess of grace and refinement in Attic art, are due in part to the influence of Polygnotus, as well as to the severity and accuracy in execution which Athens learnt from her Peloponnesian rivals.

The leading feature of this period, in art as in literature, is the sudden advance of Athens to a position of unrivalled eminence among the Greek states. The city of Aeschylus was also the city of Phidias; and although other centres of art continued to pursue their local traditions, we can trace Attic influence even amidst the sculptures produced by the rival school of Argos, and in the remote uplands of Lycia. Yet, in spite of this pre-eminence of Athens, other schools by no means gave up their traditions, and Argos in particular continued that study of athletic forms which reached its highest attainment in the work of Polyclitus, and was passed on by him to his successors. It is probable also that other minor schools, of which our literary records are scanty, also persisted in their own tradition, modified indeed by the greater influences of the period, and offering each its own contribution to the resources of Greek sculpture. While athletic art was carried to its highest pitch not only in the study of the figure in detail, but also in that of pose and of symmetry, and the numerous works of architectural and decorative sculpture offered unlimited scope to the imagination of the artist and his skill in composition, it was above all in the great statues of the gods that the fifth century showed its highest and most characteristic attainments. These attainments are so much bound up with the work of Phidias and his associates that there is no need to add anything here to what has already been said. Although, as a natural consequence of the value of the materials generally used, we neither have nor can hope to have any of the masterpieces of this sculpture in our museums, we can trace their reflection in innumerable minor works, and recognise in literature the ideas to which they gave the most perfect expression. It is only by a sympathy with the character of the Greeks, to be attained by a careful study of the history of their life, their thought, and their art, that we can realise what we have lost, and attain, by a constructive imagination, to some notion of its character.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOURTH CENTURY—400–320 B.C.

§ 44. *Character of the period.*—If there is one characteristic which, more than any other, marks the distinction of Greek art of the fourth century from that of the fifth, it is the greater prominence of the individual and personal element, alike in employer, in artist, and in subject. With the exception of the statues of victorious athletes, which continue to be made under much the same conditions from the earliest to the latest times, almost all the chief works with which we had to deal in the last chapter were public dedications, made at the expense of the state, and recording the triumphs of the people, or giving expression to its religious aspirations. In the fourth century the private dedication takes a more prominent place, partly because the impoverished exchequers of the states could no longer afford such magnificent expenditure, partly because of the tendency, in the decline of political health and vigour, for men to live for themselves rather than for the State. In the case of the sculptors too the individuality of the various masters seems to assert itself more strongly than before. However great the names with which we have hitherto met, they mostly appear to represent for us the culmination and impersonation of the traditions of a school, or perhaps, of all Greek art, rather than the character and attainments of an individual. This impression may be enhanced by the fact that we are forced to infer the nature of the chief works of this period either from very inferior copies or from the work of assistants and associates; but in part it is due to the very greatness of the sculptors themselves. When once the artistic and technical skill indispensable for the greatest statues is acquired, the master appears to apply it once for all to the highest religious and artistic aspirations of the people, and to give to the Greek ideals an embodiment so perfect that both his contemporaries and his successors must recognise the impossibility of further progress. Indeed, those who came after Phidias must have felt what Wagner said of Beethoven; he had exhausted the possibility of attainment in the art which he had made his own; for others, unless they were content to be merely the imitators of what could not be surpassed, the only chance was to strike out a new line, and to follow new artistic methods. This leads us to the third element in the artistic conditions of the fourth century—individuality in subject. We may see this, in its simplest form, in the case of portraiture. We have already noticed[1] how Cresilas, in his portrait of Pericles, does not bring before our eyes the personal character of the subject, with his idiosyncrasies of character and manner—much less the minor physical traits and peculiarities of his appearance—but rather that noble type of statesman, general, and patron of all literary, intellectual, and artistic excellence, which found in Pericles its most perfect expression. We may contrast this, to take an extreme case, with the portrait of the bald little Corinthian general, Pellichus, made by Demetrius,[2] in which all the personal characteristics of the man, his corpulence, his swollen veins, even the arrangement of his hair and his garments, are reproduced with realistic exactness; and in a statue like that of Demosthenes, of which we possess copies that must be derived from a fourth-century original, we may see the same tendency, though followed with more moderation. To statues of the gods it may seem at first sight that this distinction between the fifth and the fourth centuries cannot apply, and of course it does not apply in the same degree. But when we contrast the work of Phidias with that of Scopas or Praxiteles, the essential difference is of much the same nature. Phidias embodied in his great statues a noble conception of the permanent and immutable character of the deity, his power and his benignity. Scopas and Praxiteles seem rather to realise the gods as individuals of like passions with ourselves, to express their varying moods and phases of character or emotion, or to draw subtle distinctions of personality. And another point of difference between the fourth and fifth centuries follows as an almost inevitable consequence from this. While it might suffice for Phidias to be absorbed in the contemplation of his ideal, and to devote all his energy to its adequate artistic expression, a sculptor who depended so much on subtle distinctions and rendering of passing moods or excited emotions could hardly fail to consider also the effect of his work on the spectator, and the means by which he could bring home to those who saw his statue the particular impression which he intended to convey. He would thus devote his attention to its appearance and the effect it produced, rather than to the perfection and correctness of its actual form; he felt a tendency at once towards realism and towards impressionism. But of course this tendency was only allowed scope in the fourth century within certain limits, and never, at least in the case of the greater artists, exceeded the bounds of moderation. The influence of the severe and lofty ideals and the exact and conscientious execution of the earlier period long continued to be felt, and, in addition to this, the strong natural instinct of the Greeks for sculpture still prevented them from attempting anything beyond the legitimate province of the art. And, even in execution, there was still a possibility for advance. If we did not possess the Hermes of Praxiteles, even the Elgin marbles would not suffice to show us how the Greek sculptor could carve marble to render the texture and elasticity of flesh or the folds and material of drapery.

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[1] Page 350.

[2] Page 488.

§ 45. *Cephisodotus.*—An account of the sculptors of the fourth century naturally begins with the name of Cephisodotus, partly because of his close relationship to Praxiteles[1] and his artistic connection with him, partly because in his works we may already trace characteristic examples of many of the tendencies of the time. One of his works—fortunately that which is the most interesting for its subject—has been recognised by Brunn in a statue now preserved at Munich (Fig. 97). It is a study in impersonation of abstract ideas which is thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of the age—the goddess Peace nursing the infant Wealth. This group may most probably be recognised on certain coins of Athens,[1] which show a statue certainly identical with that from which the copy at Munich is derived. Although we cannot imagine an allegorical representation like this to have commanded the worship of the people and influenced its religious conceptions in the same manner as the great statues by Phidias, there seems to be no doubt that its fancy hit the popular taste and that it gave more reality to a cult of which there are some earlier traces. Just as the altar of Pity was one of the most popular of all at Athens in later times, so too there are varying

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[1] He is usually stated by modern writers to be the father of Praxiteles. But the date of such of his works as are recorded is not much earlier than that of Praxiteles himself; hence he has been suggested (by Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 295) to be his elder brother; a similarity in subjects suggests that he influenced or taught Praxiteles. Furtwängler, who believes in an elder Praxiteles also, for whose existence there is but scanty evidence, suggests that this man was the grandfather of Cephisodotus and the great Praxiteles. The younger Cephisodotus was the son of Praxiteles. Such a recurrence of names in a family is of course extremely common.

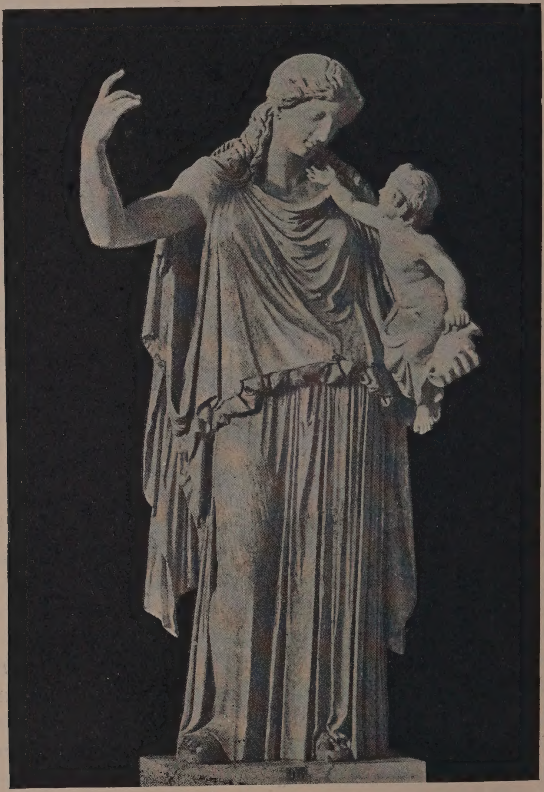

FIG. 97.—Irene and Plutus, after Cephisodotus (Munich).

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[1] *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, Pl. DD. ix. x.

traditions of the foundation of an altar of peace at Athens, which however, need have no direct connection with the statue. Aristophanes' play, the *Peace*, suffices to show how natural was the impersonation of the goddess. The statue itself was in bronze;[1] Peace (Irene) is represented standing, her right hand resting on a sceptre, supporting on her left arm the child Wealth (Plutus). Her drapery is dignified in treatment, but severe and almost archaic in stiffness; it recalls the work of the fifth century rather than the fourth; her proportions also are massive and stately. As to the child, little can be said; it is obvious that in extant copies it has been modified to suit the taste of a later age, which rendered the forms of children with more truth to nature than was usual in the fourth century. The group—or rather the figure with the child—is especially interesting for comparison with the Hermes and infant Dionysus of Praxiteles, a subject in which Cephisodotus had also anticipated his greater successor. His group of Peace and Wealth was similar in subject to another group set up at Thebes, representing Fortune (Tyche) and the child Wealth, a group of which the more important parts, and presumably the design also, were due to the Attic sculptor Xenophon. This Xenophon was evidently an associate of Cephisodotus; he worked with him in a group dedicated in the temple of Zeus Soter at Megalopolis,[2] representing Zeus enthroned, with Megalopolis standing by him on one side, Artemis on the other—yet another example of personification. As to other statues by Cephisodotus, an Athena and possibly a Zeus at the Peiraeus and a group of the Muses on Mount Helicon, we know no details, and their identification can only be conjectural. But what we know of his work suffices to show us that he was a sculptor who in type and in execution kept to the severer style of the preceding century, while his predilection for allegorical subjects and impersonations betrays that study of fine distinctions of character, even in divinities, which marks the fourth century. At the same time we do not yet find any study of emotion or passion in his work; he shows only the beginning of those tendencies which other sculptors, some of them of his own family, were to follow in their art.

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[1] This is an inference from the style of the Munich statue; it is nowhere expressly stated.

[2] It is true that the architectural evidence in this temenos points to a later date than the foundation of the city in 371 B.C., which offers the most probable occasion for the dedication. But the architectural remains, beyond foundations, are very scanty, and may well be due to later repairs. The association of Cephisodotus and Xenophon, and the similarity of their subjects, outweigh anything but clear and positive evidence to the contrary. To substitute the younger Cephisodotus in this connection appears an improbable theory.

§ 46. *Praxiteles.*[1]—The work of Praxiteles was regarded by the later Greeks and the Romans with an admiration more unqualified and more enthusiastic than was accorded to any other artist of antiquity; and there is no name so familiar to modern ears as representing the sculpture of Greece. Yet these very facts have probably led to an unjust and one-sided, if not erroneous, estimate of his artistic excellence. The word Praxitelean suggests a rich and voluptuous beauty, sometimes almost an effeminate and luxurious character, which is too easily contrasted with the noble and severe ideals of an earlier and higher art. But in this matter Praxiteles has been wronged by his very popularity. The innumerable copyists and imitators of later Greek and Roman times could appreciate, even if they could not reproduce, the softness and delicacy of his modelling, the grace of pose and beauty of physical form which they saw in his works. But the stronger and nobler side of his art was ignored by them, as beyond their appreciation or comprehension, and consequently omitted in what they doubtless intended for faithful copies of his statues; and, were we dependent only on such copies, we should be forced either to acquiesce in their versions of the master's character, or to believe, without a possibility of proof, that there was something more in his work beyond what they have reproduced. Fortunately, however, this is not the case. We possess at least one undisputed original from the hand of Praxiteles himself; and it seems best to make this the starting-point of our study, before proceeding to consider other works mentioned by literary tradition, and preserved to us in more or less inadequate copies.

Among the statues set up in the Heraeum at Olympia, Pausanias mentions a Hermes of marble, carrying the infant Dionysus, the work of Praxiteles. The statue in Parian marble, answering exactly to this description, was found in the Heraeum by the German excavators, so that the identification, even on external evidence, is placed beyond all possibility of doubt. This is the only case in which we possess an undisputed original, straight from the hand of one of the greatest masters of antiquity; and the preservation of the surface is admirable. Hermes was represented as standing in an easy and graceful position, leaning his left elbow, which supports the child, on a tree-trunk, partly disguised by the folds of his chlamys, which hangs from the same elbow. His weight rests mainly on his right hip, his left leg being bent at the knee, and the distribution of support thus produced gives rise to a peculiarly delicate and restful curve in the central line of the figure, while the tree-trunk prevents the weight of the child from affecting or stiffening the pose. The right arm of Hermes is raised; but there is no clear evidence as to the object which it held. Some have maintained that it was some object like a bunch of grapes, towards which the child is reaching out his hand; others that it was the caduceus, in the form of a long sceptre, like that held by the Irene of Cephisodotus.[1] Either view can be supported by the evidence of minor works of art reproducing the motive of the statue, which vary considerably in detail. In any case, Hermes cannot be regarded as taking any active interest in the matter; his gaze is fixed, not on the child, but on a point beyond him, and his expression has nothing of the concentration of playfulness. The child is treated with none of the realism which we find devoted to the forms of children in later art. His proportions are those of a much older boy, and his face is but slightly sketched; he is in every way treated as an attribute rather than as a separate figure forming part of a group. We have not to do with a *genre* scene, in which the interest lies in the action, or in the relation of the figures, but with an ideal representation of Hermes as the protector of youth; this function is exemplified by his care of his younger brother Dionysus.[2] It is then as a statue of Hermes that we have to consider the work of Praxiteles.

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[1] There is no trustworthy evidence as to any exact date in the career of Praxiteles, but all indications join to prove that his artistic activity must fall about the middle of the fourth century.

To appreciate the unrivalled excellence of Praxiteles, alike in the selection of type and proportions, and in the details of execution, one can hardly do better than compare the Hermes with later copies, derived either from this statue or from other

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[1] So A. H. Smith, *J.H.S.* iii. p. 81, who summarises the evidence. Treu suggested a thyrsus.

[2] To try to see any political meaning, such as an alliance of Arcadia and Elis, in the Hermes and Dionysus is clearly superfluous, just as much so as to find an occasion for the making of the Irene and Plutus.

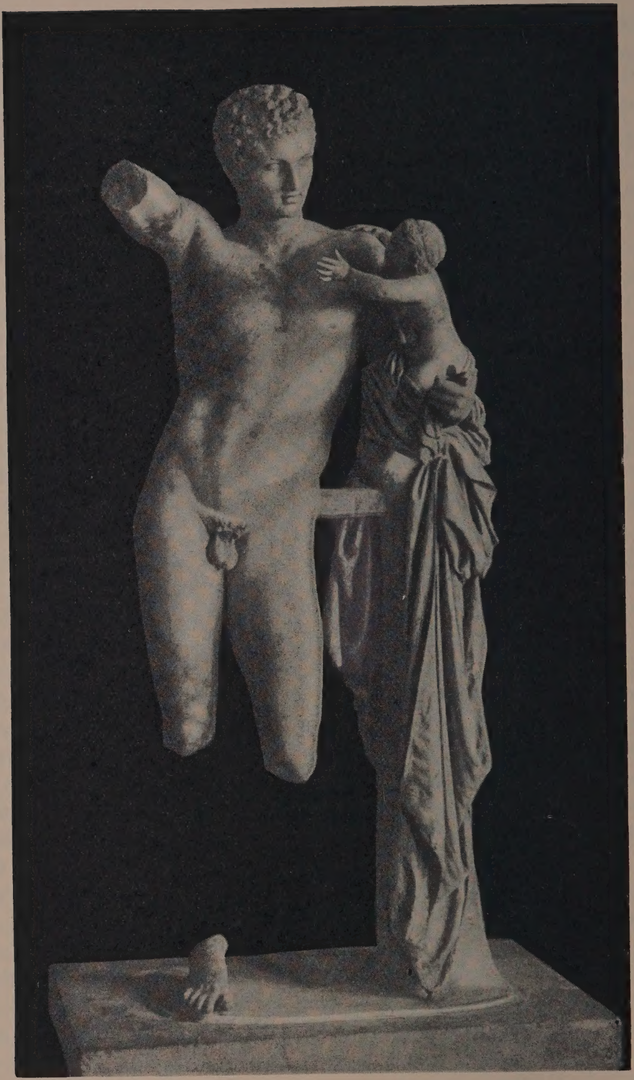

FIG. 98.—Hermes and infant Dionysus by Praxiteles (Olympia).

works of Praxiteles. Some of these, though they may pass muster among the ordinary contents of a museum, at once offend us, when placed beside an original, by the coarseness and heaviness of their modelling; others by their too soft and effeminate forms. It seems impossible for later artists to steer a middle course between these two extremes, not to speak of approaching the marvellous combination of strength and virility of type with softness and delicacy of modelling, and with that subtle play of surface in marble which had already distinguished the Attic school, but awaited the hand of Praxiteles

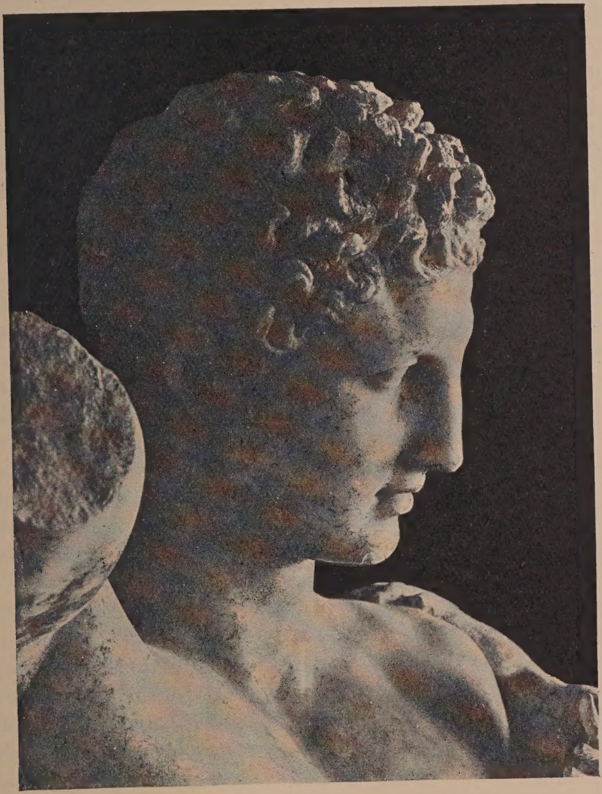

FIG. 99.—Head of Hermes, by Praxiteles (Olympia).

to bring it to a perfection that has never been attained before or since. The figure of the Hermes, though more slender and graceful than that of a Polyclitan athlete, is that of a man of the highest physical development, and if not in hard training, at least in such perfect condition as to render training superfluous. Yet the vigorous and muscular form is covered with an envelope of flesh so elastic and flowing in its surface, and full of such delicate play of light and shade in the modelling, that its strength is almost concealed by its grace—an impression enhanced by the restful attitude. The treatment of the drapery is different alike from the drapery of the Parthenon pediments, beautiful from studied system rather than spontaneity, and from the work of later times, which errs either in elaboration or in over-simplicity. It is said that when the photograph of the Hermes was first shown to a great German critic, he said, "Why did they leave that cloth hanging there when they photographed the statue?" And the wonderful realism in treatment of folds and of surface could not receive a more emphatic tribute; yet we may well doubt whether any artistic skill could have devised, in cloth, an appearance and composition so simple and graceful in itself, and so perfectly adapted to its purpose. In the foot, too, we can see the most skilful indication of the difference of texture between the leather sandal and the skin. But it is above all in the head of the Hermes that the original work of Praxiteles shows the greatest difference from imitations or copies; and, in fact, we know that the critic Lucian selected the head, and in particular the hair, brow, and eyes, as that in which Praxiteles excelled all other artists. Although he had in his mind the Cnidian Aphrodite, his criticism will apply almost equally well to the Hermes. The hair, which is cut short all over the scalp, stands out in small, roughly finished blocks; the apparently slight and sketchy treatment is most successful in the feeling of texture which it gives, and particularly in its contrast with the finished and polished surface of the skin. The form of the head is distinguished by the strongly marked bar of flesh over the forehead,[1] separated by a depression from the upper part of the forehead—a characteristic which, before but slightly indicated, in the fourth century, and, especially in the works of Praxiteles and Scopas, distinguishes the male forehead from the female

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[1] Sometimes called in modern times "the bar of Michael Angelo."

It helps to give a finish at once softer and broader to the brow, and also to throw the eyes and their sockets more into shadow. The line of the nose, in profile, practically continues the line of the upper part of the forehead, this bar projecting beyond it. The opening of the eyes is narrow, only about one-third of their length; the upper eyelid projects strongly; the under but very slightly, and at the outer edge it passes by an almost imperceptible transition into the adjoining surface; the profile of the eyeball is but slightly curved, and inclined considerably downwards. The expression which results from this treatment is of a gaze directed slightly downwards, and not concentrated on any point near or far, but resting vaguely on a moderately distant object—a gaze that implies passive contemplation rather than close attention or strong emotion. The lower part of the face narrows greatly towards the chin, and in the finish of the lips we see the same delicate and almost imperceptible transition at the sides into the surface of the cheek which we noticed in the end of the eyelids. The whole character and type of the head is in complete harmony with the treatment of the body. It is refined and intellectual, yet free from all trace of excessive concentration. The whole statue suggests a nature of perfect physical and intellectual development, free from all taint of special training. In the Hermes, Praxiteles has embodied his ideal of Greek youth, in its normal and healthy condition, and he has added that expression of mood which is inseparable from the individuality of his conception—here a half-thoughtful, half-unconscious feeling of pleasure in the harmony of the god with himself and with his surroundings, and in a momentary rest from a task itself made light by an abundance of intellectual and physical power.

The Hermes was only one of the minor works of Praxiteles, though, to us, its preservation has placed it first among his works. With the help of the knowledge of his style which we can gather from an original work, we must now proceed to consider what were counted by antiquity as his masterpieces, though we have to be content to see them only in inferior copies.

First of these comes the Aphrodite of Cnidus, considered by many ancient writers to be the most beautiful of all statues. The type of this Aphrodite is known to us alike from descriptions and from its reproduction upon the coins of Cnidus; and with the help

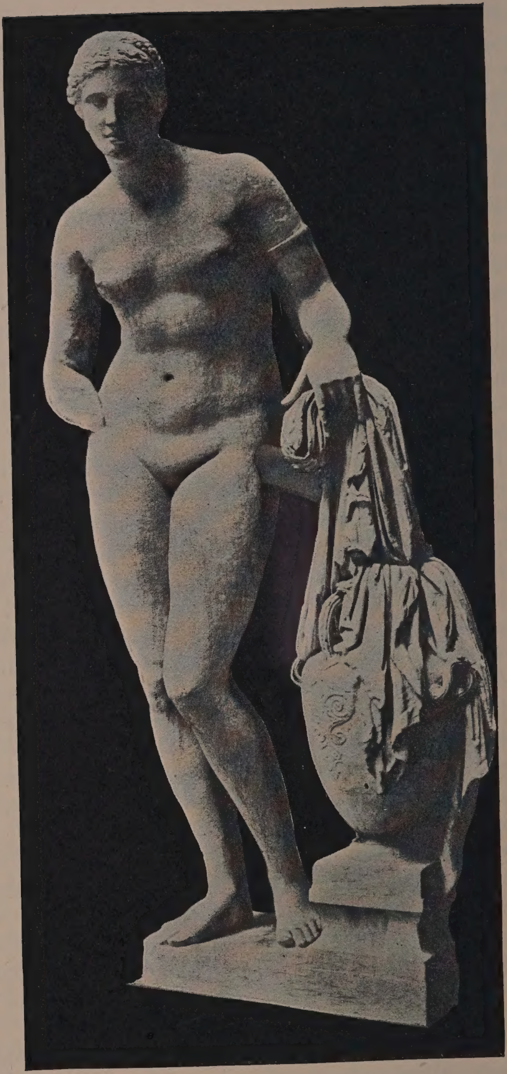

Fig. 100.—Aphrodite of Cnidus, after Praxiteles (Rome, Vatican).
From *J.H.S.* Pl. lxxx.

of them copies of it have been identified in the Vatican[1] (Fig. 100) and at Munich. The goddess is represented as preparing for the bath, which thus supplies a motive for her nudity. The feeling of the Greeks in this matter is illustrated by an anecdote which told how the Coans, being offered by Praxiteles the choice between this statue and a draped one, chose the latter, as more consistent with the dignity of the goddess. She stands in a position closely resembling that of the Hermes; we see the same graceful curve of the whole figure, produced by the weight being carried on the projecting right hip, the left knee being bent; but, unlike the Hermes, the Aphrodite does not rest her left elbow on a support, but holds in her left hand the drapery which she allows to glide down upon a large marble vase. She is not naked and unashamed; rather her nudity is conscious. And here again we see the personal individuality of the conception of Praxiteles. He is not content merely to embody in his work his ideal of the goddess as she is, her beauty unveiled; but he realises the feeling with which she shrinks from its exposure even for the bath—a feeling expressed in every line of face and figure—while she is conscious of her own beauty, and delights in it. There is, of course, no trace of that later and less refined motive, in which the goddess is conscious, so to speak, of human spectators, and assumes a posture of mock modesty. That is the degradation due to the imitators of Praxiteles; yet his conception contains the germ which was capable of such development.

In execution, the Vatican statue, with the help of the Hermes, may give us some notion of the delicacy of Praxiteles' style. The type of the body, though less broad and majestic than the female figures of the Parthenon, is still far removed from the narrow-chested, too-rounded figures of later art. With all the softness of modelling and even voluptuousness of outline, there is still a finely developed physical form. Hair and drapery are again treated with a skill in the rendering of texture which contrasts them with the smooth surface of the skin. In the expression, we can to some extent realise what Lucian meant when he spoke of "the beautiful line of her forehead and brow, and her melting eye, full of joy and of pleasure." In the eyes we see the same narrow opening as in the Hermes, but here even more marked; it is indeed "the sleepy eye that speaks the melting soul," which the sculptor has chosen for the dreamy mood which he portrays as characteristic of the goddess of love. The Aphrodite of Praxiteles had as great an influence on later art, and represents as essential a part of Greek religion, as the Zeus or Athena of Phidias. But alike the choice of the subject and the manner in which it is treated belong not only to a different artist but also to a different age.

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[1] The Vatican example is incomparably the finer, and is followed in the description. Her legs are covered with tin drapery; fortunately a cast of the whole statue was obtained in 1887; from it our illustration is taken. The Leconfield head is by some claimed as an original by Praxiteles; Burlington Fine Arts Club, Catalogue 1904, Pl. xx. xxi. The British Museum has recently acquired a fine copy of the head and bust of the Cnidian statue.

Scarcely less famous than the Aphrodite of Cnidus was the Eros of Thespiae, a statue presented by Praxiteles to his mistress Phryne, and dedicated by her in her native town. Unfortunately we have no description of this statue, nor any record of its attitude; all we know of it is that it was the one thing that made Thespiae worth visiting, and that it was counted among the few greatest statues of the ancient world. Another Eros, set up at Parium on the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) is represented on the coins of that town.[1] The god was represented as a youthful figure, leaning with his left elbow on a pillar, his weight supported on his right hip, his left knee bent—exactly the position and distribution of weight which we saw in the Hermes. His right arm was lowered, but the object, if any, which it held cannot be made out. He has long wings; and his head is turned over his left shoulder. Though many statues of Eros exist which are clearly derived more or less directly from a Praxitelean original, we cannot with certainty regard any of them as copied from either the Thespian or the Parian figure. The type of Eros introduced by Praxiteles was imitated by numerous later artists, but imitated with countless variations of pose and of detail, so that it is extremely difficult to eliminate from them what belongs to a later age, or to a different sculptor; it seems clear, however, that Praxiteles represented the god as a youth of almost mature proportions, but with a boyish delicacy and grace in his pose and in the softer modelling of his body; and this is the type of the fourth century, which is repeated again and again in variations on the Praxitelean conception, until the dreamy youth who symbolises the power of love is superseded, in the Hellenistic age, by the mischievous and sportive child, with tiny wings and chubby form, who is familiar as Cupid in Roman art, and hence in mediaeval and modern fancy.

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[1] See *J.H.S.*, 1883, p. 271; cf. Roscher, *Lexikon Myth.* p. 1358.

It is said that when Phryne induced Praxiteles to name his finest works by the trick of telling him his studio was on fire, he exclaimed at once that his labour was all lost, if the Satyr and the Eros were destroyed. The Eros was the statue which she chose and dedicated at Thespiae. The Satyr was to be seen in the Street of the Tripods at Athens, and the judgment of the sculptor as to its excellence was endorsed by the general opinion, if we may judge from the numerous copies of it that have been found. The most famous of these is "the Capitoline faun" (Fig. 101), the best is a torso now in the Louvre, so admirable in its workmanship that Brunn and others are disposed to recognise in it the original statue of Praxiteles, from which all the others are derived. The youthful Satyr is represented as human in every respect except his pointed ears; but human only physically; his expression, so far as we can judge from the copies, was that of a playful animal; the contrast is clearest when we put him beside the Hermes, whose face has all the possibility of moral and intellectual energy: in the whole body too of the Satyr we seem to see the character of a soulless and happy existence; he is at rest for the moment, and his position again recalls that of the Hermes; he rests also on a tree-trunk, but with his right elbow, his weight being supported mainly on the left thigh; his right leg is not merely bent backwards, as in the more dignified position of the Hermes, but bent round also, so that his right foot is placed behind his left. His right hand held a pipe, which he evidently has just been playing; his left rests on his hip. He has a leopard-skin thrown across his chest, and in the Louvre torso the wonderful contrast of texture between the skin of the beast and the living human skin which it covers is almost worthy of the hand that made the foot and sandal of the Hermes. The care and thought which the sculptor has devoted to realising this conception of a Satyr are again characteristic of Praxiteles and of his age. In earlier times the satyrs were merely grotesque monsters, whose semi-bestial nature often found the simplest expression in external characteristics. Praxiteles takes up the double nature rather as a psychological theme; and he solves the difficulties with a skill as great as

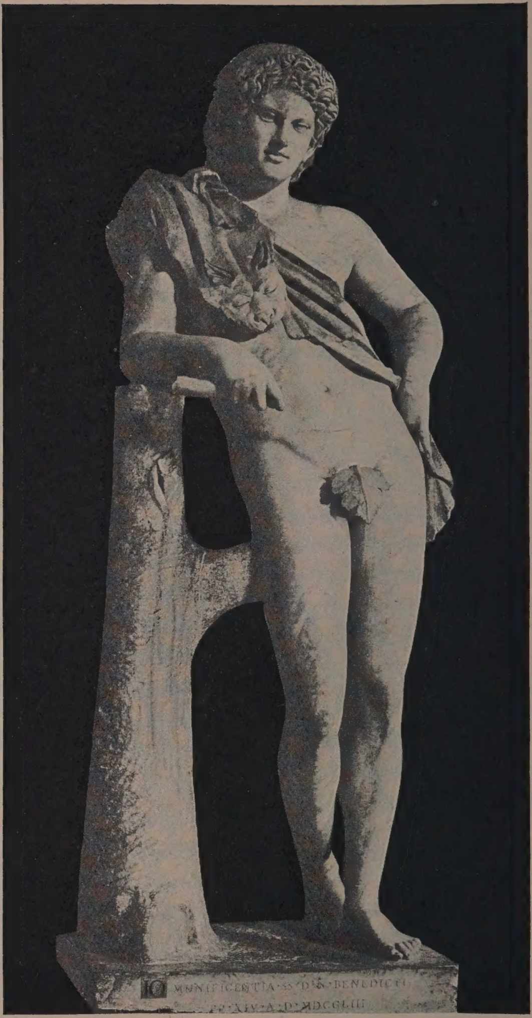

FIG. 101.—Satyr, after Praxiteles (Rome, Capitol).

that which the artists of the fifth century had shown in the physical combination of the two natures in the Centaur; but the interest for him lies in the expression of the individual character of the creature of his fancy. He follows, it is true, a mythological type; but he approaches it from a new point of view, in which the mythological conception is but a pretext for the theme of the artist's imagination.

Another work of Praxiteles, of which the subject is so distinctive that copies of it are easily recognisable, is the Apollo Sauroctonus. The mythological type is here again given a new turn by Praxiteles; the god is represented as very youthful, and playing with the lizard, which runs up a tree-trunk against which he leans with his left hand high above his head, while in his right he holds an arrow with which he tries to hit the animal; in fact the scene is one of mere boyish sport; as to style and execution, we cannot judge from the copies that survive of this work; they are all of that effeminate character to which the style of Praxiteles was so often perverted in later times.

It is satisfactory to turn from such travesties of his work to a monument of a different nature; the reliefs decorating the basis of a great group which he made at Mantinea, representing Leto with her two children, Apollo and Artemis. As to the group itself we have no evidence beyond the subject, but on the basis of it Pausanias mentions "a Muse and Marsyas playing the flute." This may well be an abridged and perhaps corrupted description of a group representing the contest of Apollo with his lyre and Marsyas with his flute, the Muses acting as judges; and this very subject having recently been discovered on a relief at Mantinea, in a form suitable for decorating the basis of a statue, its identity with the work described can hardly be disputed; and it may consequently be attributed, at least in design, to Praxiteles himself, though the execution was probably left to assistants. It consisted of four slabs, two of which were placed on the front of the basis and one on each end of it.[1] On one slab (Fig. 102) is Apollo seated in a quiet dignity that contrasts with the wild excitement of his antagonist, whose figure recalls in his attitude the statue by Myron, which was so famous as to

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[1] The various theories that have been propounded as to the arrangement of these slabs have been set aside by technical evidence adduced by Dr. Amelung ("Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea"). He proves that the Marsyas slab formed the right half of the front, the left being formed by a slab now lost. The two extant slabs with Muses formed the two sides.

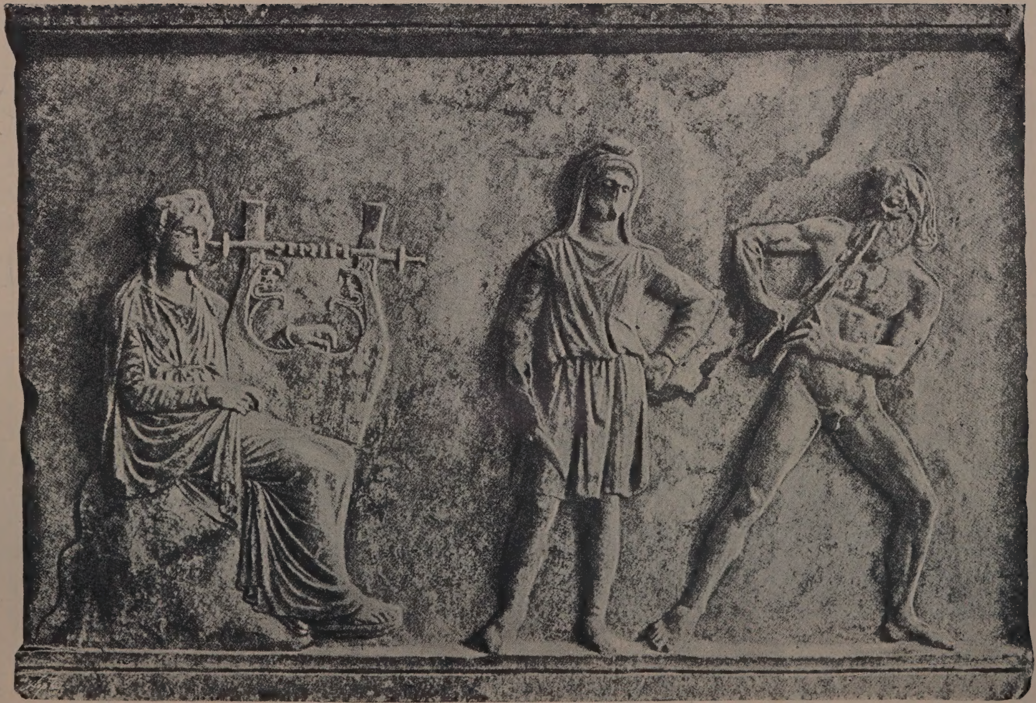

FIG. 102.—Relief from Mantinean basis: Apollo and Marsyas (Athens, National Museum).

have become conventional. Between the two stands the Phrygian slave with a knife—a hint of the terrible punishment of flaying that awaited the vanquished Marsyas. On either side is a peculiarly graceful group of three Muses; the diversity of their postures and the rich variety of their drapery recall the terracotta statuettes of Tanagra, and perhaps give us a clue to show whence those statuettes derived their artistic inspiration.

So far we have been concerned with works of Praxiteles which are preserved for our study either in the original or in copies. To these might be added many others, which have been attributed to him by ancient or modern authorities—among them the famous group of the children of Niobe,[1] which ancient critics, as Pliny tells us, hesitated whether they should assign to him or to Scopas. Enough, however, is now before us to enable us to obtain a fair general notion of his artistic activity and character; only we must remember that a long list of his works compiled from ancient authorities places him among the most prolific of ancient sculptors, that his variety of subject and treatment was very great, and that some of his works in bronze were hardly inferior to those in marble. Besides many groups of deities,[2] Praxiteles made the statue of Artemis Brauronia at Athens (of which the so-called Diana of Gabii in the Louvre is probably a copy), that of Trophonius, in a form like that of Asclepius, at Lebadeia, and others that were set up as objects of worship in temples. Several of these are preserved to us on coins, though only in minute copies,[3] and so we can judge at least of their attitude. Thus Dionysus, at Elis, was represented in much the same attitude as the Hermes, his left elbow rested on a pillar, and he poured wine from a rhyton held in his right hand raised above his head; the youthful form of the god is also characteristic; and Artemis at Anticyra was in rapid advance, a torch held before her in her right hand, a bow in her left. She wore a short chiton, and her quiver was on her shoulders; beside her was a hound. Another statue reproduced on coins is that of Leto at Argos. She leant her left elbow on a small archaic statue,[1] and her right arm was raised, again a Praxitelean attitude. In addition to such statues of gods and goddesses Praxiteles made two statues of Phryne, one of marble at Thespiae, one of bronze gilt at Delphi; it was even said that Phryne had served as his model for the Cnidian Aphrodite; and, though we may not accept this literally, we may well acknowledge that Praxiteles took advantage, for that statue, of his studies of a woman whose beauty of face and of figure was beyond compare. Among other works, there were attributed to him groups of the attendants of Dionysus—Maenads and Thyiads, Satyrs and Nymphs. It would be interesting to compare these with the raving Maenad of Scopas; but, although it is likely enough we have reproductions or imitations of them in the numerous reliefs and statues of this subject, there is really not material for such a study; from what we know of Praxiteles, we should expect to find in them the dreamy grace of an enthusiastic nature in the intervals between its bursts of excitement, rather than the Bacchic frenzy in its unrestrained fury. For with Praxiteles, so far as we can judge, grace and moderation in all things were the first consideration; and his works all show an artistic restraint which we do not find in some of his contemporaries. We may perhaps even see a certain monotony of pose in his statues, though there are always slight varieties, and the beautiful curve and flow of lines is never repeated in quite the same form. Alike in this characteristic, and in his consummate skill in the treatment of marble, we may see in Praxiteles the farthest and highest development of the purely Attic school; he is the successor of Calamis and Callimachus rather than of Phidias. The decadence begins with those who followed or imitated him; they could not surpass the grace of his conceptions or the perfection of his technique, while the higher qualities of his art did not appeal to them. The influence of Praxiteles on his successors was extremely great; but we meet it in the less interesting and less noble branches of later art, especially in the soft and effeminate character of much Graeco-Roman work. On the other hand, the bold innovations and less restrained invention of some of his contemporaries, though showing in themselves a less true and refined appreciation of the sphere of sculpture, led to the magnificent groups which, in the Hellenistic period, enthral us by their dramatic vigour and living passion. But if we judge the work of Praxiteles from itself, not from its influence, we find in it perhaps the most perfect example of all those qualities that form the peculiar excellence of Greek sculpture.

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[1] See § 55.

[2] One of these, attributed to Praxiteles, is of Demeter, Persephone, and Iacchus at Athens. Its inscription was written in the Attic alphabet, officially given up in 403 B.C., and this is the strongest evidence for the existence of an elder Praxiteles. On the other hand, Cicero's quotation of the Iacchus as a priceless statue which nothing would induce the Athenians to part with, seems to imply that the great Praxiteles was the sculptor. An inscription on the wall about the artist of the statues is in any case unusual, and it may perhaps have been a device of later date, with affected archaism in the lettering.

[3] *E.g. Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 74; Pl. K. xxxvii., Y. xvii., FF. i. ii. etc.

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[1] This statue was supposed to represent Chloris, the sole surviving daughter of Niobe, who founded the temple of Leto. Analogy would rather lead us to recognise in it an earlier conventional statue of the goddess herself. Cf. Eros and the Herm at Parium.

§ 47. *Silanion and Euphranor.*—These two artists are, in several ways, characteristic of the period to which they belong; and although we do not possess any works which can with certainty be ascribed to either of them, the record of their works and of their style which we gather from ancient authors enables us to learn something about them. Both of them were theoretical as well as practical artists; both wrote treatises on symmetry. Euphranor was even better known as a painter than as a sculptor, and wrote also upon colours. We may therefore safely infer that the peculiarities noted in their work were not due to accident, but to deliberate intention.

We have no record as to the nationality of Silanion, but his connections are mainly Athenian. A favourite theme of his art seems to have been ideal portraits either of mythical heroes or historical characters: he made famous statues of Achilles and of Theseus, and of the poetesses Sappho and Corinna. Such a choice of subjects seems to be due to the scope they offer for the realisation and sculptural expression of an individual character, as recorded by myth or tradition. His contemporary portraits show the same tendency. One of them was of the philosopher Plato, erected in the Academy, and made on the commission of a Persian named Mithradates. The fame of Silanion as a portrait-sculptor has led some to attribute to him the original from which extant portraits of Plato are derived; but this view seems hardly convincing, though of course possible. A man so famous and so much venerated by his contemporaries would be sure to have other portraits made beside that due to a barbarian admirer. As to the statue of the sculptor Apollodorus, Pliny gives more detail. "Apollodorus," he says, "was so severe a critic of his own work that he often destroyed finished statues in his inability to attain his own artistic ideals, and hence was called the 'Madman.' Silanion embodied this character in his portrait so perfectly that it seemed to be, not a man, but incarnate Rage." Such a description helps us to realise how Silanion caught the individual character of a passionate nature like that of Achilles or of Sappho. Yet, in an ideal portrait, and similarly in a portrait like that of Apollodorus, it is the passionate temperament that was rendered, rather than a particular outburst of passion, such as formed the theme of Scopas and those who followed him. The dying Jocasta, another work of Silanion, is the subject of the strange story that the artist mixed some silver with his bronze in order to give the pale hue of death to her complexion. The technical difficulties of such a process have already been mentioned.[1] But the effect that is aimed at, and the means by which it is produced, alike point to Silanion as an artist fond of bold and original methods, both in subject and in technique; and it is to the realisation and portrayal of character and emotion that his efforts appear to have been devoted.

Euphranor was a Corinthian; but his youth fell in a time when Athens and Corinth were closely allied, at the beginning of the fourth century, and he does not appear to have confined himself to the traditions of any one school. His study of proportion seems to indicate at once an imitation of Polyclitus and a departure from his canon. The criticism which Pliny records of it is probably due to Lysippean influence. He evidently adopted unusually slender forms, in a reaction against the solid and heavy build of the Polyclitan athlete. But such an excessive slimness made the head and joints appear too large —*auxerat articulos macies.*[2] He also, as well as Silanion, devoted himself especially to ideal portraits of heroes, both in sculpture and in painting. His study of individual character is testified by Pliny in the case of his Paris, in which one could recognise at a glance all the various sides of the hero who was at once the judge of beauty for the three goddesses, the lover of Helen, and the slayer of Achilles.[3] He made other statues, about which we have no clear evidence, among them one of Leto with her two young children ;[1] but it is interesting to find in the list personifications like those of Valour and Hellas. By his portraits of Philip and Alexander in chariots, he also finds a place among the artists who felt the beginning of the overwhelming influence of the Macedonian conqueror. His extraordinary versatility, his careful technical study, the psychological refinement of his choice of subject,—all combine to make us recognise in him an artist not only peculiarly characteristic of his period, but of great influence upon his contemporaries and successors.

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[1] See p. 32.

[2] Ovid, *Met.* viii. 808. That this line is probably spurious does not affect the truth of its observation.

[3] Speaking of painting, he said that his Theseus was fed on beef, that of Parrhasius on roses; but this probably refers to colouring rather than proportion or character.

§ 48. *Timotheus*, *Bryaxis*, *Leochares.*—Timotheus was, until recently, little more than a name to us, except as one of the sculptors employed on the Mausoleum. His share in that building, as well as those of his collaborators, must be reserved for a later section. But, in addition, the great inscription of Epidaurus, recording the contracts for the building of the temple of Asclepius, has the following reference to him: "Timotheus contracted to make and supply models for sculpture[2] for 900 drachmas"; and again: "Timotheus contracted to supply acroteria for one of the pediments for 2240 drachmas."[3] Some of these acroteria (the figures placed upon the three angles of a pediment to stand out against the sky)[4] have actually been found. Those which stood at either side of one of the pediments, probably the western one, were figures of Nereids seated upon horses; there are also some floating figures of Victory, which probably occupied a similar position in the smaller temple dedicated to Artemis. The drapery of the Nereids, and of the better among the Victories, is of that peculiarly graceful type, either clinging to the limbs or sweeping in rich and windy folds, which we noticed in Attic work towards the end of the fifth century.[5] The price given for these figures seems to imply that the execution in marble was undertaken by the sculptor himself; on the other hand, the set of models, which cost only about a third of the sum given for these three single figures, may probably have been merely designs in wax or clay, of which the execution was a matter for separate contracts. If so, we have a very important addition to our knowledge of the

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[1] There is really no ground to assign to him an extant statue of this subject; it is not an unknown one in earlier art.

[2] τύπους; this might mean reliefs.

[3] The artist who contracted for the corresponding figures on the other pediment was Theotimus. It would be tempting to see in this an error of the stone-cutter, especially as the extant figures are very similar; but in such a document the error is improbable. Perhaps the similarity of names implies a close family connection, Timotheus and Theotimus being brothers who worked together and had been trained in the same school.

[4] See p. 39.

[5] Winter (*Mittheil. Ath.*, 1894, p. 160) proposes, on the grounds of style, to assign a Leda in the Capitoline Museum at Rome to Timotheus; but the characteristics apply too generally to Attic art of the period for such an identification to be safe.

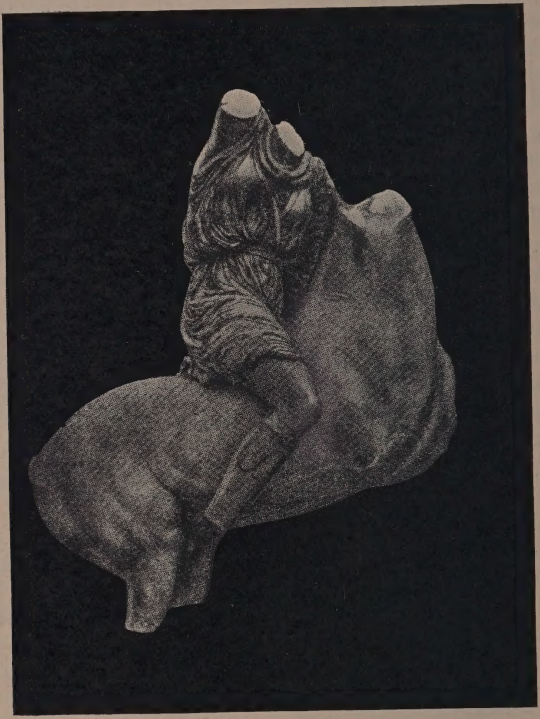

FIG. 103.—Amazon from pediment at Epidaurus (Athens, National Museum).

share taken by the designer in the execution of Greek architectural sculpture; but of course the inference is not a certain one. The models may well have been for the pedimental sculptures, which have also been found. They represent a battle of Greeks and Amazons at one end, and of Greeks and Centaurs at the other, and the design and execution are such as to favour their attribution to an Attic artist of the earlier part of the fourth century. The Amazon on horseback (Fig. 103) is full of life and vigour, and her drapery, while no less skilful than the clinging folds of the Nereids, is more restrained and appropriate to the athletic form of the warrior maiden. Timotheus also made among other works a statue of Hippolytus at Troezen, which Pausanias took to be an Asclepius, and an Artemis which was moved by Augustus to the temple of the Palatine Apollo at Rome.

Bryaxis, in addition to his work on the Mausoleum, made several famous statues of gods.[1] Libanius gives a rhetorical description of his statue of Apollo at Daphne, near Antioch, which shows that he represented the god in long drapery with lyre and cup, as if singing, a type which is familiar in statues of Apollo Musagetes, but which was treated by others beside Bryaxis. An inscription was recently found with his name in Athens; it is on a basis ornamented with reliefs of horsemen, and records the victories of a family distinguished in cavalry manœuvres. It is impossible to tell the nature of the object set up on the basis; but in the reliefs we might well expect to find at least as close a relation to Bryaxis as the Mantinean reliefs bear to Praxiteles. They are, however, but slight and sketchy work. Probably Bryaxis did not trouble much about the design—a mounted horseman, which is repeated almost without variation on three sides. The date of the work is about the middle of the fourth century. Bryaxis lived to make a portrait of Seleucus, who was born not much before this date, and so both this work and also his share in the Mausoleum must have belonged to his earlier years.

Leochares was much employed as a sculptor in Athens in the middle or latter part of the fourth century, as is attested by the numerous inscriptions on the Acropolis that bear his name. His fame in portraiture is attested not only by his being chosen by Timotheus, the son of Conon, to make a statue of his friend Isocrates set up at Eleusis, but also by his employment to make the gold and ivory portraits of the family of Philip set up in the Philippeum at Olympia. While working at Halicarnassus, he made an acrolithic statue of Ares;[2] a Zeus, which was set up as Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol at

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[1] In these the statue of Sarapis is probably to be included. See, however, Michaelis, *J.H.S.*, 1885, p. 290.

[2] By some this was assigned to Timotheus.

Rome, was an admirable work. There is more individuality about the description given by Pliny of his Ganymede carried off by the eagle, "which, sensible of the boy's beauty and his high destination, seems careful not to hurt him, even through his garment, with too rash a grip of its talons." This statue may well be recognised in extant reproductions, of which the

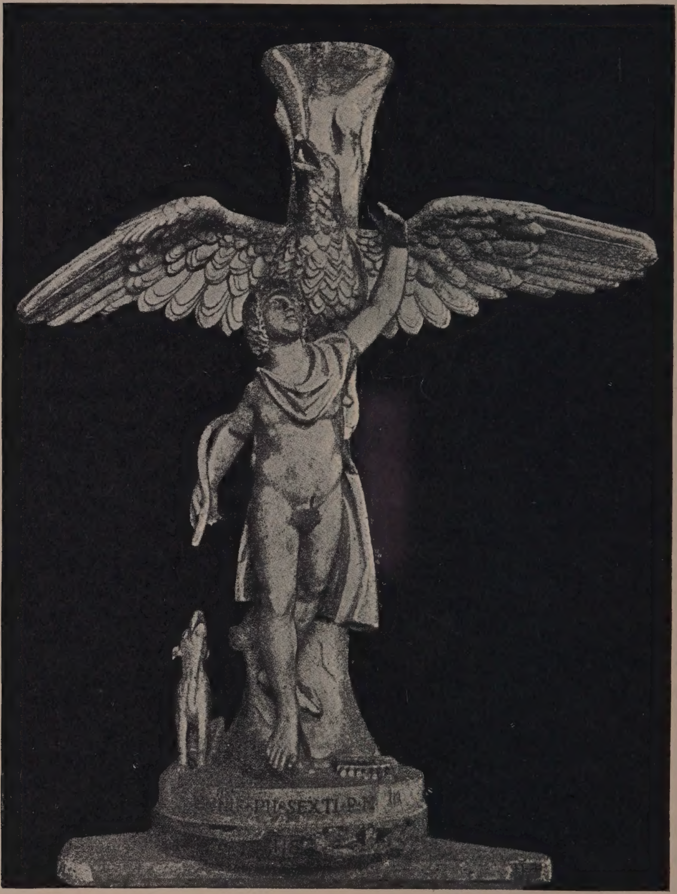

FIG. 104.—Ganymede, after Leochares (Rome, Vatican).

best is in the Vatican. Though the copy is but an inadequate rendering of the original, it serves to show the originality and power of the composition, which almost transcends the bounds of sculpture in its addition of surroundings and accessions to enhance the effect. A high tree-trunk forms the background and support for the whole, which is most skilfully constructed, so that the feet of the boy do not touch the ground,[1] and the wonderful upward sweep of the whole composition is enhanced by the contrast with the dog, who sits on the ground and looks upward after his master. The outspread wings of the eagle form a broad summit to the group from which it gradually narrows down to the feet of Ganymede, and thus the effect is further increased. Eagle and boy alike strain upward in an aspiration like that which Goethe expresses in his poem of Ganymede. There is no hint of sensual meaning in the treatment of Leochares; the eagle is merely the messenger of Zeus; and we can see in his grip of the boy the care which Pliny mentions. We safely infer that the author of this group was not only an artist of great originality, but also that he sought and expressed in his art the higher and nobler meaning of the myths he adopted. It is in accordance with this that the more famous of his portraits, those of Isocrates, and of the family of Philip, were likely to have been work in which the character of the individual was idealised. His portraits of Alexander may well have contributed to the formation of the type which had so great an influence at the close of this period.

§ 49. *Scopas* is the artist in whom we see the fullest energy of the tendencies that we have already noticed in other masters of the fourth century, and in whose work we can trace the rise of the influences that were to predominate in all the finest and most vigorous art of the succeeding period. Praxiteles, and others of his contemporaries, embodied in marble or bronze not only the individual character of gods or men, but the mood in which that character found its most natural expression—καταμίξας ἄκρως τοῖς λιθίνοις ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη. It may seem that this quotation applies equally well to the attainments of Scopas, but it applies in a different and in a stronger sense. It is not merely subtle shades of character or mood that Scopas makes the theme of his sculpture, though these also find their place among his works; he excels above all in the rendering of passionate and excited emotion, in the vivid expression, in every line of face and body, of an overmastering impulse from within. It is but a step to the expression of such an impulse coming from without, such as we see in the wonderful life-like and dramatic groups of later art. But, though these are certainly to be derived in their origin from the influence of Scopas, it is doubtful whether we can recognise any such among his chief works. In them we find rather the embodiment of such a fiery and passionate nature as suggests the potentiality for such struggles, in contrast to the more passive and dreamy mood and character that give to Praxiteles his favourite themes.

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[1] Except by a block inserted in the marble copy, and doubtless absent in the bronze original.

The list of recorded works by Scopas is only about half as long as that assigned to Praxiteles;[1] this may be partly due to the greater fame of Praxiteles in later times, which has led to the mention of a large proportion of his works, and even to the attribution to him of certain works which are not his—an attribution which we meet in the case of Scopas also.[2] At the same time it is probable enough that an artist who put so much fire and passion into his work was less prolific, and less tolerant of ordinary commissions. We are also less fortunate in the preservation of his works; such copies as we possess of his independent statues owe their identification only to inference from style, and are not entirely free from the doubt that always must attend such an inference where our evidence is so scanty. Those extant works which we can attribute with a fair degree of certainty to him or to assistants working under his direction are architectural sculptures; and we have already in more than one instance seen the objections to regarding such monuments as originals from the sculptor's own hand; and, moreover, in the case of the Mausoleum, the difficulty in distinguishing the work of Scopas from that of his collaborators is so great that we have found it necessary to reserve the whole building for a special section, instead of making use of portions of its sculpture as evidence for the style of the different sculptors who contributed to its decoration.

Pausanias tells us that the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea was rebuilt by Scopas, after a fire which occurred in 395 B.C. If the temple was rebuilt at once, Scopas must have been a young man at the time; for he was employed on the Mausoleum, which was not finished till after the death of Artemisia in 349 B.C. It must, however, be admitted that the style of the sculptures seems almost incredible so near the beginning of the fourth century, and that perhaps some years may have elapsed before the temple was rebuilt. But when we are dealing with a sculptor of so startling originality as Scopas, it is not easy to say at what point of his career any particular style of work becomes possible. The employment of Scopas at Tegea while still a young man also requires explanation, for he was a native of Paros; but if the Aristandros of Paros,[1] who worked with Polyclitus at Amyclae on a dedication to commemorate the battle of Aegospotami, was his father, he may have had a family connection in the Peloponnese. Pausanias describes the temple at Tegea as far the finest in the Peloponnese, both in design and in size. He does not expressly say that the pediments are to be attributed to Scopas; but, by speaking of him as the architect of the temple, and then going on to describe in detail the sculpture that filled its pediments, he leaves a strong presumption in favour of such an attribution—a presumption fully borne out by the style of their extant remains, which are only explicable at such a period if made by a sculptor of marked originality. They have an artistic character exactly in accordance with what we learn of Scopas from literary authorities.

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[1] In Overbeck's *S.Q.* the list for Praxiteles is 47, for Lysippus 35, for Scopas 25.

[2] *E.g.* the Niobids; see § 55.

The pediments of the temple celebrated myths connected with it; the fell of the Calydonian boar was actually preserved within the temple, having been won by the Arcadian heroine Atalanta; and Telephus was the son of Heracles and Auge, the priestess of Athena Alea. "In the eastern pediment is the Hunt of the Calydonian boar; the beast occupied the middle of the field, and on one side of it were Atalanta, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydeuces, and Iolaus, and Prothous and Cometes, the brothers of Althea (Meleager's mother); on the other side of the boar is Ancaeus, who, wounded and dropping his axe, is supported by Epochus; and beside him Castor and

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[1] The relationship is deduced from the fact that the names Aristandros and Scopas occur as the names of father and son in a family of Parian artists in the first century B.C.; and names as well as professions were often traditional in a family.

Amphiaraus, and beyond them Hippothous, and last of all, Pirithous. In the western pediment is the battle of Telephus and Achilles in the plain of the Caïcus."

Such is the description of Pausanias, which gives rise to considerable difficulties if we attempt to reconstruct from it the composition of the pediments; it is difficult to see, for example, how the figures can have been arranged, so as to allow for the diminution in height from the centre to the ends, and, in particular, how the corners were filled. It would be interesting to know how Scopas solved these problems; but it is useless to guess how he may have solved them. The extant remains do not help us in this matter, as they consist only of the head of the boar and portions of several figures (Fig. 105), which must almost certainly come from the eastern pediment, though we cannot even fix with certainty the figures to which they belong.[1] In spite of the much battered and damaged condition of the two heads, they at once distinguish themselves from all that we have hitherto considered, and indeed from all others preserved to us in the remains of classical antiquity, by the extraordinary life and warmth of their expression. And although this character is essentially beyond the reach of

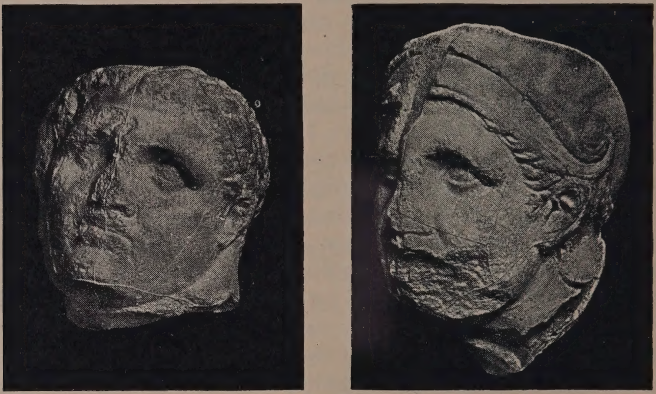

FIG. 105.—Heads from pediment at Tegea by Scopas (Athens, National Museum). After *Antike Denkmäler*, Berlin, i. 35 (from cast).

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[1] One is bare; the other, which is helmeted, has been split in two and mended. Both are certainly male heads.

detailed study or analysis, we may notice many details in the execution which contribute to its effect.

It is above all in the eyes that the passion of these two heads is centred, and there are two characteristics in modelling for which the eyes are remarkable: their slightly upward gaze, directed on a distant object, and the deep shadow into which they are thrown. We have seen how the archaic sculptor, realising also the importance of the eyes to the expression of the face, made them unduly prominent in his modelling, and thereby marred the very effect he was seeking to produce.[1] It was only by slow stages that Greek art came to learn how it is the muscles and bones surrounding the eye, much more than the eye itself, that offer an opportunity to the sculptor for rendering the expression of character and emotion; Scopas seems to have been the first to realise how much the expression of the eye is enhanced by the depth of its socket. This effect is partly due to the bony structure of the skull; but it depends even more upon the form of the mass of flesh above the brow—the same which we noticed in the Hermes of Praxiteles as forming the chief characteristic of the forehead. Here its treatment is much more conspicuous; it does not merely form a bar across the brow, but curves down as if in a heavy roll over the outer corners of the eyes, so that the upper eyelids actually disappear beneath it at their outer extremities; and at the same time the lower eyelids are carried up rapidly at their outer extremities to meet the upper eyelids, and in this way the visible portion of the eyeball is made much shorter in horizontal measurement; in fact, the opening of the eyes in these heads of Scopas is about 2 : 1 in proportion of length to breadth, as contrasted with the proportion of about 3 : 1 which we usually meet with in Praxitelean heads, where, as in the Hermes for example, the upper and lower lids approach one another gradually at their outer extremities, and meet in a very small angle. The wide-open and the half-shut eye which we see thus affected by the two great contemporaries are not merely due to a difference of momentary action or circumstance, but are an indication of type and temperament; the passionate and concentrated upward gaze which Scopas gives to his heads has left its trace on the surrounding muscles, even when he represents a figure at rest and free from exciting conditions. And it harmonises with his treatment of the rest of the face, and his selection of physical type. The mouth in these Tegean heads is half open, and shows the line of the teeth, the upper lip being drawn up in the passionate excitement of the combat; but here again we see a result of temporary action which is not without its permanent effect on the lines of the face. The proportions of the Tegean heads are remarkably square[1] and massive. This may be due partly to the fact that Scopas was, in his younger years, under the influence of the Argive school; but the strength and solidity thus attained seem more suitable to the vigour and even violence of the emotion with which the forms are animated than the more graceful and slighter proportions of Praxitelean art.

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[1] Conze, *Darstellung des menschl. Auges in der gr. Plastik.*

It was hoped that a continuation of the excavations at Tegea might yield more examples of the art of Scopas; this hope has been fulfilled by the discoveries made by M. Mendel, of the French School at Athens. He has found not only architectural fragments which justify the claim of the temple to be the most beautiful in the Peloponnese, but also several new portions of the pedimental sculptures. One of these, a head of Heracles, deserves to be placed beside the two heads of heroes already known; it is, unfortunately, in equally poor preservation, being made of the local Dolianá marble, which seems to stand badly the effects of the weather and burial in the damp and marshy soil. It represents the hero with the lion's scalp set on his head for a helmet, and in the treatment of the lion's mane and skin there is a resemblance to some of the lions of the Mausoleum. The expression of the face of the hero has the same passionate intensity which we saw in the other heads from Tegea, and it is produced by similar means; the eyes are wide open, and overshadowed at the sides by a heavily overhanging mass of flesh beneath the brow. Heracles has not usually any place in the hunt of the Calydonian boar, nor could he well appear in the combat of Achilles and Telephus, but it seems more probable to assume his appearance in the pediments than to suppose that another hero has in this case adopted his characteristic garb. There is another head of a warrior, of similar workmanship, and some of the dogs from the boar hunt. But the interest of the new discoveries centres in the figure of Atalanta, which must have belonged to the pediment, and in a head which may perhaps belong to the figure.[1]

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[1] Allowance must of course be made for the fact that the head without a helmet has been cut away at the top and the back, so as to look even squarer than it really is.

The maiden huntress is represented in a garb that would befit Artemis or an Amazon, a short chiton, reaching only to the knee, and bound by a girdle at the waist; she advances obliquely from the background, her head turned slightly over her left shoulder. The reason for making this one figure in Parian marble, while the rest of the pedimental figures are in the local material, is probably to be found in the fact that it is the only female figure; and the white face and limbs of the heroine[2] were probably meant to shine out in contrast to the flesh-colour of the rest of the hunters. The same contrast between the heroine and her surroundings is emphasised in other ways; one may almost say that it is the dominant note of the composition. If the head belongs to the torso, the contrast in the expression of her face with that of the other heads is remarkable; while the others all show the eager intensity of combat, hers remains comparatively calm and impassive, reminding us of the similar contrast between heroes and centaurs in the sculptures of Olympia or of the Parthenon. The contrast may, at first sight, throw doubt on the attribution of this head to the pediment, and even on its association with Scopas. But, although it is in many ways unlike the male heads, it is both original and expressive in character; it is not represented in the agony of combat, but in the full lips and mobile nostrils we see the possibility of passionate expression. The eyes and the muscles around them are indeed treated with a simplicity which contrasts with the swollen muscle and deep shadow of the male heads; but there is a curious ridge between the brow and the eye-line that might be contracted with similar effect to theirs. Above all, the head is not only different from other heads of the early fourth century, but it has a general

[1] After carefully examining this torso and the head in the local museum at Tegea, I think it probable that they belong to each other. Both are of the same Parian marble and on the same scale. I have therefore ventured as an experiment to fit the photographs together to scale in Fig. 106. The torso can hardly be anything but the torso of Atalanta from the pediment, though it is of different material from the other pedimental figures. In the illustration the size of the lower part is slightly exaggerated, owing to the position in which the torso is taken.

[2] It is true that Dolianá marble is white; but the sculptor probably knew how easily it was discoloured or decomposed. It is also probable that the inferior marble was coloured.

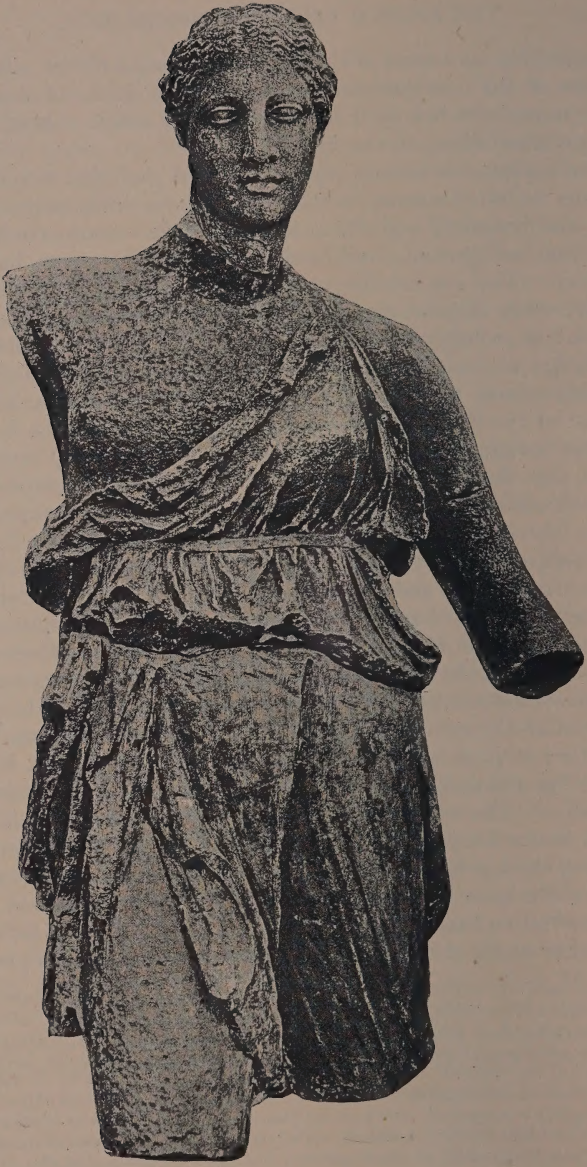

FIG. 106.—Atalanta from Tegean pediment (*Bull. de corr. hell.* XXV. vi. and iv.)

resemblance in effect to other female heads that have been recognised as showing more or less affinity to the style of Scopas (*e.g.* Fig. 119); it also has a certain resemblance to the Artemis of Damophon, who thus is shown to have fallen under the influence of Scopas. In treatment of hair and of drapery, with its curious sense of texture and restless touches of realism, we have again characteristics which we see in the Mausoleum and in other Scopaic works, and which are an anticipation of the tendencies of the Hellenistic age. The Atalanta may represent the work of Scopas as a young man, while his style was still in the experimental stage; but it is too characteristic and too unlike the ordinary work of the period to which it belongs for us to hesitate in attributing it to him. And we must remember that hitherto we have had no female head which could be attributed to Scopas on grounds of external evidence; with the help of the new acquisition we can trace his influence among female heads, just as the heads of the heroes from the Tegean pediments formed the starting-point for a study of the male heads that could be associated with him.

It is probable, as we have already seen, that the sculptures of these Tegean pediments belong to the earlier years of the artistic activity of Scopas; and it is certainly surprising to find them so characteristic of his style, and so marked in their contrast to other fourth-century sculptures. If the evidence as to dates is to be accepted, it must prove that Scopas showed from the first the power and originality that distinguished him among his contemporaries and gave him so great and lasting an influence over his successors. It is more remarkable still to find his character in architectural sculptures, at a time when Scopas cannot yet have collected round him a body of pupils and assistants trained in his style and methods. The inference seems an obvious one; the difficulties of explanation are only to be escaped by supposing that Scopas must have made these pedimental sculptures, or at least the heads of them, with his own hands. And such a supposition is by no means out of the question. Scopas, as a young sculptor employed as architect, would not be unlikely to employ his time at Tegea, while supervising the whole construction of the temple, in finishing with his own hands those parts of its decoration in which his own skill and training had the greatest scope.

While he was at Tegea, Scopas also made statues of Asclepius and Hygieia; and the statues of the same deities at Gortys in Arcadia most probably belong to the same period; there Asclepius was represented as beardless—a type which always persisted beside the more familiar bearded type of Thrasymedes: and other works in Argos and Sicyon are also likely to belong to Scopas' earlier years. Several statues in Athens and other parts of Greece are also attributed to him—among others an interesting group at Megara, representing Eros, Himeros, and Pothos—a refinement in the study of subtle mythological distinction and impersonation of three different phases of the god of love, Passion that inspires the lover, Desire that breathes from the presence of the beloved,[1] and Yearning in absence; we may imagine what Scopas is likely to have made of such a theme.

Since it is known that Scopas was employed on the Mausoleum about 350 B.C., and many of his works are recorded to have been set up in Asia Minor, it is generally supposed that he spent the later part of his career in that region, which was in later times to give free scope to those tendencies in art that owed to him their origin. A mere enumeration of these would not be profitable; but there are some of them which, from their subject, or from their association with extant works, call for more detailed attention.

Pliny tells us that when the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was rebuilt after its destruction in 356 B.C., one of the columns was sculptured by Scopas;[2] this is probable enough; for Scopas was employed on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus just at the time when the Ephesian temple was being rebuilt, and he may have had the commission given him by Artemisia; she is not likely to have failed to take her place among the princes who gave each a column to the temple. There were thirty-six such sculptured columns; and among the fragments of them that have been brought to England there is one of which the design is, in part, well preserved. The chances are clearly much against this being the one for which Scopas was responsible; and its style is not such as to justify us in making so uncertain an identification, though it is interesting as showing us the work of one of his associates.[1] The Demeter of Cnidus, which shows many of the characteristics of the work of Scopas, is described below (p. 453). It may well have been made by Scopas himself during his work at Halicarnassus and its neighbourhood.

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[1] See Lucian, *Deorum Iudicium*, 15, ὁ Ἔρως ὅλος παρελθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν ἀναγκάσει τὴν γυναῖκα ἐρᾶν ὁ δὲ Ἵμερος αὐτῷ σοι περιχυθεὶς . . . ἱμερτόν σε θήσει.

[2] This is the MS. reading, and there is no reason to reject it, though the conjecture *imo scapo* for *una a Scopa* is ingenious and in accordance with the fact; the columns are sculptured on the bottom drum only, the variation in diameter being due, as Mr. A. S. Murray has pointed out, to the greater size of the corner columns; see *R.I.B.A. Journal*, Nov. 1895.

One of the works of Scopas which Pliny selects for special praise, and calls worthy to have been the work of a whole lifetime, was a group—probably a relief—representing Poseidon and Thetis and Achilles, and Nereids riding on dolphins or hippocamps or other sea monsters, and the Tritons and many other creatures of the sea. This was carried off to Rome; it probably originally decorated a temple or other building in Bithynia.[2] The subject probably was the apotheosis of Achilles, when he was carried off by his mother to the Isles of the Blest, in a procession accompanied by all the denizens of the sea. A frieze now in Munich, and found in Rome near the place where this work is said to have been set up, was thought by Brunn to be the relief described by Pliny; but it is now known to have been a portion of a relief dedicated by Domitius Ahenobarbus about 35 B.C. Its execution is therefore of Roman date, though the design may well be derived from the treatment of the same subject by Scopas. There are, however, many representations of deities or creatures of the sea in our museums that are derived, more or less directly, from the conceptions of Scopas; and from them we may infer what the original was like.[3] The character of restless yearning which we almost always find in their expression is quite in harmony with what we know of the art of Scopas. In the Tegean heads we saw a passionate nature in the energy and concentration of action; in these deities of the sea we see a vaguer longing expressed in the upturned gaze, directed on a distant and unattainable goal; and it is borne out in the liquid and flowing texture of flesh and hair, which is in contrast to the concise and vigorous modelling of the Tegean heads. It is probably a reflection of the work of the same artist dealing with a different subject and realising his conception by the same

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[1] See below, p. 458.

[2] The reason for this supposition is that Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who brought it to Rome, had just been governor of that district.

[3] See Brunn, "Personification des Meeres," in his *Griechische Götterideale*, p. 68. The suggestive remarks of Brunn are the basis of the character here assigned to the deities of the sea.

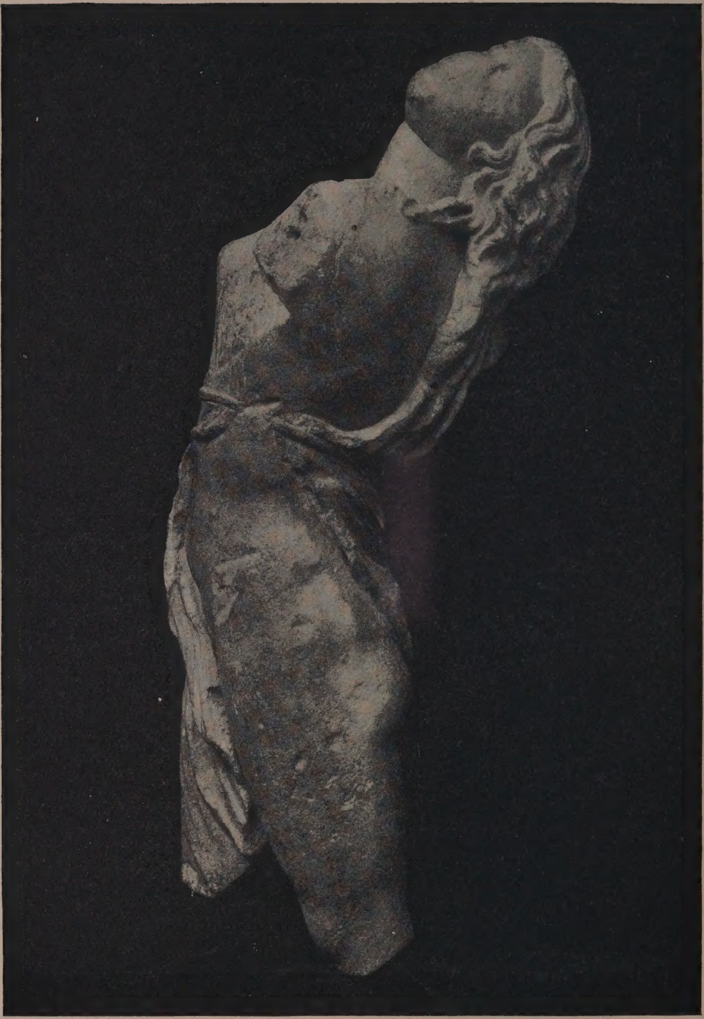

FIG. 107.—Maenad, after Scopas (Dresden). From a photograph lent by Prof. Treu.

methods. It is interesting to compare these marine types with the Satyr of Praxiteles. The human but soulless expression and playful mood and the graceful figure of the creature of the woods contrast strongly with the uncouth form, the eternal longing for some gift or quality denied by nature, that is characteristic of the personifications of the sea; and in the two alike choice of subject and method of expression show Scopas and Praxiteles each unsurpassed in his own field. Another expression of passion, or rather of divine inspiration, may be seen in the famous Bacchante of Scopas set up in Byzantium. She was represented in the full raving of Dionysiac frenzy, holding in her hand a kid that she had slain in the orgies of the god. Though such a subject is preserved to us in many reliefs and other works of art, which doubtless draw their inspiration from Scopas, they cannot be regarded as more than repetitions of a type which he had originated. There is, however, a statuette in Dresden which may be identified with confidence as a more direct copy of the Bacchante of Scopas (Fig. 107).[1] She is represented as advancing on tiptoe in an ecstatic frenzy, with head thrown back and upward gaze, a slain kid thrown over her left shoulder. Her drapery, held together only by a girdle, floats open so as to display her figure, as in some of the Amazons of the frieze of the Mausoleum; in the face and eyes we see the same passionate expression as in the Tegea heads. In the drapery, especially in the smaller folds about the girdle, and in the realistic touches of detail, we see a close resemblance, not only to some of the Amazons of the Mausoleum, but also to the Atalanta of Tegea. This statuette, though an inadequate copy, helps us to realise the marvellous life that Scopas had infused into the marble.

We must now pass to other statues of gods or heroes by Scopas which have been recognised with more or less probability in works of minor art, or even in extant statues. Among these is the Apollo Smintheus, with the field mouse from which he took his name, set up at Chryse in the Troad; but the statue in the temple of the god which is figured on the coins of that town is now generally admitted to be distinct from the work of Scopas, which was probably set up as a dedication beside it. The Ares of Scopas, a colossal statue transported from Pergamum to Rome, has been recognised with considerable probability on a relief of Trajan's time, set in the arch of Constantine. The god is represented nude and seated, with a spear in his right hand, a Victory seated on his left; but the scale and execution of the relief do not give much clue as to style. The Ares Ludovisi probably represents a variant on this type, and certainly shows the influence of Scopas. The Apollo Citharoedus, singing, and in long drapery, which was set up by Augustus in the Palatine temple at Rome, was also a work of Scopas; and a copy of it may be recognised, by the help of coins, in the Apollo Citharoedus of the Vatican,[1] which shows the character of the inspired musician, though the execution has lost all the vigour of Scopas. A constructive criticism,[2] based on the study of the Tegean

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[1] Published by Treu, *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 317.

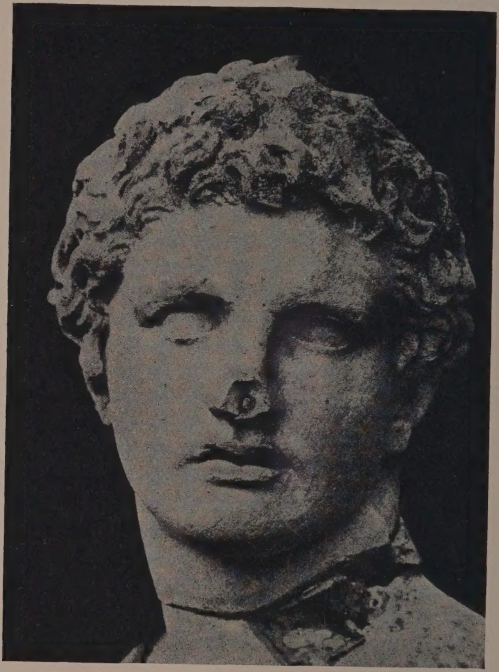

FIG. 108.—Head of Meleager (Rome, Villa Medici).
Reproduced, by permission, from *Antike Denkmäler*, Berlin, i. 40.

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[1] Baumeister, Fig. 104.

[2] By Dr. B. Gräf, in the *Röm. Mittheil.*, 1889, p. 199.

heads, has shown that the direct influence of Scopas may be traced in a whole series of extant statues, some of which may even be regarded as copies of his works. It is mainly in the treatment of the eye and the surrounding portion of the face, and in the expression resulting therefrom, that the character of Scopas may be recognised. Chief among the works that show this character is a very fine Greek Heracles in Lansdowne House,[1] which may well be a copy either of the Heracles recorded to have been made by Scopas at Sicyon, or of some other unrecorded statue of the hero.

Another statue in which a close relation to Scopas is now generally admitted is the Meleager of the Vatican. Several better copies of the head are known—one in Boston and one in the British Museum; the finest of all is that placed on a statue to which it does not belong in the garden of the Villa Medici at Rome (Fig. 108). In this head we may see, perhaps, better than in any other preserved to us, the expression of a passionate intensity of nature, not merely of the violent stress of combat, as in the Tegea heads. But it is similar to them in effect, and if not to be attributed to Scopas himself, must be derived directly from his influence.

However this may be, we have seen enough of the work of Scopas to be prepared for the influence which we shall find him exercising throughout the following period. If others of his predecessors and contemporaries had made their marble live, he added to that life an intensity of passion and expression far beyond what had hitherto seemed possible. To a Greek passion and suffering are expressed by the same word, pathos; and we need not be surprised to find that his imitators in a later age broke down the barrier that he had never transgressed, and found in pain and death a theme for that dramatic instinct to which he had given play. But we must not lay the artistic excesses of Pergamene and Rhodian art to the charge of Scopas, any more than we must lay the too great delicacy and effeminacy of Graeco-Roman work to the charge of Praxiteles. Both masters had an influence which went far beyond what they themselves performed; but to Scopas, more than any other man, is due all that is most vigorous and robust in the art of the Hellenistic age.

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[1] Cf., however, the Agias of Lysippus, Fig. 115. Perhaps we must now refer this series to the influence of Lysippus.

§ 50. *The Mausoleum.*—Our literary information as to this tomb, which is the most magnificent of the princely monuments of Asia Minor, is derived from a story repeated with some variations by Pliny and by Vitruvius. Pliny's version is the completer, and as it is practically the basis of discussion, we had better have it before us in full. "Scopas," he says, "had as rivals and contemporaries Bryaxis, Leochares, and Timotheus; and we must speak of them all together, since they collaborated in the sculpture of the Mausoleum. This is the monument built to Mausolus, prince of Caria, who died in 351 B.C., by his wife Artemisia; and the work of these artists mainly contributed to place it among the seven wonders of the world. . . .[1] The sculpture on the east side was by Scopas, that on the north by Bryaxis, that on the south by Timotheus, that on the west by Leochares. Before the completion of the work the queen died; but they went on until they had finished it, for their own fame and a record of their art, and it still preserves their emulation. There was a fifth artist also. Above the colonnade is a pyramid, equal in height to the lower part, and narrowing by 24 steps to the summit; on the top is a marble chariot made by Pythis." Vitruvius also says that the various sides of the building were undertaken by different artists; these he gives as Leochares, Bryaxis, Scopas, Praxiteles, and perhaps also Timotheus. This was practically all that was known of the Mausoleum until, in 1846, twelve slabs from its frieze were presented to the British Museum by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; and the interest they excited led to the complete excavation of the site at Halicarnassus by Sir Charles Newton in 1857. The building had been almost entirely destroyed by the Knights of St. John, when they built their castle of Budrum out of its materials, and burnt its sculptures for lime; but all that remained has been recovered and brought to England, and suffices to show the nature of the building and of the sculpture that decorated it.

As to the details of the plan and construction of the

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[1] Then follow statements as to the dimensions of the building, which are only confusing, as some of the numbers recorded in the text are obviously wrong, and no simple emendation makes them probable. Mr. Oldfield has proposed a new and very ingenious restoration, with cruciform plan, thus preserving Pliny's numbers. Perhaps a simple emendation is to read cxiii for lxiii as the length of the larger sides; then there is nothing impossible. But this question belongs to architecture, not to sculpture.

Mausoleum, much doubt is still possible; it is, in particular, difficult to fix the places where the various parts of its sculptural decorations were introduced. These consist of the following:—

1. A colossal group of two figures, Mausolus and Artemisia, probably set up within the building.[1]
2. Various statues, some equestrian, probably set up round the building—possibly some between the columns of the colonnade, as in the Nereid monument; some perhaps forming a pedimental group.[2]
3. A frieze representing Greeks and Amazons fighting.
4. A frieze of rougher work, representing Greeks and Centaurs.
5. A smaller frieze, of very fine work, representing a chariot-race.
6. Various panels, probably from the coffers of the roof.
7. A colossal chariot, with four horses, set up on the summit of the building.
8. A set of lions, of which the position is doubtful.

It is not certain where any of these friezes or panels were placed; but the coarser execution and worse preservation of the Centaur frieze seem to show that it was high up in the building and in an exposed position, perhaps as the frieze of the Ionic order over the colonnade; while the fine work and preservation of surface in such portions of the chariot frieze as have been preserved, show that it was in a sheltered position where it could be seen from near, perhaps within the colonnade; we have seen how in the case of the Parthenon frieze an advancing procession is a peculiarly appropriate subject for a position where it would be seen through the columns by one who walked along the outside of a colonnade.[3] There seems no place left for the Amazon frieze except around the basis below the colonnade; but in the British Museum restoration it is used as the frieze of the order.

It is clear that when the sculptural decoration of the building is so varied and so extensive, it is a very difficult task to assign to each of the four masters who are said to have been employed in making it his share of the whole. For the present it is best to consider in more detail those parts of it which are of the greatest artistic merit or interest.

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[1] These are often supposed to have stood in the chariot on the top; but their state of preservation, and a consideration of proportion, show this to have been improbable. See P. Gardner, *J.H.S.*, 1892–3, p. 188.

[2] See Six, *J.H.S.* xxv. p. 1.

[3] The frieze could only be seen thus from a distance; but the effect would be fine.

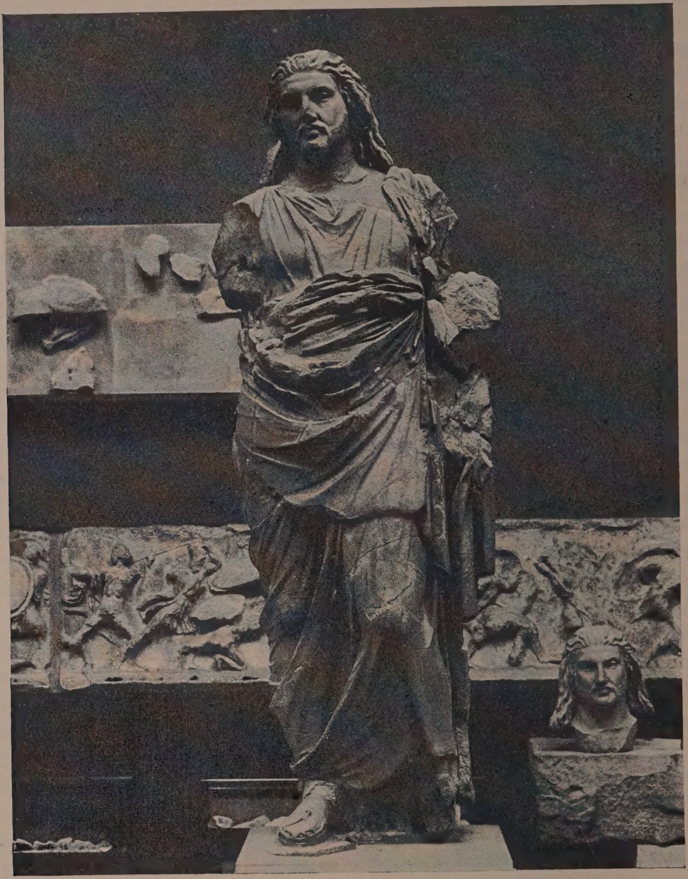

Fig. 109.—Portrait of Mausolus (British Museum).

The colossal statues, and especially that of Mausolus (Fig. 109), which is the better preserved, offer a very fine example of fourth-century portraiture, full of individual character, yet with a breadth and restraint of style which avoids giving prominence to minor or accidental peculiarities. The figure, though not of ideal proportions, is dignified and even majestic; the full and rich folds of the drapery are rendered with a skill not entirely free from realistic touches in detail. The type of face is obviously not Greek, with its sloping eyes, square brow, and straight hair rising over the forehead and brushed back; but it is noble and intelligent. The statue, in short, represents to us Mausolus as he was, in feature and in character, but it represents him as the wise and energetic prince of Caria, and as worthy of so splendid a monument.

Some of the statues which stood around the building probably represented the attendants of the prince. Of these only fragments remain; among them the most beautiful is a portion of a horse and his rider, who wears the Persian close-fitting trousers.[1] The rendering of both horse and man, so far as preserved, is unsurpassed in quality, whether in modelling of surface and rendering of texture, or in the life and action of the horse's forward plunge and his rider's easy seat; but so much is lost that what survives excites our regret for what is gone even more than our admiration for what is left.

The Amazon frieze (Fig. 110) is the most extensively preserved of all the sculpture of the Mausoleum, and it also gives us an excellent opportunity for comparing the treatment of the subject by the greatest sculptors of the fourth century with that which we have seen in friezes made in Athens or under Attic influence, as at Phigalia. The first contrast we notice is in the design, which is less crowded than in the earlier works, thus giving each figure room to stand out by itself; and full advantage is taken of this opportunity for each individual figure, as it sways far to one side or the other in vigorous action, to contrast the poise and sway of its limbs with the continuous and rigid line of the architecture above and below. The action is just as violent in the Phigalian frieze, yet the mass of figures prevents our feeling its artistic effect so clearly as in the Mausoleum reliefs. The more slender proportions of the later figures enhance the effect of their sparser grouping; while the wonderful variety prevents any hint of repetition, even in detail. The beauty of the individual figures, whether male or female, has also taken much of the artist's care; they vary of course in excellence, as is usual in architectural sculpture, but are for the most part admirable both in proportions and in modelling of details; the slim and lithe figures of the combatants on either side never become too slender for strength, while the wonderful spring and life that pervade the whole carry the eye along from figure to figure and from group to group by a composition perfectly adapted to the long and narrow field. Though there is perhaps a tendency for the light drapery of the Amazons to blow aside more than before, and to disclose the beauty of their figures, they never depart from the athletic type of the warrior maidens, as occasionally in later art. The eagerness and rush of combat expressed in every face and every action have never been caught with more vigour; and the tense strain of the whole composition seems to clasp it in a band around the building which it decorates.

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[1] Fine reproduction in Mitchell, *Selections*, pl. ix.

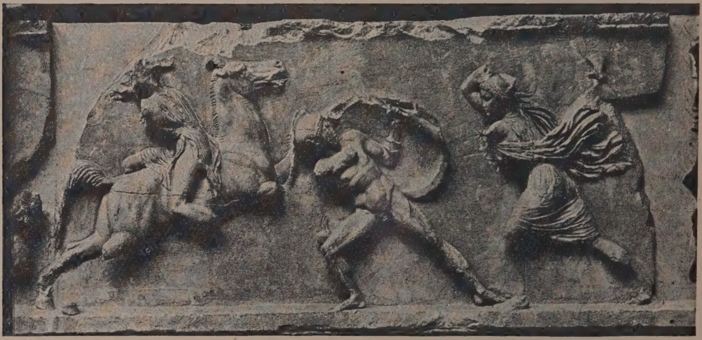

FIG. 110.—Slab from large frieze of Mausoleum, with Amazons (British Museum).

The smaller frieze of charioteers is not well enough preserved for us to judge as to the general effect or variety of its composition; but the single figure of a charioteer (Fig. 111), which is the best preserved fragment of it that remains, is also perhaps the finest of the relics of the Mausoleum now preserved in the British Museum. He is represented as leaning forward in his car, while the long charioteer's chiton, which reaches to his feet, curves to the wind in sweeping folds. But it is above all the expression of the face, with its intense and eager straining towards the distant goal, that gives this figure its unique character. The forehead is deeply furrowed, and there is a heavy bar of flesh over the brow, overshadowing the deep-set eyes, which gaze upwards into the distance. It is difficult to imagine a finer rendering of the ideal charioteer, as described by Shelley :—

> Others, with burning eyes, lean forth, and drink
> With eager lips the wind of their own speed,
> As if the thing they loved fled on before,
> And now, even now, they clasped it.

The expression, though not the detail of execution, reminds us irresistibly of the Tegean heads by Scopas. This comparison brings us back to the question which we can no longer evade: How are these sculptures to be distributed among the four artists who are said to have made them, and what evidence and criteria do we possess for such a distribution? For comparison with other monuments we are now fairly well equipped. We have the Tegean heads to show us the style of Scopas, the Epidaurus sculptures for Timotheus, the Ganymede for Leochares, and a basis probably designed by Bryaxis, without going beyond what is established by satisfactory evidence, or arguing from one conjecture to another. Yet the results that have so far been attained are far from convincing; and, in particular, a division according to style and other indications of the Amazon frieze among the various artists, by the greatest master of criticism of style, Brunn, proved to be inconsistent with the indications offered by the slabs themselves, when their backs and sides could be examined during their remounting in the British Museum.[1] This is a warning; but perhaps it need not discourage us, if we attribute the failure not so much to error of method, as to an attempt to conform to unnecessary and impossible conditions. The statement of Pliny and Vitruvius, to the effect that each sculptor undertook one side, is clear enough; but we do not know precisely the authority on which it rests; and when we come to consider the probabilities of the case, and the variety of the friezes and other decorations that ran all round the building, it certainly seems incredible. The Mausoleum was not, according to the accepted restorations, like a temple, in which it was possible enough for the sculptural decoration of either end—especially of the pediments—to be undertaken by a different sculptor. But each of the friezes, wherever it may be placed on the building, must have gone round it on all four sides, and a spectator, when at or near one of the corners, could see two sides at once; such, indeed, was the aspect in which the peculiar design of the

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[1] More recently Professor Wolters and Dr. Sieveking (*Jahrb.*, 1909) have made another attempt at the distribution of the slabs of the Amazon frieze among the four sculptors, taking into account also the data just mentioned, and comparing other extant works of Timotheus and Bryaxis as well as Scopas. Their analysis is interesting, but it may still be doubted whether the differences of composition or execution which they point out are greater than one would expect to find in any great architectural composition, such as, *e.g.*, the Parthenon frieze.

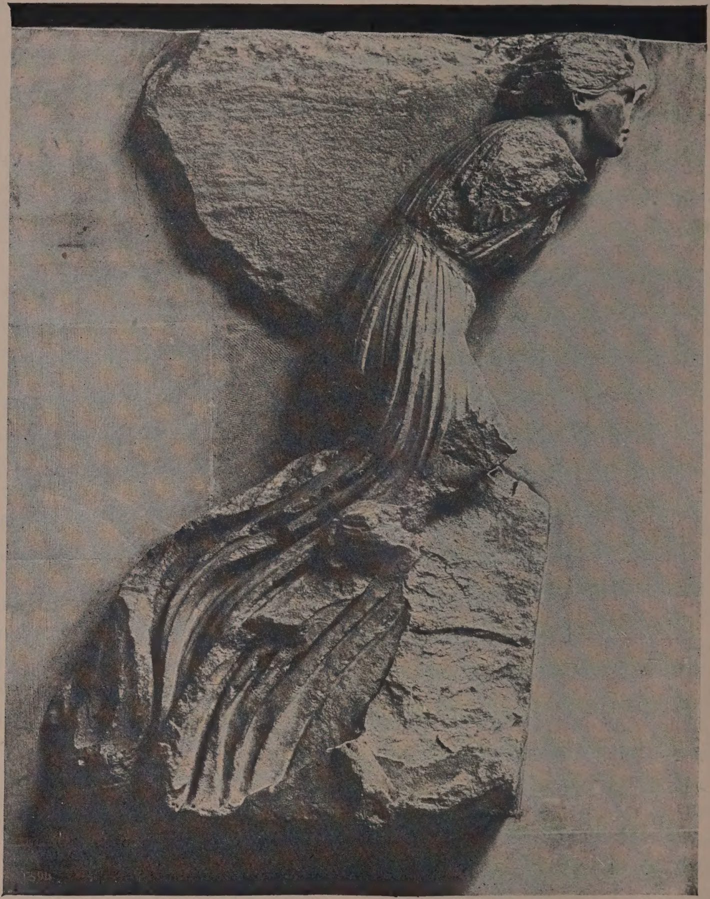

FIG. 111.—Charioteer from small frieze of Mausoleum (British Museum).

Mausoleum could best be appreciated. It is clear, therefore, that the composition of the friezes, or of any two adjacent sides, ought really to form a single design; and, in a building designed and completed with such supreme artistic skill that it became one of the seven wonders of the world, it is incredible that the portion of each frieze which happened to fall on each of the four sides was left to be designed, independently of his colleagues, by the artist to whom the side was assigned. For it is clear, both from the circumstances and from the actual execution of the remains, that it was the design, not the execution, that these four great sculptors undertook. In fact, the only rational distribution of the work would be the assignment of the entire design of each frieze to a single sculptor; if four great masters were employed, the assignment of one side to each of them is just the kind of traditional tale that would grow up among ignorant *ciceroni* on the spot, or among equally ignorant compilers of such tradition. Under these conditions, it may not perhaps prove impossible to solve a problem that has hitherto proved insoluble. Careful and detailed study and comparison are of course necessary before a definite result can be reached, and this is not the place for so complicated a discussion. But we may perhaps be justified, on the ground of the similarity to the Tegean heads which we noticed in the charioteer, in suggesting at once that the small frieze owes its design to Scopas, though some details seem to show that the actual execution was done by an assistant under his supervision. Both the careful finish of the work, which seems to imply that it was placed where it could be seen from near, and the good preservation of the surface, which shows that it was in a protected position, confirm the opinion that it was a part of the sculpture undertaken by Scopas, who was probably the eldest and certainly the most distinguished of the artists employed.

However this may be, the sculpture of the Mausoleum takes a very high place in the great series of architectural monuments which preserves to us so much of the original work of Greece, while we are dependent to a great extent on copies for our knowledge of the independent statues made by the chief masters. We have already seen its relation to the sculptures made in the fifth century under Attic influence; and it is no mere accident that we find the most perfect example of the development of the same art in Asia Minor. We shall see in the next period how the sculptors of that region continued the work of Scopas and his colleagues, and how the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus shows an intermediate stage between the monuments of Athens and those of Pergamum.

§ 51. *Attic tombstones.*—We must now turn to a series of monuments which will in many ways carry us back to the style and character of an earlier period. Many of the Attic tombstones and their reliefs may indeed seem to reflect the character of the fifth century rather than of the fourth; but the great majority of those preserved in Athens and in other museums were actually made in the fourth century. It was natural that such works of minor art, made by artisans rather than artists, should cling to the tradition of the great days of Attic art. Many of the workmen who afterwards devoted themselves to this and other trades must have been employed on the magnificent buildings with which Athens was decorated under the administration of Pericles, or while Attic artists continued to produce such works as we see in the Erechtheum. And when, in the decline of state expenditure upon sculpture, they turned the skill they had acquired to meet the requirements of private demand, they still preserved and handed on to their successors those traditions which they had acquired while working under Phidias and his associates. We may therefore expect to find in the tombstones an artistic conservatism which might sometimes mislead us as to their date; but sometimes the tradition is broken, and a new influence is felt; several of the reliefs show distinct traces of the innovations due to Scopas or to Praxiteles.

The subject of the tombstones is too complicated a question to be discussed here; most of those that concern us for our present purpose represent scenes from ordinary life, showing the deceased in the midst of his characteristic pursuits and surroundings. Thus the athlete appears with his strigil and his oil-flask; the hunter with his dog; a lady is represented playing with her children or her jewels (Fig. 112); and each is accompanied by his attendants or companions, whether slaves or pet animals. Whatever be the mythological origin of these scenes, we can hardly doubt that the intention of the sculptor of the fourth century was merely to represent the deceased as he had been in life, partly to recall him to his relatives and friends as they had known him at his best; partly perhaps also the relief was regarded as a gratification to the person buried

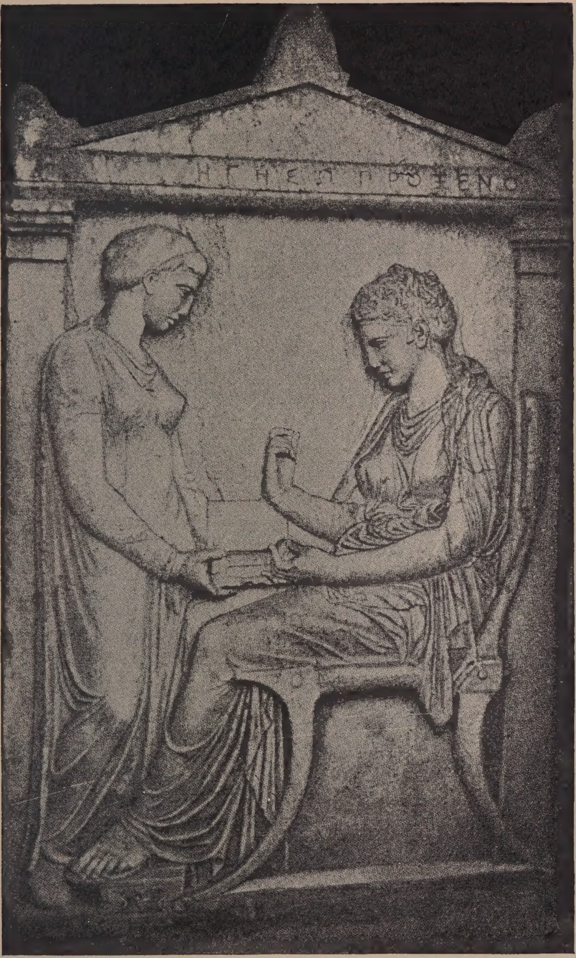

Fig. 112.—Tombstone of Hegeso (Athens, Ceramicus).

below it, since it perpetuated in marble the pursuits and enjoyments which had been his in life, and of which some vague and shadowy semblance might still be his in the other world. Sometimes there seems to be a definite reference to some event in the life of the deceased or to his death; thus Dexileos (Fig. 113), who, as the inscription tells us, was one of the knights who fell in a skirmish in the Corinthian territory in 394 B.C., is represented on horseback, transfixing with his spear a fallen enemy. The scene doubtless refers to the life of Dexileos as a knight, and even to the last battle in which he lost his life; but it is his triumph not his death that is depicted. The tombstone of Hegeso, in its delicate and graceful pose, and its admirable treatment of low relief, and that of Dexileos, with its life-like and spirited group, and its almost free figures in high relief, may serve as two of the best examples of those Attic tombstones, and are not unworthy of the traditions of those who had worked on the Parthenon.

Often we find a monument not representing merely the deceased and his attendants, but a family group, sometimes of two figures only, sometimes containing many members. And in such groups we often find a reference, direct or indirect, to the death of the deceased. Not, of course, that a death-bed scene is represented, except in the rarest of cases; sometimes the hint of departure is only given in a general shade of chastened melancholy that pervades the scene; sometimes one of the party is having her sandals put on as if about to start for a journey; very often the two principal figures are represented as clasping hands in a long farewell. It is not always easy to identify the particular person over whom the monument was set up; indeed, it was often intended as a common monument for the whole family whose names are inscribed over the figures; and the sense of death and parting is general rather than individual. And indeed both groups and figures are to be taken as types rather than personal portraits. Often they correspond only approximately to the names inscribed; and it is probable that in most cases they were not specially made to order in commemoration of any family or individual, but were kept in stock, and selected by the purchaser so as to fit his requirements as appropriately as possible. The execution, as might be expected, is of very uneven merit, and the style of some workshops may easily be distinguished; but in spite of all defects, such as a tendency to clumsiness in proportions and to a coarse execution in details, what is most striking in them is the good taste and artistic moderation that pervade them all, and form so marked a contrast to the tasteless and pretentious monuments that offend the eye in any modern cemetery. The people who could deal thus with death—and that too in a class of reliefs that were made to suit the demand of the general public, not to satisfy the criticism of any superior officials—show a natural instinct for sculpture and a vivid appreciation of artistic expression even when their

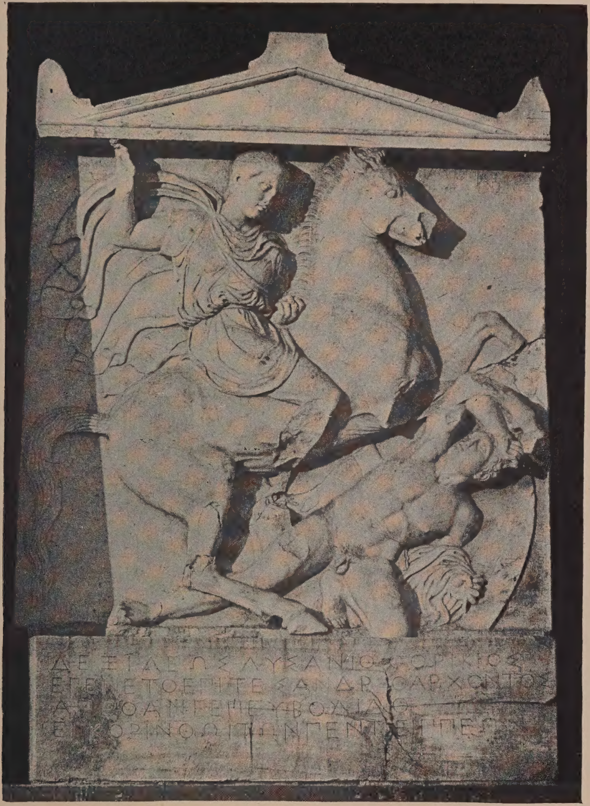

FIG. 113.—Tombstone of Dexileos (Athens, Ceramicus).

feelings are most deeply moved; and when we realise the way in which Greek life was permeated by such tendencies, we are the better prepared for the wonderful attainments of those masters whose works form the main theme of our study.

§ 52. *Thrasymedes.*—Thrasymedes of Paros has usually hitherto been classed among the associates and scholars of Phidias. He made the statue of Asclepius at Epidaurus, which was by some ancient authorities attributed to Phidias himself; and the reproductions of this statue on coins show that it was a modification of the type in which Phidias embodied his Olympian Zeus. But more recent evidence has proved that, at least so far as the date is concerned, this inference is erroneous, and thus we receive a warning against trusting too much

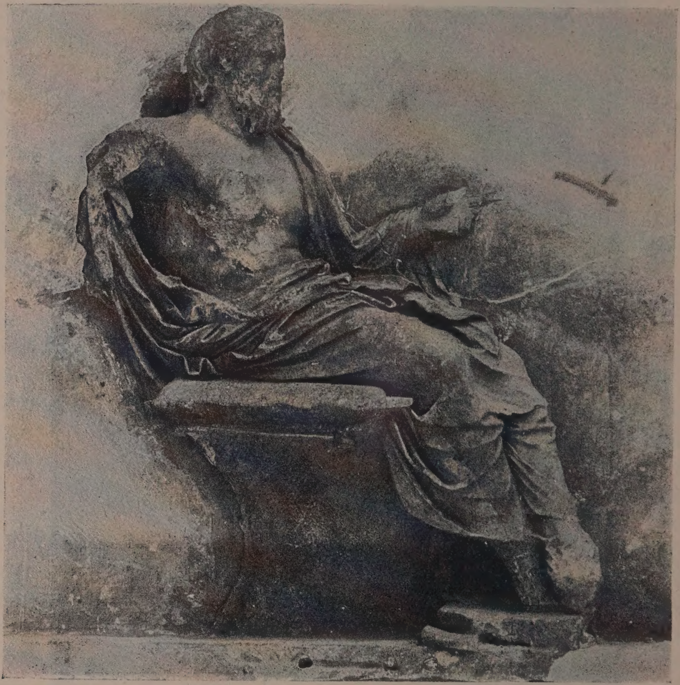

FIG. 114.—Asclepius, from Epidaurus, probably after statue by Thrasymedes (Athens, National Museum).

to circumstantial evidence in assigning a period to any artist; but, on the other hand, we may still acknowledge that Thrasymedes worked under the influence of the Phidian tradition. Thrasymedes is mentioned in the inscription relating to the building of the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus as undertaking a contract for the ceiling[1] and the doors of the temple. The doors were of wood covered with gold and ivory, the same materials of which the great statue itself was made; and the employment of Thrasymedes on them strengthens his relation to Phidias, the great master of chryselephantine technique. The date of the inscription—the same one in which the contract of Timotheus for the acroteria and pedimental sculptures is also recorded—is probably about 375 B.C.; and so it is improbable, if not impossible, that Thrasymedes can have studied under Phidias in his youth. We may obtain some notion of what the statue of Asclepius was like not only from the coins on which it is represented,[2] but also from two reliefs of Greek workmanship, found at Epidaurus, which certainly reproduce its type and character, though they cannot be regarded as copies in the stricter sense (Fig. 114). The god was represented as seated upon a throne, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and stretching forth his right over the head of his sacred snake; and a dog lay beside his throne. Unlike the beardless and youthful Asclepius of Scopas, he was a bearded and dignified figure—a milder and more human version of Zeus, as became the hero whose divinity was but half recognised, and whose beneficence was confined to the cure of those ills which called for the help of a superhuman physician rather than an omnipotent deity. Such was always the most popular type of Asclepius, and Thrasymedes' statue was its recognised embodiment.

§ 53. *Lysippus.*—Lysippus, more than any other artist, is spoken of by the later Greeks and Romans as representative of his age, and as exercising a strong and direct technical influence over his pupils and successors; his artistic theories have even influenced our information about his predecessors, since one of the body of his pupils, Xenocrates, wrote treatises on painting and sculpture which were freely drawn on by later compilers. He was, moreover, a most prolific sculptor; it is said that he was in the habit of putting one coin from every commission he received into a vase,[1] and when his heir broke this vase after his death, the astonishing number of 1500 coins was found within it. Under these circumstances we might well expect to find many copies of statues by Lysippus in our museums; yet, strange to say, there is only one, the Agias, which can be identified with certainty as a direct copy of his work, though repetitions or modifications of types which he originated have been recognised in reliefs or minor works of art, and the indirect traces of his influence may be seen in countless examples of later Greek workmanship. This dearth of identified copies of the statues of an artist at once so famous and so prolific can hardly be altogether accidental. He worked entirely in bronze, and so there was little chance that any original work from his hand could survive; but we might well have expected to find more copies of his work characteristic enough for their identity to be undisputed.

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[1] Τὰν ὀροφὰν τὰν ὑπένερθε, the lower or inner roof, which was probably of wood decorated.

[2] *Num. Comm. on Paus.* Pl. L., Epidaurus, iii.-v.

We have some interesting anecdotes as to the earlier years of Lysippus; he is said to have begun life as a mere artisan, a bronze-founder; such an origin might go some way to explain both the excellences and the limitations of his art. He was first stirred to a higher career by the influence of Eupompus; when this painter was asked which of the earlier masters he followed, he pointed to a crowd and replied, "Imitate nature, not another artist."[2] That Lysippus should have adopted such a saying as the motto of his earlier years may at first sight appear inconsistent with the character of his art. His elaborate study of theoretical proportion, in which he used to declare that the Doryphorus (or Canon) of Polyclitus was his master, and the academic nature of his own work and of the school that surrounded him, do not seem appropriate to a man whose aim in art was to study nature itself rather than the methods of earlier sculptors; and the accepted notion of Lysippus may be gathered from a reference in Varro, who, when discussing the weight to be assigned to usage in the choice of words, appeals to the analogy of art, and says that Lysippus followed not the errors but the style of earlier artists. But the contradiction is more apparent than real; Lysippus came to be the acknowledged and unrivalled master of the Sicyonian school—a school which, in close relation with that of Argos, had been for more than a century the most closely united and the best organised in Greece, and which therefore had contributed more than any other to the advance of academic study and the continuity of artistic tradition. In the career and under the leadership of Lysippus this artistic tradition reached its culminating point, and it was through his work and influence that the accumulated technical skill and theoretical study of many generations of Sicyonian and Argive sculptors were handed down to later times. Hence it was natural enough for later artists and critics to look back on Lysippus as the most academic of sculptors; but the means by which he attained his position as head of the Sicyonian school did not consist merely in a careful study of what his predecessors had done. We know that he revolutionised their system of proportions, and introduced many technical innovations and improvements; and these he derived from a direct and thorough study of nature. They are all in the direction of a less conventional and more realistic treatment, together with an introduction, to some degree, of the impressionist principle. Thus we are told that Lysippus modified the square and heavy proportion of the Polyclitan canon; he made the head smaller (about $\frac{1}{8}$ of the total height instead of $\frac{1}{7}$), the body more slender and drier in texture, thus increasing the apparent height. This last remark brings us to the most essential change of all, which affects alike proportion in general and execution in detail. Although sculptors, even in the fifth century, had not ignored the conditions under which their statues were to be exhibited, or the position from which they were to be seen, they had, in the main, made it their endeavour to imitate in bronze or marble the actual forms of nature, or such an idealised version of them as should imitate exactly the substance of the artist's conception; they, in short, made men and things "as they were." Lysippus introduced the principle of making them as they appeared to be;[1] that is to say, he did not so much consider the correctness to nature of the actual material form of his work, but rather the effect it produced on the eye of the spectator, and was, so far, an impressionist. His improvement in the treatment of hair is not simply an example of his clearness and delicacy of work even in the smallest details, but also, in part, of this impressionist tendency. The earlier sculptors in bronze had tried to imitate the actual texture and form of hair by various devices, such as inserting twisted pieces of bronze, like corkscrews, round the forehead, or even covering the head with a kind of wig of bronze plate cut into fine shreds;[1] or, when they did not do this, they covered the whole surface of hair and beard with fine lines, as if drawn with a comb across the surface, so as to imitate every separate hair. Polyclitus, who was no less famous than Lysippus for his accuracy and care in detail, had made a great advance in selecting an arrangement of the hair at once more adapted to sculpture and more true to nature; but, in his selection of a treatment of hair which represented it as clinging close to the scalp in short curved tresses all over the head, while only the point of each tress stood out from the surface, he was choosing a form of real hair that could be exactly reproduced in bronze rather than giving to the bronze such a form that it presented the appearance of real hair. The bold and heavy masses of hair, often standing far out from the head, and giving a shadow to portions of the face, which we find so frequently in Hellenistic art, are doubtless due to the influence of Lysippus and his innovations. It is interesting to compare a similar result attained by a different means by Praxiteles in the hair of the Hermes, which, through the wonderful texture of its surface and rough sketchy treatment, gives an impression of hair, though never attempting in detail to imitate its form. This, however, is a masterpiece of marble technique. How Lysippus attained a similar effect in bronze we cannot tell from any extant statue, but can only infer from his influence on others.

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[1] Pliny calls it *thesaurus*. A receptacle made for such a purpose, and broken to get at its contents, would doubtless be an earthen vase made with only one small slit for an opening, such as is still used in Greece as a "money-box."

[2] H. S. Jones denies that Eupompus can ever have met Lysippus, even as a boy. But we have no information how long Eupompus lived; his life may well have overlapped the younger years of Lysippus. It is hard to see why the name of Eupompus should be introduced, unless there is a kernel of truth in the story.

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[1] *Quales viderentur esse*; this is Pliny's statement, and is quite intelligible as it stands; he is evidently quoting here from an excellent and well-informed piece of criticism, probably derived ultimately from Xenocrates. There is no need to suppose he has mistranslated his Greek authority.

So far we have been concerned with general conclusions based on the statements of ancient authors about Lysippus, or on the unmistakable traces of his influence; we must next consider such extant works as have been regarded as more or less direct copies of his statues. Here a recent discovery has been revolutionary. The only extant statue which was until recent times generally regarded as a direct copy of one of his works was the Apoxyomenus of the Vatican, and even in this case the evidence for the identification was by no means convincing, and its almost universal acceptance was due to its apparent consistency with our information as to the style of Lysippus. The excavations of Delphi have brought to light a series of statues dedicated by Daochus the Thessalian, representing earlier members of his family. An identical set of statues were set up by him in Thessaly, as is testified by the inscription on their bases; and on this Thessalian inscription the name of Lysippus is given as the sculptor of the figure of the pancratiast Agias.[1] This Agias had won his victories some two generations earlier, so that there is no question of a contemporary portrait. Daochus had ideal figures of his distinguished ancestors made for his dedication, and among these the athlete Agias was selected for representation by the most distinguished of contemporary sculptors. The statues set up in Thessaly were probably of bronze; those found at Delphi were of marble. This fact raises the interesting question how far we may regard these marble statues—and the Agias in particular—as replicas or copies of the originals set up in Thessaly. It is very improbable, on the one hand, that Daochus, having employed distinguished artists to devise portraits of his family, should, when ordering a duplicate set for Delphi, have ignored the work they had done for him. On the other hand, we cannot, in the fourth century, look for exact and mechanical copies of bronze works in marble, such as were customary in Roman times. The most probable view, at least as far as the Agias is concerned, is that Lysippus was asked to supply a replica in marble for dedication at Delphi. He would still have by him in his studio the model from which the bronze was cast, and he would naturally order one of his pupils or assistants to copy it in marble. Such a copy would not be likely to reproduce the technical finish and details of the model, especially such as were adapted to bronze technique;[2] but, on the other hand, it would preserve the position and proportions, and the more essential and typical characteristics of

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[1] Such a bronze wig was found among the fragments on the Acropolis; see *J.H.S.*, 1892–3, p. 343.

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[1] It is uncertain whether the correct spelling is Agias or Hagias. The former has now become familiar.

[2] M. Homolle notes the absence of an extra support as evidence that we have an exact copy of the bronze. But it seems rather to be a proof that the marble statue was more freely imitated, so as not to require one.

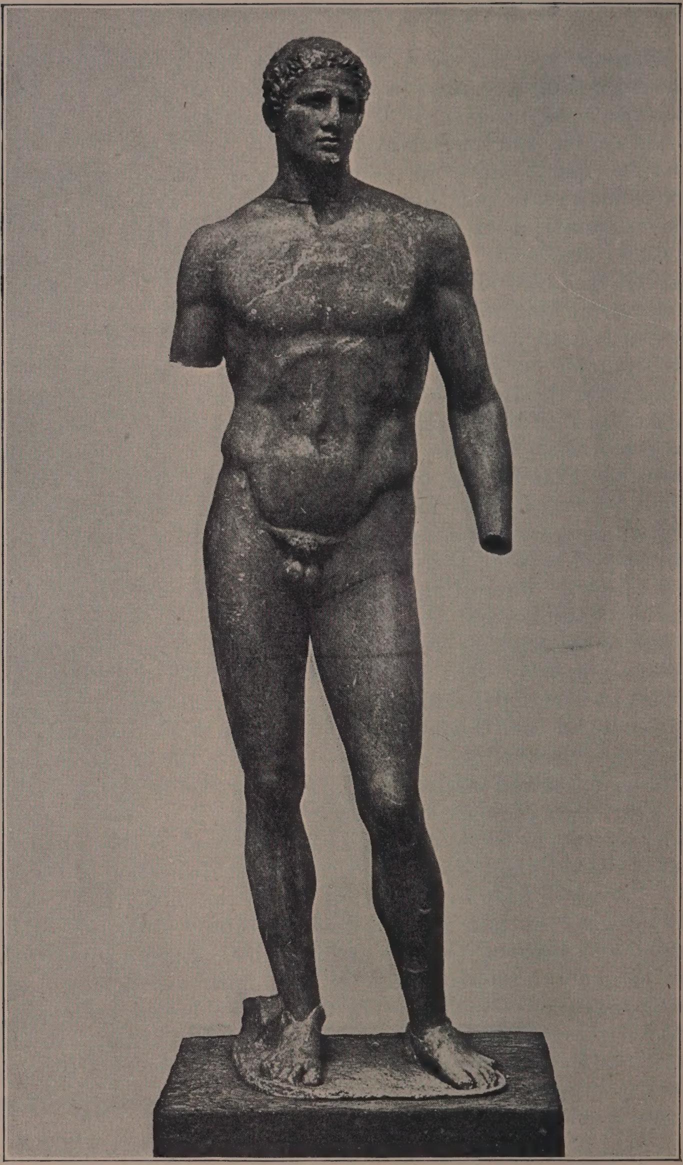

FIG. 115.—Statue of Agias, by Lysippus (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II. lxiii.).

the work of Lysippus. For such matters, then, it seems justifiable not only to regard the Agias as coming very near to the master's design, but also to substitute it for the Apoxyomenus as the basis of our study.[1] It corresponds, no less than the Apoxyomenus, to what we are told by literary authorities of the style of Lysippus; it has an alert pose, the body and limbs are long and slender,[2] and the head small, especially when compared with the proportions used by Polyclitus. But when we compare the modélling of the Agias with that of the Apoxyomenus, we find that it is more direct and spontaneous, less laboured and anatomical. In the Apoxyomenus the muscles of trunk and limbs tend to be concentrated into balls or drawn out into tense sinews, which are hardly concealed by the envelope of flesh and skin; in the Agias the observation is more from the outside, the muscles are more even in their flow, less emphasised in their details. The contrast is, in fact, between the artistic familiarity with the athletic form which marks the fifth and fourth centuries, and the scientific anatomical knowledge which distinguishes the academic work of the Hellenistic age, and which we see, in a more extreme form, in the Borghese Warrior of Agasias (Fig. 136). We must then regard the Apoxyomenus as a later product of the school of Lysippus, rather than as representing the work of the master himself. The Agias shows us that, in his rendering of the athletic form, Lysippus retained the freshness and directness of observation that is characteristic of the Greek sculptors of earlier times, and so belongs essentially to the fourth century. It is a mistake to regard him as characterised by the laboured and academic style that became prevalent among his pupils in the Hellenistic age. It is, however, above all in the head that the Agias affords a contrast to what has hitherto been regarded as Lysippean. The expression of the Apoxyomenus is commonplace and lacking in vigour; and although other examples of Roman copies from Greek originals warn us how much may be lost by the copyist in this matter, we had no reason, from extant works, to suppose that the expression of the face was a thing in which Lysippus excelled. It is true that the statements of ancient authorities about his portrait of Alexander testify to his power of expressing character; but no extant work could give us a notion of the way in which he did it. The face of the Agias has an intensity of expression which is only to be paralleled in works that have hitherto been assigned to the influence of Scopas, but it is different in character from that of the Tegean heads. The eyes have the same deep shadow round them; but in this case the effect is attained by setting them very deep at the inner corners, where they are close together, not by an overhanging mass of flesh above the outer corners. This is more in accordance with the physical type, which is slighter and narrower than that adopted by Scopas. The result is not the far-away look that we noticed in the Tegean heads, but an intense concentration on some nearer object; this is still directed upwards, a peculiarity in which we are again reminded of the description of Lysippus's portrait of Alexander. Here we have merely an athlete; but it is evident that Lysippus was not content with the conventional and rather vague expression that we find in many Hellenistic athletes, and, above all, in copies of Roman date. This is what we should expect when we remember that it was Lysippus who established the type of the weary Heracles, but the question has hitherto been obscured, owing mainly to the fact that the Apoxyomenus has been regarded as his most representative work.

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[1] Some authorities, while admitting the evidence of the Agias, have attempted to retain the Apoxyomenus also in its place among the works of Lysippus. For a fuller discussion of this question see P. Gardner, *J.H.S.*, 1905. I can only record here my impression that it is impossible to retain both statues as characteristic of the same master; the only two courses open seem to be either to reject the Agias as evidence for Lysippus, or to relegate the Apoxyomenus to a position among indirectly Lysippean Hellenistic works.

[2] The legs appear shorter than they should, owing to a faulty restoration.

When we come to consider the attribution of other extant works to the influence of Lysippus, the Agias must clearly take its due place as a criterion, and it is evident that some series of figures that have hitherto been associated with Scopas—such as the Lansdowne Heracles and the Meleager of the Vatican—are much nearer in their type to the Agias. Not that it was a mistake to recognise in them the influence of Scopas; but we now find that Lysippus, probably in imitation of Scopas, sought to render intensity of expression, though by slightly different methods. It would, however, lead us too far afield to follow out these and other investigations. It must suffice for the present for us to note the modification in our conception of Lysippus that is due to the recent discovery, and to realise that numerous Hellenistic works, which are doubtless due to his influence, have failed to catch the more subtle characteristics of his art.

The character of the Apoxyomenus, not a statue of an individual athlete, but a study in athletic *genre*, and the position given to it by Pliny at the head of his description of the works of Lysippus, give some support to the opinion that it was made to embody a new theory of proportions, like the Doryphorus of Polyclitus, which Lysippus professed to have studied as his model, and which this new canon was intended to supersede. The identification of the famous statue in the Vatican, representing an athlete who is employed in cleaning the oil and sand of the palaestra from his extended right arm with a strigil which he holds in his left hand, as this Apoxyomenus of Lysippus, is as we have seen, far from certain; for other statues of the same subject are recorded. There can, however, be no doubt that the statue in the Vatican serves admirably to illustrate the proportions of Lysippus, allowing for the changes that are inevitable in the translation of a bronze work into marble. The attitude at once marks the distinction between the Doryphorus of Polyclitus and the Lysippean Apoxyomenus. The Doryphorus stands, or rather advances, with the whole weight of his body resting on one foot, which is planted firmly on the ground, and there is an appearance of solid stability about his pose which contrasts most strongly with the elastic, almost momentary poise of the Apoxyomenus; though the greater part of the weight in the latter statue also is carried on one leg, the whole attitude of the body is such that a shift of the weight on to the other foot might well take place at any moment, and the athlete seems prepared either to change his pose or even to spring from his place at a moment's notice. Hence a grace and agility which greatly enhance the effect of the smaller head and lighter proportions. There is a contrast, equally strong, but of a different nature, when we compare the Apoxyomenus not with the massive athletic frame of the Polyclitan canon, but with the Praxitelean Hermes. Here the lithe and agile Lysippean athlete, alert and in high training, contrasts with the softer and fuller form of the Attic youth, and the Lysippean body and limbs seem almost meagre beside those of the Hermes. Both alike have a grace which distinguishes them from the heavier and squarer build of the Doryphorus; but in the Hermes the difference, beyond mere proportions, is emphasised by the intellectual and contemplative

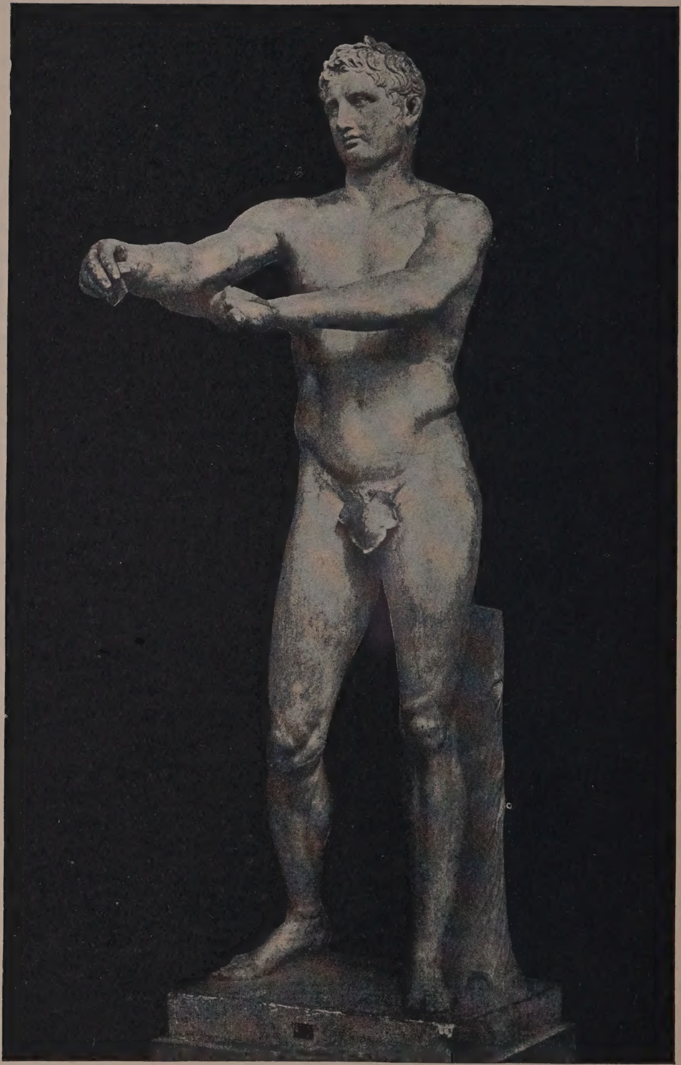

Fig. 116.—Apoxyomenus, after Lysippus (Rome, Vatican)

character of the face, while in the Lysippean athlete it is merely physical vigour which produces a lighter and more versatile appearance.

It would not, however, be fair to criticise the attainments of Lysippus from the Apoxyomenus, more especially if we are to regard it as a product of his school rather than an exact copy of his own work. That he had also a power of expressing character is sufficiently testified not only by the Agias but also by the tradition that he alone among sculptors was permitted to make portraits of Alexander, and by the descriptions of these portraits which we possess. Many extant statues or busts of Alexander survive to illustrate the descriptions; perhaps the British Museum head (Fig. 125) has best claim to be regarded as a copy of the work of Lysippus, though many of them may preserve traces of his influence. His monopoly in this matter can hardly have really existed or have been rigidly enforced; for we hear of other statues of Alexander by his contemporaries, and many were certainly made by his successors. In a statue described by Plutarch he represented Alexander as gazing upwards, with his neck slightly turned to one side, in accordance with a slight malformation. This was done with such skill as to enhance the effect rather than to call attention to the deformity, as other sculptors had done, and Lysippus caught also his manly and leonine aspect, which others had lost in their attempt to render the liquid and melting gaze of his eyes. He must have embodied in his portrait a conception of the fiery and ambitious temper of the conqueror of the world which satisfied Alexander himself; and this fact alone suffices to show him a master of ideal portraiture, in which all his technical skill in detail was employed to glorify the individual character of his subject. We shall see later[1] what an influence on the course of art was exercised by such a portraiture as this.

In addition to his statues of Alexander, Lysippus made groups representing him in the midst of his companions in battle or in hunting. The great Sidon sarcophagus is covered with reliefs which recall the character of these groups, whether directly derived from them or not.[2]

Several statues of gods were attributed to Lysippus, among them four of Zeus; one of these was the colossus of Tarentum, 60 feet high, said by Strabo to be the largest in the world after

[1] § 57.

[2] See § 55.

the colossus of Rhodes. We have no certain reproductions of any of these statues of Zeus, but we may see their reflection in many statues and statuettes of the Hellenistic period. To Lysippus is probably due that leonine conception of Zeus, with mane-like mass of hair and strong bar across the forehead, which becomes prevalent after his time; and some statuettes, which seem to go back to the old nude standing type, but with the proportions and style of a later age, may show the influence of Lysippus.

A more definite identification of a type rather than of any individual statue which reproduces it is concerned with the statue of Poseidon set up in the Isthmian sanctuary; this figure appears on a cameo representing the Isthmian games and their surroundings,[1] and also, in a more or less modified form, in some extant statues. The god is represented on the gem as standing with his left foot resting on a high rock, and his left knee bent at a right angle; on it he leans his left elbow; this is a pose which becomes a favourite one in the school of Lysippus, and which some go so far as to call characteristic of Lysippus himself.[2] His authorship of this particular statue, however, is not beyond doubt. The only authority for his connexion with it is a passage in Lucian which shows he made a bronze statue for the Corinthians which was the recognised and typical representation of Poseidon; but there were many statues of Poseidon both at Corinth and in the Isthmian sanctuary. What became of them at the sack of the city by Mummius we do not know; they may have been taken away by him and sent back by Julius Caesar when he founded the new Roman colony; but neither the description of Pausanias, nor the types reproduced on coins, give us any help in identifying the particular statue made by Lysippus; and the cameo, being of Roman period, is a doubtful authority for the time before the sack of Corinth.

Another famous statue by Lysippus was that of the sun-god, Helios, at Rhodes, who was represented driving his four-horse chariot. He made several statues of Heracles, and the subject seems to have been one which he found peculiarly congenial, to judge from the descriptions and epigrams of which these works are the themes. One of them, at Tarentum, was of colossal size, and was carried off thence to Rome, and from Rome to Constantinople ; it represented the hero as seated on his lion-skin, his right arm and leg extended, his left knee drawn up beneath him and supporting his left elbow, while his head leant on his hand, as if in depression. This conception of Heracles as a man of toil and sorrows, ever performing new labours, but wearying of his gigantic task, is characteristic of Lysippus, and marks the beginning of the Hellenistic age ; we can see the character of such a statue reflected in later representations of the hero, such as the Farnese Heracles at Naples, which, though in a different position, shows the same weariness and depression. Another Heracles by Lysippus, of somewhat similar character but of minute size, is said to have been made by him to decorate the table of Alexander. A whole collection of stories had gathered about this statuette, and they are recorded in the epigrams of Martial and Ausonius ; from Alexander it is said to have passed through the possession of Hannibal and of Sulla to its later owners. The hero was seated looking upwards, with a wine-cup in one hand, his club in the other.

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[1] Figured in Baumeister, p. 1290, fig. 1538.

[2] It is practically arguing in a circle to attribute statues to Lysippus because they are in this pose, and then infer from them that the pose was characteristic of him. This does not, however, invalidate the true observation that the pose is common in works which, from their style, clearly belong to his school.

Lysippus seems not only to have been fond of such sentimental versions of mythical persons, but also, like his great contemporary, the painter Apelles, to have indulged in allegory to a degree which seems to us too artificial in its detail. He made a statue of Opportunity (*Καιρός*) which has been the subject also of many epigrams and rhetorical descriptions. Bacon quotes, "as it is in the common verse, 'Occasion turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken'" ; and the conception is now so familiar to us as to have become a commonplace. It was none the less an original device on the part of Lysippus, and it was borne out by many attributes.

Opportunity, whose sex in the Greek *Καιρός* is masculine, was figured as a youth with long hair on his forehead and bald behind ; he had wings on his ankles like those of Hermes, and bore a razor in his left hand, on which, probably, was balanced the beam of a pair of scales to which his right hand gave the decisive touch ; this is a kind of visible comment on the Greek metaphor, *ἐπὶ ξύρου ἵσταται ἀκμῇ*.[1] Other accessories were added in later reliefs, on which the type is reproduced,[1] and even those mentioned may, some of them, be due to others than Lysippus; but the initial conception was his, and it shows once more a tendency which belongs to the beginning of the Hellenistic age in Greece, when criticism of mythology and even of literary metaphor was to find allegorical expression in art. This is not an embodiment of an idea, or a refined study in personification, like the Eros, Himeros, and Pothos of Scopas, but an unveiled allegory, depending on accessories rather than on expression of face or figure.

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[1] A curious misunderstanding seems to occur in some late reliefs and descriptions, where the razor is changed to a knife, projecting backwards to cut one who

Lysippus was a most prolific sculptor, and he also shows great variety in his choice of subject; yet it is a variety with certain limitations. He never worked in any material but bronze, though in this he showed unrivalled skill, whether he was making a colossal figure 60 feet high or a small statuette. And in the list of his works there are hardly any female figures—none of any note, if we except a drunken flute-player, as to which we have no further information. But his technical skill and study of proportion gave him the greatest influence not only on his own school and his immediate followers, but on the art of the whole Hellenic world. His intimate association with Alexander, and the numerous and varied works which he made for his great patron, whether portraits or groups representing hunting or battle scenes, also gave him a position of peculiar advantage for directing the artistic tendencies evolved by the new conditions of social and political life. Thus Lysippus seems not only to stand at the end of the series of the great masters of independent Greece, but also at the beginning of the Hellenistic age when the art and culture of Greece were to spread over the civilised world, and to group themselves about many centres remote from the country of their origin. The work of Scopas and others in Asia Minor had been a preparation for this change; but it was to Lysippus that the chief sculptors of the succeeding age looked back as their immediate master. It was his methods and his artistic skill that chiefly affected the form of their work, though they had to look more to others for intellectual and emotional inspiration. Though we have so little

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grasped from thence. It would be interesting to know whether the scythe of Time is the ultimate development of this same symbol, and his hour-glass of the balance.

[1] See Baumeister, p. 771, figs. 823 and 824.

that we can quote as the direct product of his studio, his influence can be recognised in the great mass of the sculpture of a later period. If his artistic individuality is hard to grasp, this is chiefly because we find it diffused through the works of so many sculptors who, consciously or unconsciously, followed his teaching.

§ 54. *Pupils of Lysippus.*—From what has already been said it is clear that we have to trace the influence of Lysippus in a wider circle than that of his acknowledged pupils; and moreover we shall recognise some of his scholars among those sculptors who are representative of the Hellenistic age. But there is a narrower circle of his associates, some of them connected with him by family ties also, which claims notice as an appendix to his own artistic career. Among these is his brother *Lysistratus*, who is said to have been the first among Greek sculptors to take a cast from the face of his model, and then to work upon the cast itself. His process was to make a mould of plaster on the face, and then to insert into it a coat of wax, doubtless backed by harder material; and on the wax he did his modelling. This shows, in the first place, that the process used by Lysippus and his associates was not the same as that of Polyclitus, who finished the surface of his model in clay, but was the simpler *cire perdue* process customary at the present day.[1] But the fact is still more interesting from the light it throws on the artistic principles of Lysistratus. Of course a great deal depends upon the nature of the work expended by him on the wax after it had been moulded; if this was very thorough and went deep, then the device of casting might be regarded merely as a mechanical process to save labour in the earlier stages of preparing the model for a bronze statue. But we are probably justified in inferring that the man who used such a process aimed at an exact and realistic reproduction of his subject, though he of course did not ignore the necessity of a complete remodelling of the surface if, to use the words of Lysippus himself, it was to represent not the actual but the apparent forms of nature. *Euthycrates*, the son of Lysippus, is said to have followed his father in the consistency and thoroughness of his work rather than in his grace and lightness, and to have aimed at the severer, not the more pleasing side of his artistic excellence; in subject also he followed his father very closely; thus he made Alexander as a hunter, battle and hunting groups, chariots, a Heracles—all repetitions of the favourite subjects of Lysippus. His only other recorded work is the statue of Trophonius at his oracle at Lebadeia—a theme which offered ample scope for mysterious and impressive treatment. *Tisicrates*, the pupil of Euthycrates, is also mentioned as a close imitator of Lysippus—so close, that his works could hardly be distinguished from those of the master himself. Besides portraits of the companions of Alexander, he made a statue of a "Theban sage," perhaps an ideal image of Pindar or of Teiresias—either a fine subject for the embodiment of a noble and individual personality.

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[1] See p. 25.

Two other sons of Lysippus, *Boedas* and *Daippus*, were also his pupils. Daippus made, besides athletic portraits, a Perixyomenus which reminds us of his father's Apoxyomenus. A boy in the attitude of prayer, now in Berlin, standing with outspread arms, may give us some notion of a work of this kind by Boedas; but the subject is a common one, and the identification cannot be regarded as more than a guess, though the proportions and attitude of the figure suggest a more youthful version of the Apoxyomenus.

Such a band of pupils, with their close imitation of their master, both in style and subject, attests his personal ascendancy, and prepares us for the wider spread of his influence over his contemporaries and successors.

§ 55. *Other Sculptures of the Period.*—In addition to such works as are either originals from the hand of the masters of the fourth century, or copies directly derived from them, we possess many sculptures of this period which are among the chief treasures of our museums, whether for their intrinsic beauty or for the light they throw on the history of sculpture. It is difficult to select where the material is so rich; yet a bare enumeration would be useless, and little more is possible unless we confine ourselves to the consideration of a few characteristic examples. A visit to any of the great museums will add to the number others perhaps as beautiful and as interesting; but, with some general knowledge of the artistic character of the chief artists of the fourth century, and also of the works made by others more or less under their influence, we should not find it difficult to appreciate the sculpture of the period wherever we may see it.

One of the chief treasures of the British Museum is a statue

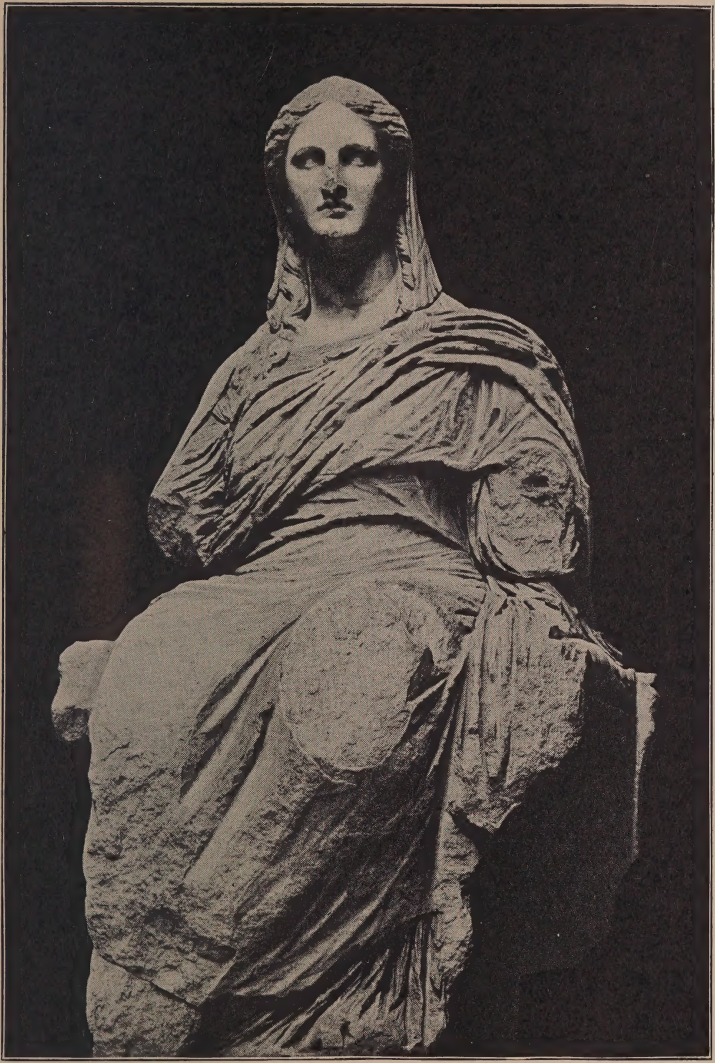

FIG. 117.—Demeter, from Cnidus (British Museum).

brought from Cnidus by Sir Charles Newton, where it was found in the precinct of the Deities of the Lower World (Demeter, Persephone, and Hades, Fig. 117). Its identification as Demeter sorrowing for her daughter—the *mater dolorosa* of ancient art—cannot be doubted when we look at the pose and expression of face and figure; but we have no external evidence as to the sculptor by whom the statue was made. The body is of inferior local marble. The dignified pose of the seated figure, and the rich and varied folds of the drapery, are adequate as a setting for the head, but are not otherwise in themselves remarkable. The head, of Parian marble, is clearly the work of a master. The face is remarkably even and regular in shape. Its modelling is soft and refined, but perhaps rather more clear-cut in its outlines than that of the Hermes of Praxiteles, with its almost imperceptible transitions. The expression of the eyes is treated with wonderful skill; they are set in deeply below the brow, which is smooth and even above their sockets. The eyeballs have something of the upward gaze, fixed on a distant object, which we saw in the Tegean heads; but the curve of the lower eyelid rises to meet the upper lid more at the inner corners of the eyes than at the outer. It is the device adopted by Scopas, but used in a different manner and for a different effect. In the Tegean heads we saw an expression of violent and excited passion; here it is a chastened and reflective melancholy, as of resignation after long weeping; and even the physical results of such sorrow are preserved in the modelling round the eyes and in the lines of the mouth. The head has many points of resemblance to the style of Scopas; one is even tempted to suggest that he may have made this statue during his work at the neighbouring town of Halicarnassus. If the sculptor was not Scopas, then he was one of those associated with Scopas, and has caught much of his master's inspiration. Whoever he was, his power of expressing in marble the effect of emotion on the character, and the more passive mood which succeeds the violent outburst of passion, is such as to rank him high even among those masters of the fourth century whose study was mainly devoted to such themes.

Another head in the British Museum serves as a good example of the artistic types of the gods preferred by the sculptors of the fourth century. This was found in Melos, and represents a bearded man (Fig. 118). The softness of the modelling and the moderation and restraint in the rendering of the hair and beard distinguish it as probably belonging to the Attic school of the fourth century. It has sometimes been called Zeus; more probably it represents Asclepius, as a milder and more human form of the divine power. We have already noticed the statue of Asclepius made by Thrasymedes of Paros at Epidaurus. There are no grounds for connecting this Melian head directly with his work; but, as a contemporary image of the same god, and coming probably from the same school, it may help us to realise what the statue at Epidaurus may have been like; it is also really the best example that we possess, from a good period of Greek art, of the type of bearded head belonging properly to Zeus; and although it is here modified to suit Asclepius, and the mildness and beneficence of the deity are expressed rather than his majesty and power, still we may use it, with this limitation, even in our attempts to imagine the appearance of the Olympian Zeus.

Among the many fourth-century heads in Athens there is one that calls for especial mention.[1] It evidently represents some goddess—whom we cannot tell. The simple and oval form of the face, without that delicate play of surface which we see in Praxitelean work, the expression of the eyes, and the half-open mouth, showing distinctly the line of the teeth, make it seem appropriate as a feminine counterpart to the Tegean heads by Scopas; and we are probably justified in assigning it to an Attic artist working under his influence, though not to himself. The fold of flesh over the outer part of the eyelids comes down close to them, but does not hide them entirely; and the under lids curve up at the outer extremity, so producing the wide-open eye which contrasts so strongly with the half-shut lids of the Hermes and Aphrodite of Praxiteles. The inflated nostril, as well as the eyes and mouth, seems to show a passionate nature in repose—yet another example of that attribution to the gods of mood and individuality so common in the fourth century. Here the breadth, simplicity, and dignity of the work are most impressive; they contrast strongly with another head,[2] preserved in more than one replica, of which the best example is also in Athens. This other head has, too, a remarkably individual character; it is of a lighter and more graceful, almost girlish type, with a narrower and higher forehead, of which the effect is enhanced by the hair drawn up into a knot on the top of the head; but it suggests no possibility of deep or strong feeling, such as raises the head represented in Fig. 119 to a unique position among its fellows.

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[1] It was found on the south of the Acropolis, and is sometimes called Themis, for no particular reason.

[2] *Mitth. Ath.*, 1885, Pl. ix., cf. viii.

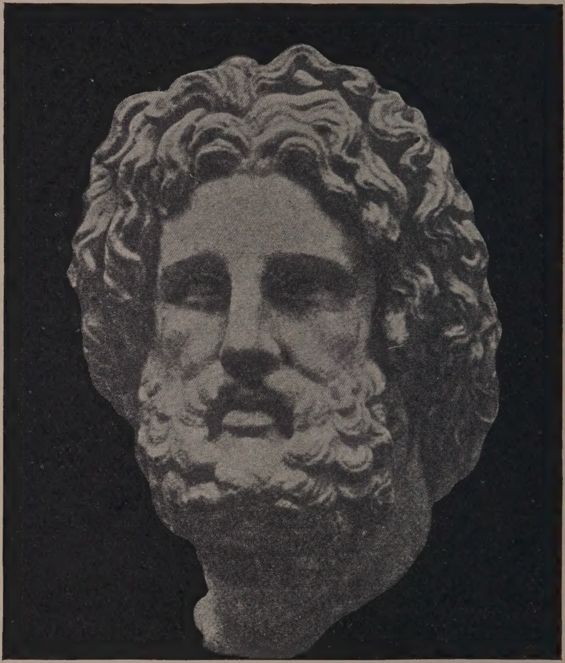

Fig. 118.—Head of Asclepius, from Melos (British Museum).

Other works peculiarly characteristic of the fourth century, and at the same time anticipating, alike by their artistic tendency and their geographical position, the character of the succeeding age, have been found in Asia Minor. We have already seen something of the early temple of Artemis at Ephesus; and the sculptured drums of its columns—some of them dedicated by Croesus—were among the most characteristic monuments of early Ionic art. The temple, again, takes a similar position in the art of the fourth century. It was destroyed by fire in 356 B.C., and rebuilt with even greater magnificence, princes contributing as before to the building, and, as Pliny says, "giving each a column." Thirty-six of these columns were sculptured, one of them by Scopas.[1] Several fragments of the sculptured drums from Ephesus are now in the British Museum, but one only in a complete enough state to give us an adequate notion of its design and style (Fig. 120). There is of course no reason for supposing that this, the one column preserved, is the

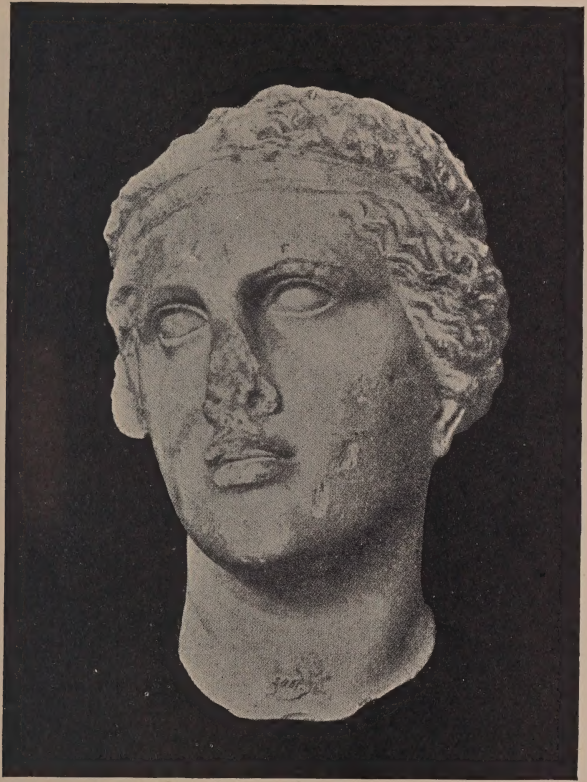

FIG. 119.—Head from S. of Acropolis (Athens, National Museum).

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[1] See above, p. 418.

one which Scopas made. But his influence and that of his associates was at this time predominant in Asia Minor, and so it is likely enough to reflect the character of his art, even if it be not by his own hand. This probability is borne out to some extent by the composition and style of the relief, though there are other elements in it which do not seem consistent with what we know of his work. The best preserved portion of the drum represents a female figure in rich drapery; on the right of her is Hermes, nude but for a chlamys wound about his left arm; in his right, which is lowered, he holds his caduceus. He advances slowly, with head thrown back; his weight rests

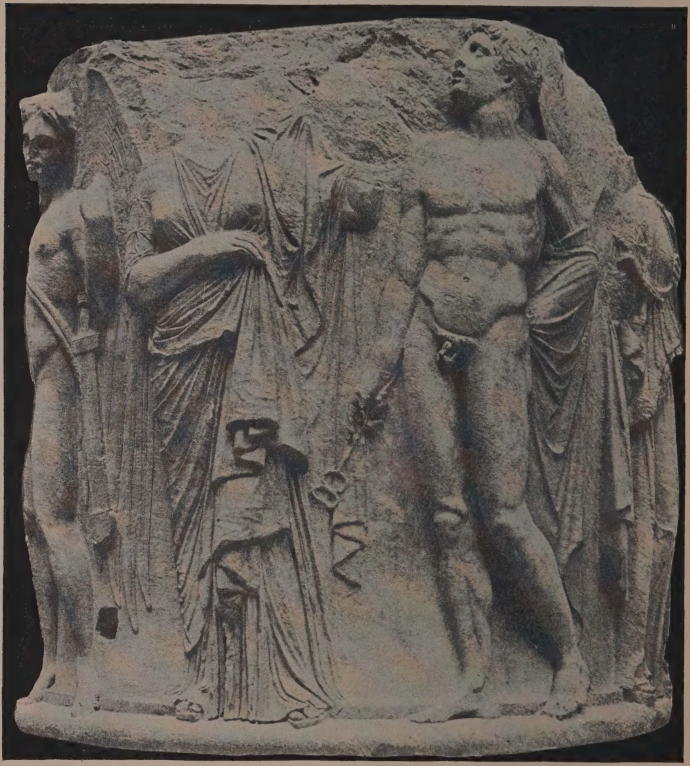

FIG. 120.—Drum of column from Ephesus (British Museum).

on his right foot. In the way in which his left foot is drawn after it, bent at the knee, which almost leans against his right knee, we can recognise a Praxitelean attitude—and even the head, though thrown back, as in some of the works of Scopas, shows little if any trace of the passionate nature which is usually associated with the attitude. On the left of the female figure is a very graceful winged boy, who might almost be taken for Eros, but for the large and heavy sword which he wears slung over his shoulder. He stands almost full-face, and his pose, especially the position of his legs, again recalls the studied grace of the followers of Praxiteles. The best explanation of this scene is that we see here Alcestis between Thanatos, a gentle Death, such as he might well be imagined by those who carved the Attic tombstones, and Hermes Psychopompus, who is waiting to guide her on her path to the other world. If this is the true interpretation, then the attitudes and character of the various persons, however beautiful in themselves, seem strangely incongruous with a scene of so much pathos and dramatic interest. The artist seems most concerned to find a graceful motive for each figure; the lady is even fixing her mantle over her left shoulder. It is impossible to attribute such a design to Scopas, the master of passion; though the artist who made it may have worked with Scopas, and learnt some of his mannerisms. There is more of the influence of Praxiteles; but the work is probably that of an associate, who had caught much of the grace of the Attic masters. By his personification of Death he has exemplified in the most beautiful form that talent for mythological subtlety in which the fourth century excelled.

Among the works of sculpture brought from Asia Minor to enrich the treasures of Rome, few if any groups are more famous than that which represented the slaying of the children of Niobe by Apollo and Artemis. The rivalry of Niobe with Leto, and the terrible vengeance exacted for Niobe's presumptuous boast, form a subject represented in works of art of various periods. It appeared on the throne of the Olympian Zeus, and we often find it on vases, on sarcophagi, and on other monuments. The great group, which was brought by Sosias to Rome in 35 B.C., and set up by him in a temple dedicated to Apollo, probably came from Cilicia, where it may have adorned either a temple or a tomb. Pliny says that it was a disputed question in

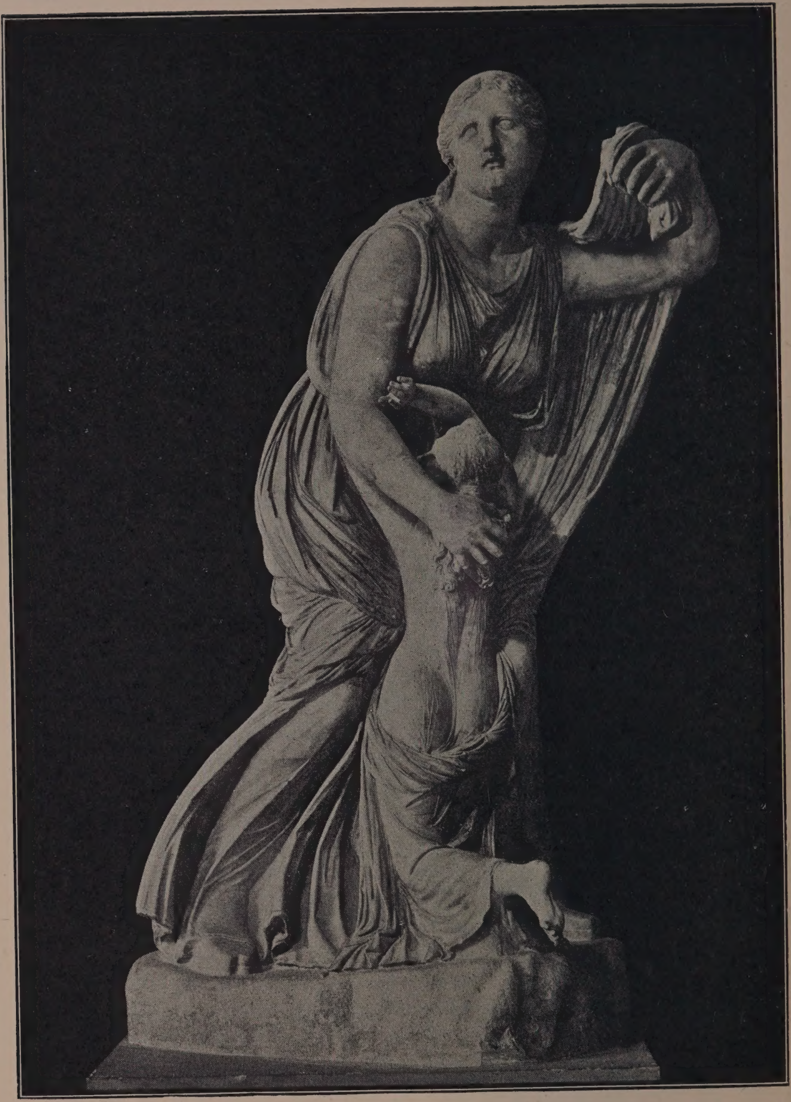

Fig. 121.—Niobe and her youngest daughter (Florence, Uffizi).

his time whether the group was to be attributed to Scopas or to Praxiteles. The value of such a statement may be estimated by the weight which we should attach to a similar statement in modern days, if a collector told us that some work of art he had discovered in a remote locality was said to be either by Raphael or by Lionardo, but he did not know which. It is incredible that, on the basis of such an authority, many archaeologists have confined their discussion to the weighing of the claims of Scopas and Praxiteles to the authorship of these statues, without even considering any other possibility. The tradition may have some kernel of truth, in assigning the origin of the sculptures to the right period; but even this must be tested by the study of the statues themselves. Most of the extant statues which have been recognised as belonging to the group of the Niobids are now in Florence; the majority of them were found together, but others have been added later. The Florence statues are for the most part inferior in execution, and so we must not draw inferences from the details or defects of their style. The finest of all is a statue of one of the daughters, formerly in the Chiaramonti gallery of the Vatican (Fig. 122). How or where the original was set up we cannot tell; but it is evident that it was placed against a background of some sort, since several of the figures are unfinished, and others present an awkward appearance if seen from behind; it is also evident that it formed a connected group of which the central figure, which is also the largest, was that of Niobe protecting her youngest daughter (Fig. 121). The arrangement does not, however, fit well into a pediment. The ground, too, on which the figures stand is not represented as level, but as a rocky surface with elevations and depressions that are used to vary the attitude of the figures. It is possible that Apollo and Artemis were represented on a higher level, as in some later renderings of the scene; or they may have been sufficiently represented by the arrows which come from their hands. Their victims see or feel the sudden and inevitable fate that comes on them from above, and it is in the various ways in which they meet it that the charm of the work consists. In no case do we get a pathological study of the pain and contortions of the wounded and dying; but the moderation of the fourth century still prevails, and so tends, more than anything else, to confirm the tradition assigning the group to this period. Some are already dead or sinking in the languor of death, but their death has nothing of the struggle or agony which later sculptors did not always avoid in dealing with such a subject. Those that are dead seem to have fallen by a sudden and painless stroke, and, even when the wound is the motive of the action of any figure, the effect is one of surprise rather than of torture.

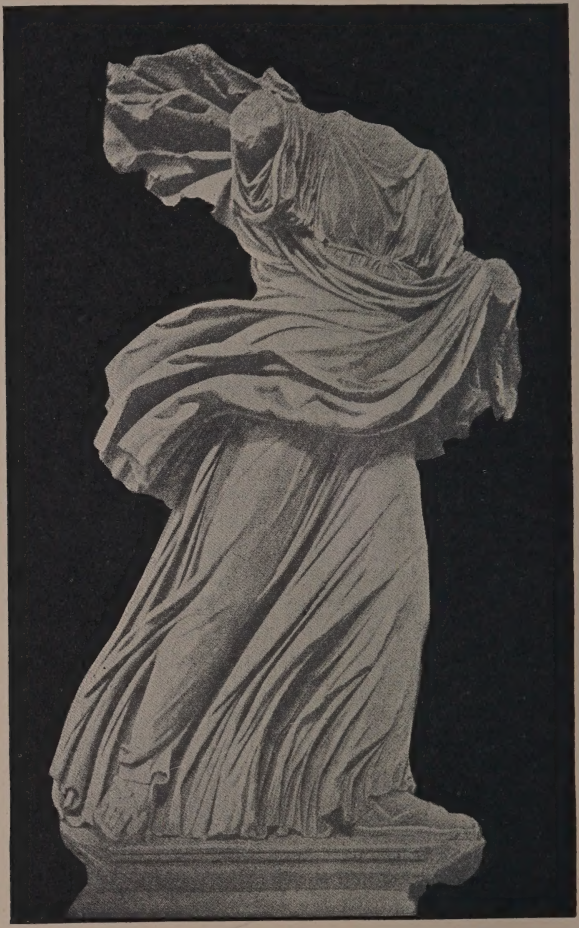

FIG. 122.—Niobid Chiaramonti (Rome, Vatican).

But the dramatic interest of the whole group lies in the character and action of the figures rather than in their sufferings; some turn as if with defiance against their irresistible enemy; others seek to protect their weaker companions from the inevitable blow. For instance, the young man (Fig. 123) who raises his chlamys as a shield on his arm was grouped in the original with a fallen sister whom he supported against his knee; Niobe herself clasps her youngest daughter against her, and seems to strive to hide the child from the destruction around, while she holds up her mantle as a protection; others again, in the rush of their vain endeavour to escape, offer in their floating, wind-swept draperies a splendid contrast to the quieter and more self-contained groups. And, for mere technical effect, nothing can surpass the way in which the expression of the young man (Fig. 123) is enhanced by the shadow thrown by his drapery over the upper part of his face. It is, however, above all in the contrast of figure with figure and of group with group that the dramatic power of the artist has full scope; we have the relation of protector and protected repeated three or four times with variations. The tender but despairing care of Niobe for her youngest daughter, whose slender girlish form clings passionately to the noble matronly figure that towers above her, contrasts with the impetuous youth who, as he supports his dying sister, looks up in defiance in the direction from which the fatal arrow has come; and we see another variation in the youngest boy, who looks on with curiosity, almost with indifference, as if unable to realise the terror of the scene, which is testified by the uncouth gesture of the old barbarian slave or "paedagogue" who stands over him. As to details of execution, it is impossible to speak with so much certainty: the immense superiority of the Chiaramonti Niobid over the corresponding figure at Florence warns us against drawing many inferences from the other figures of the inferior set; and a head of Niobe, at Brocklesby Park,[1] is a more refined copy than the Florentine one, though still probably far short of the power of the original. With such help we can to some extent realise the mastery with which the artist embodied his dramatic conception—above all in the expression of Niobe herself; in the upward gaze of her eyes and her contracted brow we can see the struggle between pride and defiance of so severe a judgment and that inconsolable

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[1] See Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 227.

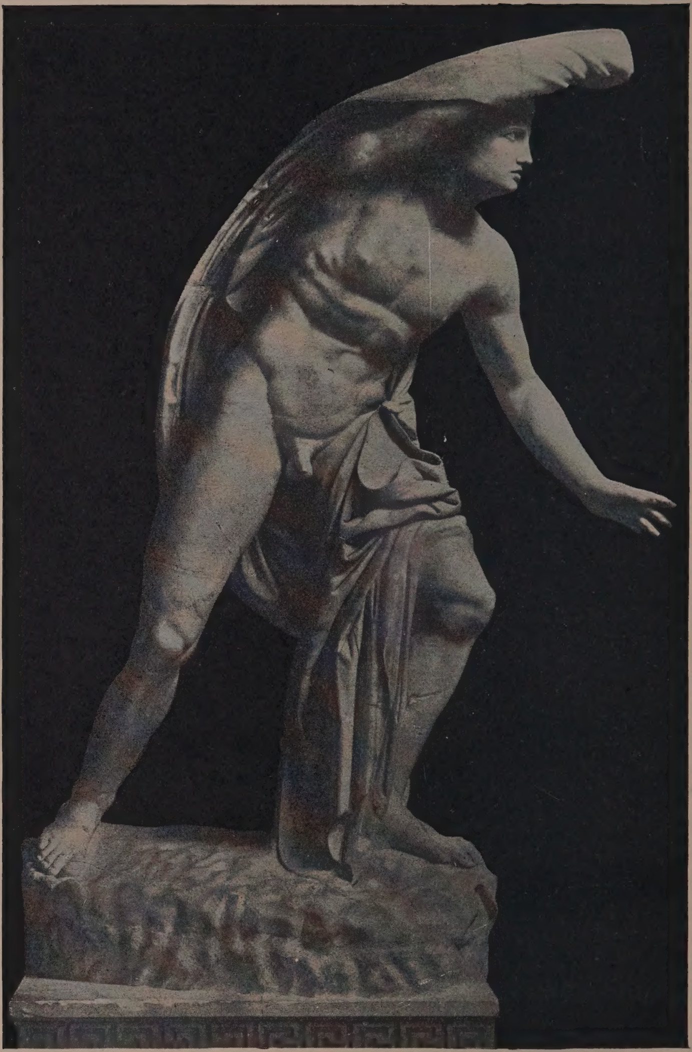

Fig. 123.—Son of Niobe (Florence, Uffizi).

grief for which her name was to become proverbial; yet withal a moderation and dignity that never forgets the queen in the suffering mother, just as, in a wider sense, the nobility and grace of sculpture are never lost in too realistic an attempt to express a scene of pain and death. Whether the group was made by a contemporary of Scopas and Praxiteles, or by a successor of the Hellenistic age, its designer was certainly inspired by the artistic character and traditions of the fourth century, rather than by the cruder if more dramatic tendencies of a later period.

A fitting conclusion to the sculpture of the fourth century is offered by the magnificent set of sculptured marble sarcophagi found at Sidon, and now preserved in the Constantinople Museum.[1] These are in a marvellous state of preservation, and not only the surface of the marble, but even the colours that tinted it are still to a great degree intact. They reflect the character of several generations of Greek sculptors, and their existence in a place where the influence of Greek art was so little to be expected is not easy to explain. It would seem that there must have been a tradition with a local dynasty of Phoenician princes to employ Greek sculptors for the decoration of their tombs; for the work is all unmistakably the work of Greeks, not of local sculptors who had fallen under Hellenic influence.

The earliest of these sarcophagi reflects the art of Ionia, and has much in common with the Lycian tombs of the same age. It is known as the tomb of the Satrap, from a figure, evidently representing the deceased, which appears in various scenes of hunting and feasting. It does not belong to the fourth century, but is only mentioned here to show the various periods that are represented; a second, known as the Lycian sarcophagus, from its ogival top, closely resembles the tombs of Lycia, made under Attic influence towards the close of the fifth century; it is ornamented with sculpture which, both in subjects and style, recalls that which we have noticed on the Attic buildings of the latter part of the fifth century. It has been suggested that this sarcophagus may have been bought ready made in Lycia;[2] but, in spite of the characteristic Lycian shape, the style of the carving seems to show that it was made by an Attic sculptor, whether he worked in Lycia or Sidon. The same Attic character is unmistakable in the sarcophagus commonly named after the mourners (*les pleureuses*) who decorate its sides and top. This is made as a complete miniature model of an Ionic temple, around which, in each intercolumniation, stand or sit the eighteen beautiful female figures from which the sarcophagus is named. They are in a variety of graceful attitudes, each suggestive of melancholy or grief, but with a subdued and chastened expression which reminds us of the Attic tombstones of the fourth century. It is, indeed, upon the Attic tombstones that these figures find their nearest analogies, though few of those monuments can rival this sarcophagus in execution ; and the grace and variety with which the mourners are posed recall the Mantinean reliefs from the pedestal of the group by Praxiteles,[1] and also the terra-cottas of Tanagra, with their wealth and variety of motive and their graceful diversity of attitude and of drapery. This sarcophagus finds its natural place among those products of minor art which reflect the style of the greater artists of the period, without directly borrowing their designs or copying their works ; but among such minor monuments it is distinguished both for its unique design and for the care of its execution.

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[1] See the magnificent publication of these sarcophagi by Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach; the photographic plates given in it show better than any description the beauty of the sculpture and its preservation.

[2] *E.g.* by M. Joubin, *Catalogue*, p. 36.

The most beautiful and the best preserved of all the Sidon sarcophagi is called that of Alexander, not because there is any probability that the body of the Macedonian conqueror ever rested within it, but because its sides represent scenes of battle or of hunting in which he and his companions can be recognised (Fig. 124). It is impossible not to be reminded by these subjects of the groups made by Lysippus and his scholars. But although his influence in this respect may be admitted, many features of style and technique, as well as the Pentelic marble[2] of which the sarcophagus is made, suggest an Attic connection ; and there are other affinities also which we must notice. The composition of the various groups contrasts in many ways with that of the friezes of the Mausoleum—the monument which at once suggests itself for comparison. On

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[1] See p. 400.

[2] See the Official Catalogue, in which the *Pleureuses* are described only as *marbre blanc*, the "Lycian" and "Satrap" as of Parian marble. According to Hamdy Bey and Reinach, *Nécropole Royale à Sidon*, the *Satrap* and *Pleureuses* are in Pentelic marble.

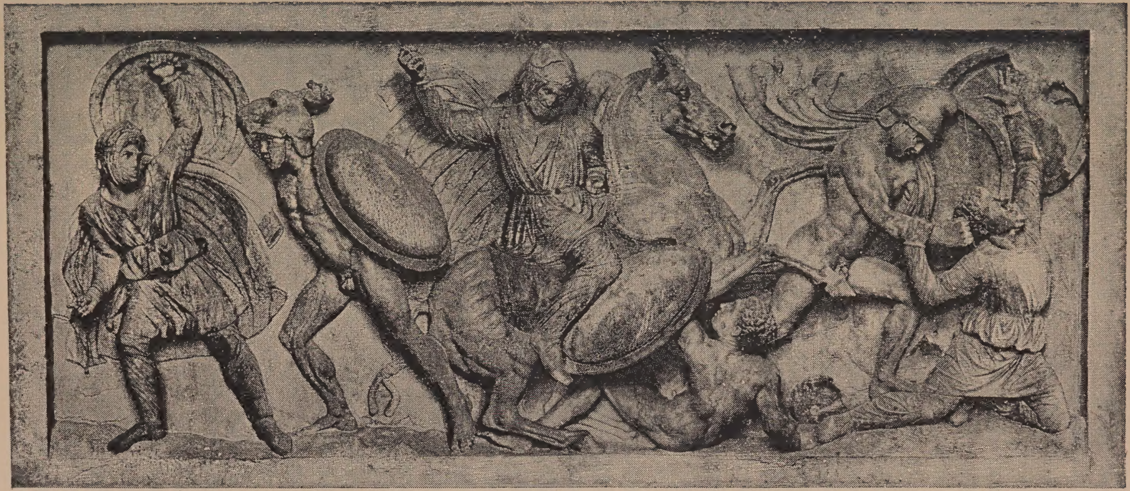

FIG. 124.—N. side of Alexander Sarcophagus (Constantinople). After Hamdy Bey and Reinach, *Nécropole Royale à Sidon*, Pl. xxix.

the Sidon sarcophagus the grouping is much more crowded: the figures do not stand out singly against the background, but the mêlée of battle seems at first glance to be rendered in all its confusion. And the subject here is no imaginary combat of Greeks and Amazons, but a battle in which the actual and individual characters of the opposing parties are evidently historical: we seem to recognise the features of more than one Macedonian warrior besides Alexander himself; and their peculiar helmets and arms are also rendered with accuracy, as well as the Oriental swathings and drapery of their Persian opponents. Yet we have not a realistic battle scene; every pair or group of combatants is designed with all the distinction and artistic concentration of a heroic combat, as well as with a wonderful fertility of invention and vigour of execution. Thus the crowded groups of combatants, on a closer study, separate themselves in the apparent confusion which strikes us at first sight; and the care and delicacy with which every detail is finished lead us on to a better appreciation of the whole. It is above all in the expression of the faces of the combatants that these scenes of battle and of the chase distinguish themselves from all others. The effect is increased by the preservation of colour on eyes and hair, which gives a wonderfully life-like appearance. Indeed, no one who has not seen this sarcophagus can realise the effect produced by a correct and artistic application of colour to sculpture. This is the *circumlitio* which Nicias applied to the statues of Praxiteles, and which, as Praxiteles himself declared, contributed in the highest degree to their excellence. The colour thus applied does not obscure the texture of the marble nor the delicacy of the modelling; on the contrary, it makes both more visible, by giving a variety to the monotonous whiteness of the surface; it relieves the fatigue otherwise caused by the study of colourless form, and assists the eye to observe many subtleties of modelling which it might otherwise be unable to appreciate. But it only has its full effect when, as here, it is joined to a delicacy of finish which satisfies the most minute criticism. The tense brows and deep-set eyes of the combatants have, in their modelling alone, an intensity of expression which can only be paralleled by the Tegean heads of Scopas and the charioteer of the Mausoleum; and the colour which gives life to this expression helps us to realise the effect which those other heads must have had when they were perfect.

The addition of colour to the drapery, especially to the floating garments which fill vacant spaces of the background with their folds, also adds greatly to its decorative effect, and again gives us an opportunity for restoring in our minds the original appearance of many Attic reliefs in which the drapery is used in a similar manner. This sarcophagus is in itself one of the most beautiful as it is certainly the most perfect in preservation of all the monuments of Greek art that have survived to our time; but it is not valuable for itself alone. Many of the most precious relics of antiquity are mutilated or defaced, and none of them preserve their appearance as they left the hand of the artist, with a finish of surface and an addition of colour which he regarded as essential to their completeness; and therefore a work like this sarcophagus, though its colour is said to have faded since its discovery, offers us a standard whereby we may appreciate others that have been less fortunate in their history. Even the published reproductions are enough to show how much may thus be gained; yet more is learnt from the sight of the originals in the museum at Constantinople, which they have at once raised to a very high rank among the collections of Greek antiquities.

The discovery of such a wonderful series of the finest examples of Greek sculpture at Sidon is one of those surprises which attend excavation and upset all calculations of probability. The spread of Hellenic culture through the East which followed the conquests of Alexander here finds a remarkable anticipation, even if it be only in the tastes of a single princely house. In earlier times this Hellenic culture seems to be associated with Ionian and Lycian commerce, though it soon falls under the predominating influence of Attic art, an influence probably confirmed in the fourth century by the Attic friendships and connections of Evagoras, the neighbouring prince of Cyprus. Later in the same century the employment of Scopas and his colleagues, mostly of Attic origin, on the Mausoleum and other works in Asia Minor, probably attracted the attention of the Sidonian princes; and in the wonderful and passionate life of the Alexander sarcophagus we may recognise the hand of a sculptor who had been reared in Attic traditions, but who was also worthy to rank as an associate of Scopas and Lysippus.

§ 56. *Summary.*—We have already noticed the greater prominence of the individual as in various ways characteristic of the change from the fifth century to the fourth; but this did not prevent the continuity of the different schools. The great school of athletic sculpture, which, in the fifth century, had found its main centre at Argos, was transferred in the fourth century to Sicyon. We do not know the reason, but even some families of artists seem to have migrated from the one city to the other. Lysippus, the last great master of this school, is in some ways the most characteristic figure of the close of the fourth century. He continued but transformed the Sicyonian tradition; and not only athletic statues, but images of the gods—some of them colossal—and portraits of men, especially of Alexander and his companions, are among his works, and anticipate the tendencies of the succeeding age. But with all his skill in the portrayal of character and even of individual mood and passion, Lysippus had probably learnt much from his contemporaries and predecessors of other schools, as well as from his study of nature, and from the tradition of his own immediate associates. And it was through his influence and his technical predominance that most of the artistic tendencies of the fourth century came to be handed on to the Hellenistic period.

The Attic school also had continued to flourish and to produce many sculptors who enriched its tradition by their originality and skill. Praxiteles, above all, had carried sculpture in marble to the highest pitch of technical perfection, though he also worked in bronze. His statues of the gods had given them an individual, almost human, character, which brought them nearer to the lives and hearts of men, even if his art lost something of that ideal and divine character which belonged to the great statues of the fifth century. He also had an influence on posterity proportionate to the beauty and grace of his conceptions and the skill of their execution. If those who imitated him lost the better side of his art in a softer and almost effeminate elegance and voluptuousness, we must not regard these characteristics as belonging to his own works. They are certainly not to be seen in the only examples of it by which he ought to be judged.

But perhaps Scopas was the greatest of the masters of the fourth century, and his influence, if less direct and visible in outward forms than that of Lysippus or of Praxiteles, was deeper and more far-reaching. It was Scopas, above all, who made the marble of his statues not only full of life and individual character, but instinct with passion and emotion. We have a difficulty in assigning him to any special school, either in his antecedents or his successors; but he seems in his earlier years to have assimilated all that was best suited to his art alike in the Peloponnese and in Athens; and those who worked with him in his maturity seem to have felt his unrivalled power of expression, and to have striven to imitate it themselves in accordance with the traditions and technique in which they had been trained. We see this imitation now in an Attic tombstone, now in a Lysippean athlete or warrior, now in a relief made by a Greek sculptor for an Oriental prince. And still more we shall see it in the next epoch, when the passionate dramatic groups made by the schools of Asia Minor perhaps exceed the bounds of sculpture. But the excess of expression from which some of these works are not altogether free is no more to be laid to the charge of Scopas than the defects which we may notice in the followers of Praxiteles should prejudice us against their master.

Besides these three great names, which stand out above all others in the fourth century, we have noticed many other artists; some of them grouped about the chief sculptors of the age, others of independent style or following the traditions of an earlier period.

Towards the close of the period we find in artistic as in political conditions the anticipation of those changes which will form the theme of our next chapter. We already see many of the chief sculptors working for foreign princes in Asia Minor, and spreading the influence of Hellenism where the conquests of Alexander were soon to make it universal; and even Lysippus owes much of his fame to his association with the great Macedonian whose personality already begins to dominate the art of Greece.

CHAPTER V

THE HELLENISTIC AGE—320–100 B.C.

§ 57. *The Influence of Alexander.*—We have already seen how in the early years of the fifth century the Persian wars and their unexpected result changed the relations of Greece with the East, and how the revulsion of feeling that they caused found its expression in the sculpture of the age perhaps even more than in any other form. The long struggle between East and West continued in a desultory manner through the succeeding periods, varied now and then by an exciting incident like the retreat of Xenophon's ten thousand, who first taught the Greeks that they could hold their own against Persians even in the heart of their enemy's country. It was reserved for the Macedonian kings, Philip and his son Alexander, to profit by the lesson, and to plan a more ambitious scheme of conquest than had ever yet been thought of in Europe. They were first employed on those preliminary efforts to unite Greece under their own leadership which, seen only from the side of the independent Greek states, or with the eyes of an Athenian patriot like Demosthenes, seemed fatal to liberty. Even a far-seeing politician like Isocrates, the "old man eloquent" who was "killed with report" of the victory of Chaeronea, could not foresee the consequences of that battle, so as to find consolation for the defeat of his own city in the splendid realisation of his dream of a united Greece conquering its old enemy Persia.[1] But this practical realisation was not to come from the free states of Greece, worn out with internecine strife, and incapable of any lasting combination. It was reserved for the monarchs of the semi-barbarian kingdom of Macedon to become the champions of Hellenism; but we must not forget that the reigning family claimed the highest Hellenic lineage in descent from Heracles himself, and that this claim had been officially recognised by admission to the Olympian games, long before Philip and Alexander had established their position in Greece so strongly that such a right could not be refused. It was really the civilisation and culture of Greece that subdued Persia with the armies of Alexander, and Alexander himself would have been the first to recognise the fact; while the colonies which he founded throughout the East became the new centres of Hellenism.

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[1] See his *Panegyric.*

The spread of Hellenism in the East, and especially of Hellenic influence in art, was, as we have seen, already anticipated to some degree in the fourth century. The most perfect monuments of Greek sculpture have been found not only on the western coasts of Asia Minor, where the Greek colonists had long been established, but in the barbarian kingdoms of Caria and Lycia, and even as far east as Sidon. Artists like Scopas and Praxiteles had done some of their finest work in regions beyond the pale of Hellenic nationality. All these things prepared the way for the great change to be effected by Alexander's campaigns; and when his new empire and the kingdoms of his successors threw open the East to the immigration of Greek civilisation and literature and art, they met with a ready welcome in regions already beginning to be permeated by their influence.

It is little wonder that the man whose career is bound up with one of the greatest events in the history of civilisation should have dominated with his personality the sculpture of the period to a degree probably unparalleled in the history of art. Literature has not done Alexander justice; those who approach him from that side probably think more of the enemy of Demosthenes than of the pupil of Aristotle; and he has been unfortunate in those to whom it has fallen to chronicle his exploits. But Lysippus rendered his character in portraiture with an insight and skill that did much to make up for this misfortune; and, partly owing to the influence of the sculptor, partly to the commanding position of the subject, the individual features of Alexander have had a permanent effect on the sculptural type of Hellenistic art. The divine honours paid to him by his successors contributed also to this result. They not only set up numerous statues to him, but even placed his head upon their coins, an honour hitherto reserved for the gods; and when they claimed similar privileges for themselves it was in virtue of their inheritance of his majesty. For this reason we possess many works of the Hellenistic period—some of them idealised portraits, some of them representing other subjects—as to which it has been disputed whether they are portraits of Alexander or not: for instance, the "Inopus" in the Louvre, and the so-called "Dying Alexander." The fact is that sculptors had studied so closely the peculiar character of his face—his heavy

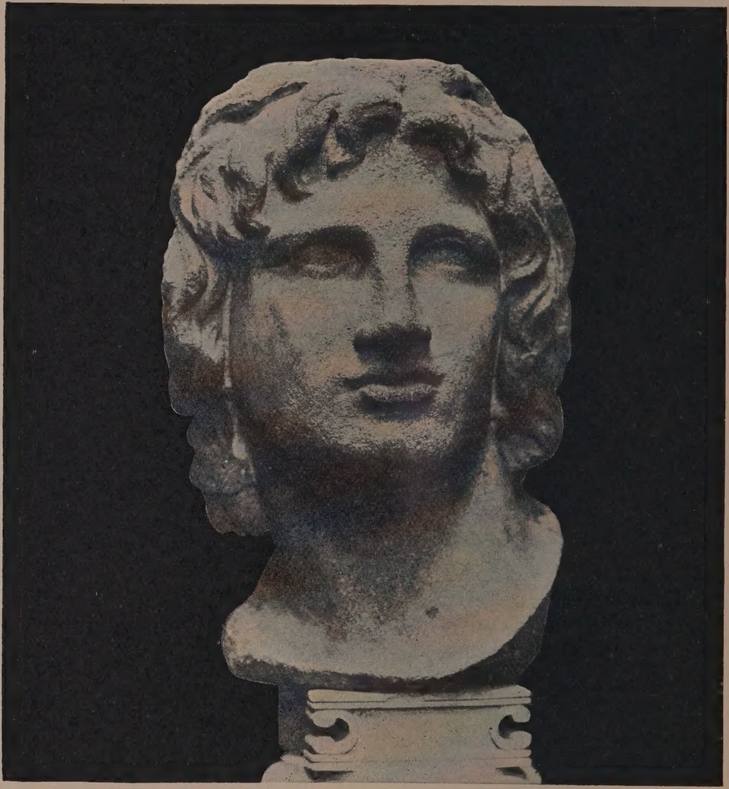

FIG. 125.—Head of Alexander (British Museum).

brow and deep-set eye, and the fiery glance of a "genius akin to madness"—that it had influenced their prevalent type of face, and that his personality has thus overshadowed many works to a degree of which the sculptor himself was not conscious.

§ 58. *Chief Centres of Sculpture in the Hellenistic Age.*—So far we have been mainly concerned with the schools of sculpture which had their centres in various cities of Greece itself; and if we have traced outlying branches of these schools, or assigned to their influence works that were made at a distance, we have still had to recur to Greece for all continuity of tradition. With the conquests of Alexander, and the consequent Hellenisation of the East, all this is changed. Athens, indeed, continues to produce sculptors of minor importance, and the school of Sicyon does not at once become extinct. But all the life and originality of Greek art seems to have followed Alexander to the East, whither, even before his empire was founded, many of the greatest sculptors had already turned for the worthiest employment of their activity. We should naturally expect to find schools of sculpture founded in the colonies which Alexander planted to spread Hellenic arts and commerce throughout the East. This expectation is only partially fulfilled. Alexandria, indeed, became the chief centre of literary studies, and it also had artistic tendencies of its own, especially in the direction of decorative art.[1] Its coins attest the existence of a whole gallery of statues and groups which must have been the work of Greek sculptors. But we do not hear of any great or original sculptors arising in Alexandria, nor do we possess any great monument of Alexandrian art. Antioch contained many famous works of art, of which many must have been made for the new city, while others may have been transferred from elsewhere. With Pergamum,[2] the literary rival of Alexandria, the case is different. This city was not indeed founded by Alexander, but it was a mere provincial town, of ancient origin though of no great importance, before his period. It owes its prominence in the Hellenistic world to its being the seat of the dynasty established there in the time of his successors. We shall see how the kings of Pergamum were the most munificent patrons of art as well as of literature, and gathered round them a school of sculpture which lasted for several generations, and produced works which are among the most impressive that have survived from antiquity. Other ancient cities of Asia Minor also had their schools of sculpture in the Hellenistic age, especially Tralles and Ephesus. Rhodes, which had occupied so prominent a position in the early age of Greek art, again becomes conspicuous during its decline for a series of sculptors lasting over several generations, and culminating in the authors of the Laocoön. Beside all these flourishing schools of sculpture in the East, the art of Greece in its original home sinks into comparative insignificance, and it does not again attract our attention until the demand of Roman patrons for Greek sculpture has created a supply of copies and of imitative works for which we cannot but be grateful. But, so far as the history of art is concerned, we shall henceforth be concerned almost exclusively with those vigorous offshoots of Greek sculpture which sprang up in a new soil after Greece itself had become effete.

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[1] See Schreiber, *Die alexandrinische Toreutik.*

[2] *Πέργαμον* is the usual form in Greek, Pergamum in Latin and also in the Revised Version; the Old Authorised Version has Pergamos, which has little authority beyond Ptolemy.

§ 59. *The Pastoral Tendency—Hellenistic Reliefs.*—The literary tendencies of the Hellenistic age, especially in their chief centre at Alexandria, are those which naturally belong to the period of criticism, learning, and artificiality that marks the decline of original and creative energy. The rise of pastoral poetry among such surroundings is a phenomenon which seems at first sight surprising, but its explanation is not far to seek. The people, cooped up in towns amidst the conventions and restraints of a highly refined and artificial civilisation, felt a natural reaction towards simplicity, and a craving for the country life and manners from which they were cut off. Most of all was this the case in Alexandria, where the dreary level of the Delta offered the only possible change from the crowded streets and squares of the city. The poems of Theocritus and his associates show us how the trees and mountains and breezes of Cos and of Sicily—the open-air life of the shepherd and the fisherman, and even mythological scenes in a similar pastoral setting—were brought to refresh the jaded intellect of the townsmen of the Hellenised orient and of the courtiers of the successors of Alexander. The same desires found expression in a series of reliefs which also, with a strange inconsistency, are the chief examples of a new and luxurious device for the

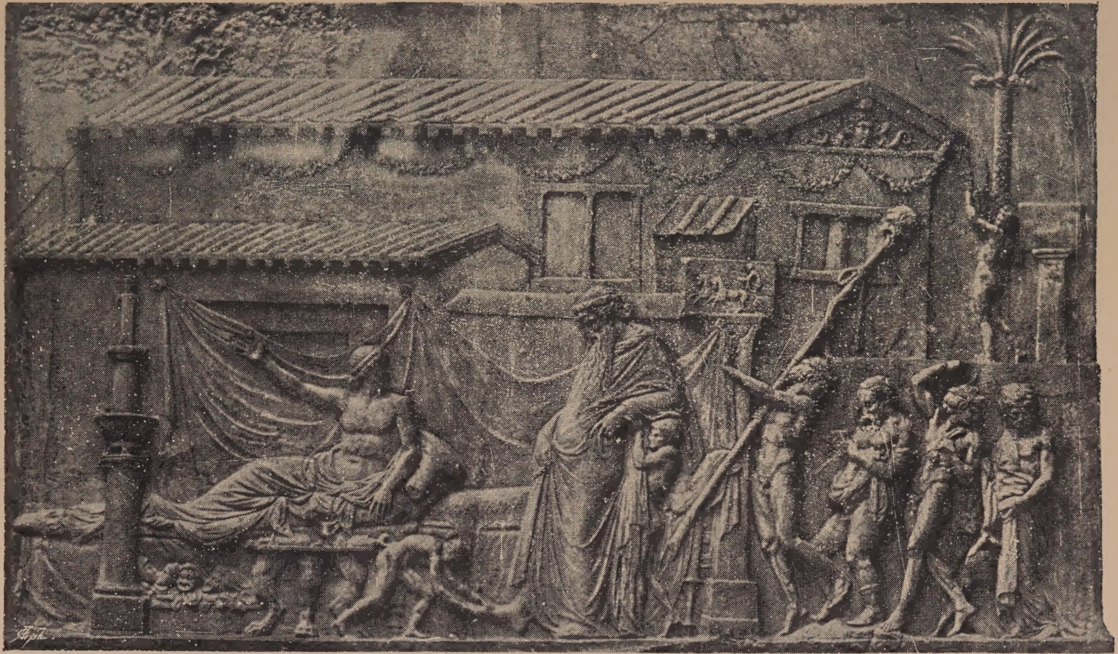

Fig. 126.—Hellenistic relief: Dionysus visiting a dramatic poet (British Museum).

Note.—On the couch was a female figure, now chiselled away, and the last of the attendants of Dionysus supported a drunken Maenad, whose upper part is also cut away.

decoration of buildings. These "pictures in relief,"[1] as they have been aptly named, were designed as panels to be let into the walls, a practice now for the first time become common. They are distinguished not only by their choice of subject, but by a peculiar pictorial treatment of the design, especially in the background. There is usually a group of figures in the foreground, and in these figures the analogy in subject to pastoral poetry is striking. Sometimes the scene is mythological, but usually representing such mythical personages as we read of in Alexandrian poems—satyrs and nymphs, the Cyclops Polyphemus, Adonis, or Paris and Oenone. Often the scene is from actual country life—a herdsman minding his cattle or milking, a peasant on his way to market, or drawing a thorn from a companion's foot, or even a group of animals, a sheep and lamb, or a lioness and cub. Sometimes, too, we find scenes from comedy, or a poet in meditation over his works. The background, which is the most characteristic part of these reliefs, varies so as to be appropriate to the subject. Sometimes it is purely architectural, sometimes it represents nothing but rocks and trees, treated with a strange combination of naturalism and conventionality. More often it consists of a mixture of the two—a country scene, with peasants' huts and rustic shrines scattered over the landscape, or a group of buildings with trees and bushes lending variety to their stiffer outlines (Fig. 126). And throughout there is a beauty and refinement of detail which reminds us of the minute finish given by Theocritus to his pictures of rustic life. The flowers on the rocks, the leaves of the trees, are often carved not only with the utmost care, but with botanical accuracy. The country is seldom left untenanted by man or by his imaginings: small shrines or altars, thyrsi, and masks and other symbols, are scattered freely over the scene.

Similar subjects, treated in a similar style, are also found on other works of the minor arts, such as bronze or silver vessels and even gems; they are interesting not only from the way in which they illustrate the literary tendencies of the Hellenistic age, and the social conditions which they reflect, but also because they show us an undoubted example of the influence of painting on sculpture. The treatment of landscape is very similar to that which we see in Greek pictures that have been preserved, and even if it were not so, the style of the reliefs would suffice to show the influence under which they were designed. It is valuable to have a set of reliefs like these, in which the imitation of painting is undisputed; for they offer us a standard whereby we can judge of the influence of painting which, according to some theories, contributed so greatly to the general development of Greek sculpture. The origin of these reliefs has been a matter of controversy; many of those extant have been shown to be the products of Roman art. But the influence under which they were made is certainly to be sought in the eastern portion of the Hellenistic world, partly in Egypt, but partly also in Asia Minor; a typical example is to be seen in the smaller frieze of the Pergamene altar.

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[1] See Schreiber's publication, *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, and also his *Die Brunnenreliefs aus Palazzo Grimani*; cf. Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, and Wace in *B.S.R.* v. Cf. also Furtwängler, *Der Satyr aus Pergamon*.

§ 60. *Boethus, and children in sculpture.*—We have noticed in the last section one of the artistic forms in which the reaction of the Hellenistic age against a too elaborate civilisation found expression; we must now turn to another product of the same artificial simplicity. It is commonly stated, and it is in the main true, that Greek sculptors of the fourth century made no attempt to render children with any truth to nature, and that when, as in the Hermes of Praxiteles, a child is found as part of a group, it is treated merely as an accessory. The proportions of childhood are ignored; the body is simply like that of a full-grown man on a smaller scale, and the face shows no study of childish forms. There are indeed some exceptions;[1] but even these, though they show more of an attempt to catch the character and expression of childhood, certainly do not imply a recognition of the rounded and chubby figure and undeveloped proportions that properly belong to a young child. Early in the Hellenistic age there appears to have been a change in this respect; and from that time on the chubby, babyish cupids which are familiar to us from late Greek and Roman art are not only rendered with truth to nature, but are often chosen with especial predilection as a subject for sculpture. It seems as if the age of innocence in children, like the imagined innocence of rustic life, had a peculiar fascination for those who felt themselves oppressed by their too complicated surroundings.

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[1] *E.g.* the fourth-century head of a boy from Paphos, *J.H.S.*, 1888, Pl. x., and that of Cephisodotus on a stela from Lerna, *ibid.*, 1890, p. 100.

The best known, though probably not the earliest, representative of this tendency is Boethus, an artist of Chalcedon,[1] a town in Bithynia, on the Propontis. Three statues of children by Boethus are recorded, one of the infant Asclepius, another of a seated boy, gilt, and probably of bronze, which was set up at Olympia.[2] The third is of more interest to us; its subject is similar to that of the group referred to in the Mime of Herondas, which describes the visit of two ladies of Cos to the temple of Asclepius, and copies of it have been recognised in a group of which we possess several examples; it represents a young boy struggling with a goose almost as big as himself (Fig. 127). He plants his feet widely apart, and wrestles manfully with the great bird, which he grasps tightly round the neck with both his arms. To understand the subject we must remember that the goose was a regular inmate of a Greek house, the model and companion of a good housewife, and the playmate of the children; it occupied, in fact, much the same position as is taken, in a modern household, by the domestic cat. Here there is a quarrel between the baby and his playmate; the evident reality of the struggle to the child and his mock-heroic attitude contrast with his chubby figure to produce a fascinating and humorous piece of *genre.* The subject evidently had a great vogue, for we find it repeated again and again with endless variations; one of the most interesting is a little silver statuette from Alexandria in the British Museum, where the boy is seated and grasps a smaller goose round the body while it bites at his ear.[3] This statue is not later than about 240 B.C., and so we have good reason to believe that the type of which it is a variation, and of which the best known example is by Boethus, belongs to the beginning of the Hellenistic age. We are expressly told that Boethus excelled in silver; here we have a work in the same material by an artist of the Alexandrian school, which devoted itself especially to decorative and minute work in the precious metals.[4] A bronze

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[1] K. O. Muller suggested Chalcedon, in Bithynia, instead of Charcedon (=Carthage), a conjecture confirmed by an inscription recording two sons of Boethus at the neighbouring town of Nicomedia. It now seems probable that Boethus himself was an artist of the second century B.C., if he is identical with the sculptor who made a portrait of Antiochus IV., 174-164 B.C. See Robert in Pauly-Wissowa. *s.v.* Boethus.

[2] There is no evidence for associating this boy, as has been done, with the "Spinario" of the Capitol, or a Hellenistic version of the same subject now in the British Museum.

[3] See *J.H.S.*, 1885, p. 1, Pl. A.

[4] Schreiber, *Alexandrinische Toreutik.*

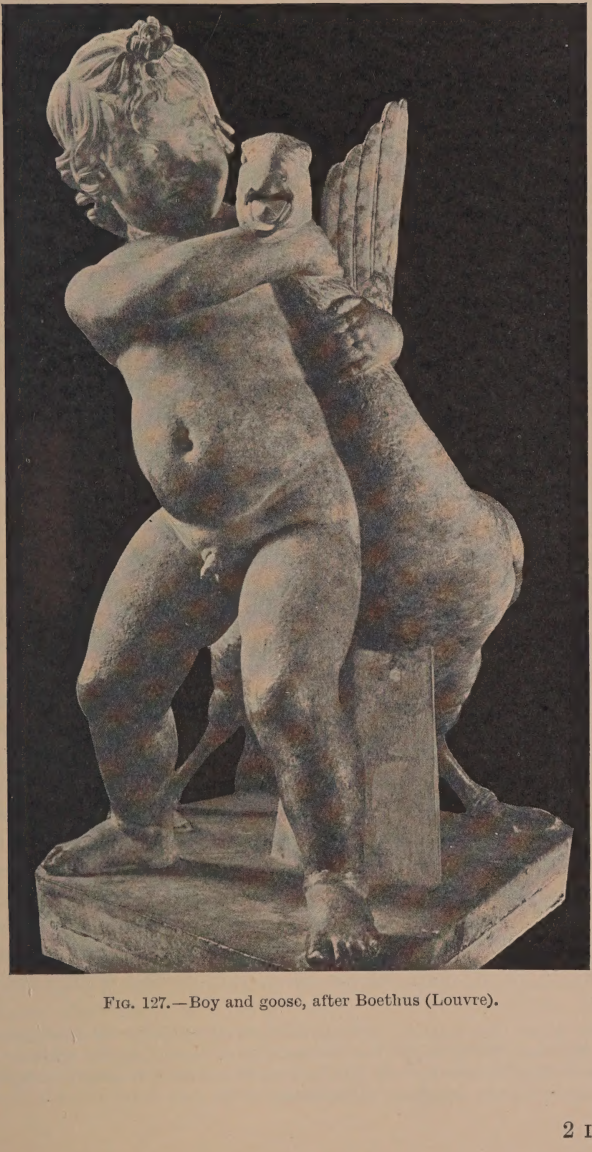

FIG. 127.—Boy and goose, after Boethus (Louvre).

herm, bearing the signature of Boethus, has recently been discovered in the sea near Tunis.

§ 61. *Chares, and the Colossus of Rhodes.*—We must now return to the pupils of Lysippus, through whom his influence was transmitted to later times. The most famous of them is Chares of Lindus in Rhodes, who made the famous bronze Colossus which, from its gigantic size, was counted one of the seven wonders of the world. This statue was 105 feet high; it was set up out of the spoils left behind him by Demetrius Poliorcetes, when he raised the siege of Rhodes in 303 B.C., and is said to have taken twelve years to make.[1] It was overthrown by an earthquake after it had only stood for about sixty years, and could not be re-erected; but it remained, in this damaged state, a marvel to travellers; its remains are said not to have disappeared entirely until comparatively modern times. We have a record as to the process by which it was made in a treatise on *The Seven Wonders*, under the name of Philo of Byzantium, a writer on mechanics, who lived, probably, in the second century B.C., and had studied both at Alexandria and in Rhodes; but unfortunately the authenticity of the work is doubtful. It states that the Colossus was cast in sections as it stood, from the feet upward; and that a mound of earth was piled up around it as it rose, so that it was always possible for the founding to be done in a subterranean mould. The story appears probable on the face of it, and not such as a rhetorical writer like the author of this treatise would probably invent; so we may infer that he was following a trustworthy tradition. We hear also that when the statue had fallen, it was possible to see through the cracks in it the large blocks of stone which Chares had placed inside it so as to give it stability.

In making such a work as this, Chares was following closely in the footsteps of his master, Lysippus, whose colossal statue of Zeus at Tarentum was hardly less famous; and it was distinguished, as we learn from Lucian, no less for the artistic skill of its style than for its colossal size. We have no information as to the pose of the work; it represented the sun-god Helios, the patron of Rhodes, whose head, surrounded with a crown of rays, appears upon Rhodian coins; to this type we must suppose Chares to have conformed. It is really a variation on the Greek conception of Apollo, but has a rounder face and more marked features, in accordance with the usual notion of the appearance of the sun itself.

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[1] The absurd descriptions and representations in mediaeval treatises on *The Seven Wonders*, which make the Colossus stand bestriding the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes, and holding up a lantern in one hand to serve as a lighthouse, are of course merely imaginary fabrications.

Lucian, in his humorous description of the assembly of the gods, makes Helios claim a front seat because, from his colossal stature, he had cost as much as sixteen[1] golden statues, and moreover was a work of high artistic merit and remarkable for accuracy of finish, considering his great size. This is an estimate which will hardly appeal to us more than to those addressed by the god on this occasion; but at the same time we must recognise that, in order to make a statue such as this Colossus, Chares must have possessed not only very high technical and mechanical skill, but also an artistic sense of a very high order; a colossal statue like this would require a treatment in every detail appropriate to the size of the work; no adequate effect would be produced by a mere enlargement of the forms that would look well in an ordinary statue. The kind of style that is necessary for a colossal statue may be seen from the two statues of the Dioscuri of Monte Cavallo at Rome, which are themselves also examples of Lysippean art.[2] Here perhaps more than anywhere else we appreciate the dictum of Lysippus, in which he asserted that his aim was not to reproduce the exact forms of life, but their effect as seen by the spectator. The deeply and clearly cut features look coarse and unsightly when examined close at hand, but produce an admirable impression when seen from a distance.

Colossal works, of more moderate size, were produced by Greek sculpture at every period of its existence. But in the excessive size of this Rhodian figure we may recognise a desire for mere bigness, far surpassing in size all previous statues, since to surpass them in beauty of conception or execution was hopeless. Here we see the beginning of the decline, and there is little doubt that the Colossus of Rhodes, in spite of the artistic skill which it displayed, was rather a wonder to the vulgar from the difficulty of its production, than a delight to those who were capable of appreciating good work, whether on a small or on a large scale.

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[1] The cost of the Colossus, as given by Pliny, is CCC talents; this, being too small a number, has been emended to MCCC. But more probably we should read DCCC; then we have exactly sixteen times fifty, which is the round number at which the gold of the Athena Parthenos is estimated by Diod. Sic. Of course this fifty, or forty according to the more exact statement of Thucydides, refers to *weight* of gold, not to its *value* (in silver). But this is a point which either Lucian or the Colossus might ignore in a forensic claim. The number sixteen implies that Lucian had some definite figures in his mind.

[2] I follow the rejection of the modern inscriptions *opus Fidiae* and *opus Praxitelis* by Loewy and others, in spite of Prof. Furtwängler's attempt to defend them as based on a correct tradition.

§ 62. *Eutychides and the Impersonation of Cities.*—Impersonation is not foreign to Greek art at any stage of its development, and even the impersonation of states and cities is not uncommon in earlier times. Such impersonations usually occur on vases or on reliefs, especially on the headings of decrees; but on such documents the contracting states are usually either represented by their patron deity, or figured under a form which is derived from his. In the fourth century we have seen that with the more individual realisation of the various divinities there comes also a tendency to personify abstract ideas, and to refine on mythological distinctions of character. We find figures like the Peace nursing Wealth of Cephisodotus, and the Eros, Pothos, and Himeros of Scopas. With the Hellenistic age another kind of impersonation, more local and limited in its character, which was before not unknown on vases and reliefs, begins to find its way into sculpture also; and in its most characteristic example it is associated with a curious new cultus, that of the Fortune (Tyche) of the city, who comes to be a real tutelary deity.[1] The best known example of the artistic embodiment of such a conception is the figure of Antioch—or rather, to speak more correctly, of the Fortune of Antioch—which was made for the citizens of the town (founded in 300 B.C.) by the sculptor Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippus (Fig. 128). She is represented as seated upon a rock, on which her left hand rests; the whole right side of her body (as Brunn has well expressed it) is turned towards her left; the right knee is thrown over the left, and the right elbow rests upon it, and the face also is turned in the same direction. Her figure is enveloped in the folds of a rich mantle, which is drawn over her head, and covers her left arm down to the wrist. On her head is a mural crown. Beneath her feet a swimming figure rises from the waves to represent the river Orontes. This is a form of impersonation which reminds us in many ways of the

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[1] On this whole subject, see P. Gardner, *J.H.S.*, 1888, p. 47.

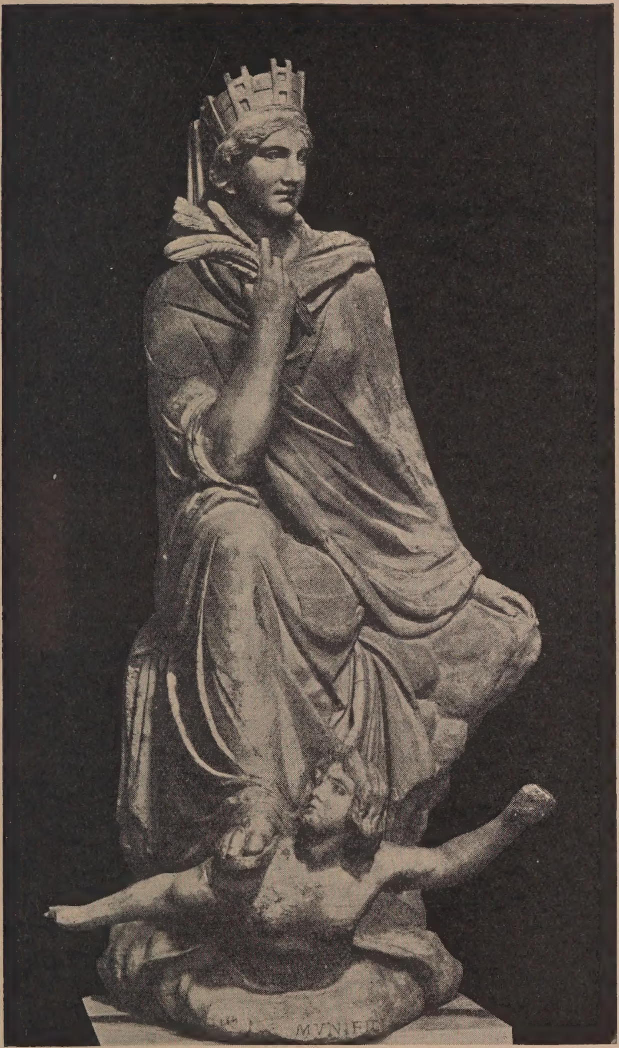

FIG. 128.—Antioch, after Eutychides (Rome, Vatican).

complicated allegories of the period. It is really a representation of the geographical position of the city, in anthropomorphic symbolism; and it implies that the city was set upon the slopes of a hill, bending forward upon itself in the turn of a valley, while the river flowed at its feet. But we must not allow the somewhat frigid and artificial nature of this symbolism to blind us to the wonderful grace and freedom of invention with which it has been expressed. In pose and varied flow of drapery the statue reminds us of the most beautiful of Greek terra-cottas—and here we see alike its excellence and its defect. The terra-cottas, representing merely fanciful figures from daily life—girls at play or in meditation, treated with the most perfect simplicity and grace—cannot be surpassed for their lightness and versatility of imagination, and their adaptation of subject to material. But when one of these same figures is translated into a statue, and set up as an object of worship, and as the embodiment of one of the most vivid religious conceptions of the period, we cannot help feeling a certain incongruity. The whole position and character of the figure, though so full of grace as to make it one of the most charming to the eye of all the Greek statues that have survived, have a certain lack of dignity which disqualifies it for the exalted role it is called upon to play. The mural crown upon her head[1] does not suffice to make us recognise a present deity in this woman, whose beauty of pose and figure at once excites our admiration.

This was not the only attempt in the direction of impersonation by Eutychides. He also made a statue of the river-god Eurotas, which is attested by an epigram to have shown a modelling flowing as water in its texture, so that the bronze of which it was made seemed even more liquid than the element it simulated. We may well imagine how the sculptor of the Antioch may have dealt with such a subject. The flowing, almost liquid, surface of the Cephisus of the Parthenon pediment may also give us some notion of how far a sculptor, entirely free from the artistic restraint that marked the school of Phidias, may have gone in a similar attempt. And it is no surprise, when we consider the artistic character of Eutychides, to learn that he was also a painter. The man who could invent such a figure as the Antioch certainly had as much of the painter as of the sculptor in him; for the conception of the city is in many ways a pictorial one.

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[1] The head is a restoration, but the crown is attested by coins.

Though we may feel the inadequacy of such an artificial creation as an object of worship, it is asserted that this very figure of Antioch had much reverence from those who lived in the region; and the numerous imitations to which it gave rise sufficiently testify its artistic popularity. Most of these lack the grace and refinement which distinguish the work of Eutychides. A good example is offered by the Puteoline basis,[1] of Roman date, where the cities of Asia Minor stand around a statue of Tiberius. The extent to which such geographical impersonation could go is shown by Ephesus, who stands, in the garb of an Amazon, with one foot upon a mask with flowing beard and hair that typifies the river Cayster; while over her right shoulder appears the Ephesian Artemis on a column, to indicate that the temple stood behind the town, visible over its right shoulder, so to speak, as seen from the sea. Of course Eutychides is not responsible for such versions of the symbolism he had originated; but they show us its ultimate result.

§ 63. *Portraiture.*—It was the custom in Greece, from the earliest times, to set up statues as memorials of individual men, both in temples and on tombs; but although such statues were in a sense intended to represent those whom they commemorated, they were not what we should call portraits. As we have seen, both in the statues of athletic victors and in the tombstones set up over the dead, there was no attempt in earlier times to imitate individual form or features: it was enough if the statue conformed generally to the age and sex, office or character of the subject. And the nature of the subjects chosen for such commemoration was different from what we find in the later days of Greece, and in modern times. The statues were either religious dedications, set up in honour of a god as a symbol of personal devotion on the part of the dedicator; or, if they were monuments over a tomb, they were set up to recall the deceased to his friends, and their erection was a matter of private interest. If we except the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogiton, who were idealised as the heroes of the Athenian democracy, we find no examples in early times of a statue set up to honour a man who had conferred great benefits on his country in peace or war, or whose fame was so great that his fellow-citizens desired to preserve his image in a public place. Athens, so far as we know, had no statue of Solon or of Miltiades,[1] of Cleisthenes or Themistocles or Aristides, set up during their lifetime, or while their memory was still fresh among their friends and admirers. The first recorded example of a statue set up with a motive similar to that which now prompts us to erect statues to our public men, is the portrait of Pericles by Cresilas.[2] We have already noticed the ideal and typical, rather than individual character of this work; it was also a dedication, offering to Athena on the Acropolis an image of the man who had done so much to enrich and beautify her chosen city. Still the motive of the dedicator (who appears to have been a private citizen) was doubtless to preserve a record of Pericles himself among the buildings which he had erected; and the custom of dedication was one which continued to be kept up even until times when it had become a mere form, and the honour was intended altogether for the man and not for the god. It was to be expected that, with the tendency of art towards individualism which we noticed as characteristic of the fourth century, portraiture would at once take a more prominent place; and accordingly we find that many of the chief artists of the fourth century did make portraits, either of contemporaries or of famous characters of old. In this last case it is clear that the portraits were inventions of the imagination rather than records of individual physiognomy or character. We do, however, hear of one sculptor of the fourth century—Demetrius of Alopece[3]—whose portraits were so realistic in character that Lucian calls him the "maker of men" rather than the "maker of statues."[4] He made a famous statuette of Lysimache, an aged priestess of Athena; and Lucian has given us a description of his portrait of the Corinthian General Pellichus—"high-bellied, bald, his clothes half off him, some of the hairs of his beard caught by the wind, his veins prominent."

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[1] Baumeister, p. 1297, fig. 1441.

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[1] A statue of Miltiades occurred in a subordinate figure, in a group set up at Delphi to commemorate Marathon; but this is no real exception. Of course statues of all these great men existed in Athens in later times, but they were probably not erected before the fourth century.

[2] The portrait of Pericles was a herm, not a statue, but the purpose remains the same.

[3] He is dated by inscription to the earlier part of the fourth century (Loewy, 62, 63).

[4] *Ἀνθρωποποιός* instead of *ἀνδριαντοποιός*.

Such a work of realism—we might almost say of caricature—is exceptional, not only in the fourth century, but at any period of Greek sculpture;[1] and indeed, in works like this, it is the skill and humour of the artist rather than the character of the person represented that are the essential thing.

With the beginning of the Hellenistic age we find a new and a stronger impulse towards portraiture. In the first place, the demand for it was constantly increasing. It became the commonest form of compliment or of flattery to set up statues in honour of any individual. We hear, for example, that the incredible number of 360 honorary statues were set up within a year to Demetrius Phalereus in Athens; and during this period it became customary to decorate theatres, libraries, and other public buildings of literary connection with statues of poets and other authors. The great majority of the portraits which we possess owe their origin to this custom, and to the imitation of it in Rome. Such statues were sometimes contemporary portraits; more often they were imaginary, more or less traditional representations of men who had died long before without leaving any record of their features behind them. Portraits now so familiar to us as that of Homer were thus invented, while even the features of more recent writers underwent a partly idealising, partly conventionalising process from the frequency with which they were repeated.

But among all the various branches of portrait sculpture, none exercised so great an influence on the history of art in the early Hellenistic age as that which was inaugurated by Lysippus with his portraits of Alexander. We have already seen something of this influence. Alexander's successors began by according divine honours to him, but soon they came to arrogate similar honours to themselves. Nor was the worship or flattery—whichever we please to call it—paid to them only by the people of Asia Minor; even in Athens itself we find a hymn composed in honour of Demetrius Poliorcetes as a present deity, while other gods were far away or cared not for their people. The custom of masquerading or posing as a god, to which some of the Greek kings of the East were led by such a reception of their claims, naturally found expression in sculpture also; and hence we find examples in which a king is represented under the character and with the attributes of some deity, or the statue of the god is modified to resemble the features of the king. And we see, on coins and elsewhere, a tendency to make gods and kings alike resemble Alexander, whose deification seems to justify the pretensions of his successors.

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[1] Caricatures are of course common enough in terra-cottas.

The study of Greek portraits (iconography, as it is called[1]) can only be touched upon here in some of its more general aspects, and especially in its relation to the development of sculpture as a whole. One or two more technical points also call for notice.[2] In earlier times a portrait was always either a complete statue or a herm—that is to say, a plain square pillar, with the top carved into the form of a head. It was not, apparently, until Hellenistic times that the making of busts began (*προτόμαὶ*): to the head was added a rendering, more or less conventional, of the shoulders and front part of the breast, often with some drapery thrown across it, while the back was hollowed out in the lower part and mounted on a stand.

§ 64. *History of the Dedications of the Attalids.*—The pre-eminent position of Pergamum in the art of the Hellenistic period is due to its being the seat of the powerful and enlightened dynasty of the Attalid kings. The founder of the greatness of the family was Philetaerus, who was placed by Lysimachus in charge of Pergamum, where there was a considerable store of treasure. His bold remonstrance against his master's crimes forced him into a revolt, which proved successful; he became ruler of Pergamum, and bequeathed his power to his nephews, Eumenes and Attalus. Attalus distinguished his accession in 241 B.C. by his great victories over the Gauls or Galatians. These barbarians were one of those hordes that had for many centuries been swarming out of Gaul into the south of Europe. Such a band had sacked Rome in 390 B.C.; in 278 B.C. another had devastated Greece, and had been repulsed from Delphi with the miraculous aid of Apollo. We next find them in Asia Minor, whither they were said to have first come at the invitation of a Bithynian prince; and then they became the terror of the settled inhabitants, sometimes hiring themselves out as mercenaries to the various contending princes, sometimes levying tribute on their own account from the defenceless population. It is the chief glory of Attalus that he was the first to withstand these barbarians with success. Such, at least, was the aspect under which his victory was regarded by those who celebrated it; and although both the victory itself, and the strengthening of the independent kingdom of Pergamum which resulted from it, may have been due in some degree to the skilful policy of Attalus during the internal strife of the Seleucid kingdom,[1] its result was such as to recall to the people of Attalus the deliverance of Marathon and Salamis. The terror inspired into the degenerate Greeks of Asia Minor by this fierce horde of barbarians, with their strange weapons and manner of fighting, their personal strength and stature, and their indomitable courage, had till then carried all before it; and even the victories of Attalus did not suffice to end the danger. The Gauls continued to harass and to terrify their neighbours until Eumenes II., the son and successor of Attalus, finally reduced them to submission in 166 B.C., at the end of several campaigns in which he had met with varied success. After this time they settled down as a peaceable community in the district of Galatia.

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[1] See Visconti, *Iconographie grecque*; Brunn-Arndt, *Gr. und Röm. Porträts*; Hekler, *Gr. and Rom. Portraits.*

[2] See Förster, *Das Porträt in der gr. Plastik.*

On the occasion of his great victories Attalus appears to have summoned from Greece a body of sculptors, who thenceforth made Pergamum their home, and formed a school to which we owe the greatest and most vigorous works of sculpture of the Hellenistic age. The inscriptions which record their work can easily be distinguished from those of another group of artists, some fifty years later, who were employed in the magnificent series of buildings and sculptures with which Eumenes decorated his capital. We shall consider the works made by both sets of sculptors with more detail; but in order to understand this wonderful revival of art in the East, while in Greece it was stagnating, we must realise the historical conditions which surrounded it—a struggle for existence between Greek and barbarian, the like of which had not been seen since the Persian wars.

§ 65. *The Dedications of Attalus I.*—The inscriptions incised upon the bases of the groups set up at Pergamum by Attalus to commemorate his victories have, many of them, been preserved; the statues which stood upon these bases were of bronze, and have disappeared; it seems, from the careful way in which their feet have been cut out from the blocks, that they must have been carried off to some other site, perhaps to Rome or Constantinople. But some marble statues have been recognised from their subject and style as derived from the earliest set of these Pergamene monuments, and represent scenes from the victory of Attalus over the Gauls; although the inscriptions show that his triumph was over other enemies as well, it was especially the Galatian figures which impressed both writers and artists; for Pliny mentions the sculptors employed by Attalus only as representing his battles against the Gauls. The most famous of these extant statues is the "Dying Gaul" in the Capitol at Rome (Fig. 129). His nationality may be recognised from his distinctive necklace or torque, his rough hair combed straight back from the forehead, his moustache, and the shield and trumpet that lie on the ground beneath him. He has long been known as one of the masterpieces of ancient art; but in earlier days he was called the "Gladiator"; his barbarian origin could not be mistaken, but he was supposed to have fallen in the combats of the arena, "butchered to make a Roman holiday." With our present knowledge of the history of art, we cannot suppose that sculpture in Rome was ever capable of originating a figure of such wonderfully powerful modelling, and such dignity of pathos; nor is the choice of subject in itself credible. At Pergamum, on the other hand, the courage and fortitude of the Gauls had impressed their Greek conquerors no less than their savage and barbarous character, and we need not be surprised to find admiration and even pity for a fallen foe; while from the Pergamene artists, trained in the school of Lysippus, and adding to their artistic training the study of anatomy for which the great centres of learning in the East were noted, we might expect the excellence of modelling and execution which we find in the "Dying Gaul."

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[1] The Gauls are called in a Pergamene inscription the allies of Antiochus, *i.e.* Hierax, the brother and rival of Seleucus Callinicus, whose part was taken by Attalus.

The marble statue in the Capitol is not, of course, the original set up by Attalus, if it belongs to the group of dedications of which the bases have been found, for they were all of bronze; but both the material—a local marble of Asia Minor or one of the adjacent islands—and the execution, which, though the statue has suffered somewhat at the hand of the restorer, is still fairly preserved, show that it is probably a genuine product of Pergamene art, as well as the copy of a Pergamene masterpiece; it may even be a contemporary replica. The fallen warrior is well described by Byron—

He leans upon his hand; his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low:
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one.[1]

The Greek sculptor has caught the spirit of the northern barbarian; it is interesting to contrast the fortitude with which the Galatian meets his death with the contorted agony of the Giants on the Great Altar made by a later generation of the same school of artists. The hardened skin, matted hair, and strong but irregular features of the barbarian are rendered with a realism only equalled by the anatomical skill of the modelling; but the true appearance of the surface is never sacrificed to display of anatomical detail, as in some later statues of Asia Minor—notably those of the Ephesian school. There is a moderation, alike in conception and execution, which suffices to indicate that this statue marks the highest point of sculpture in Pergamum. Another piece of sculpture, probably

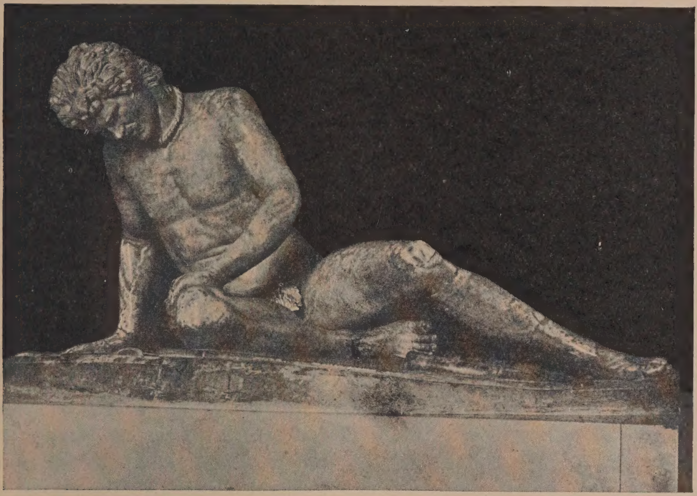

FIG. 129.—Dying Gaul (Rome, Capitol).

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[1] It has been suggested that he had killed himself like the Gaul of the Villa Ludovisi. But the wound is from a spear, not from a sword; and is on the right side of the chest, where it might well come in combat, but would hardly be self-inflicted. The sword on the basis is a restoration.

from the same series, is now in the Museo Boncampagni (formerly Villa Ludovisi) at Rome, and used to be known by the name of Arria and Paetus. It represents a Galatian warrior who, in defeat, is slaying his wife and himself rather than fall into the hand of the enemy. The subject, it must be confessed, is one less suited to sculpture; but there is some grace in the figure of the wife, who has already received her death wound, and sinks at the feet of her husband, who supports her arm with his left hand while he stabs himself with his right hand, driving his short sword through his left shoulder towards his heart.[1] Here again the national character is clearly indicated; and there is a fine dramatic contrast between the warrior, who still stands and turns his head as in defiance of a pursuing foe, and the relaxed limbs and drooping head of the woman. There is, moreover, no contortion or agony of death here either; the dramatic interest still exceeds the pathological, even though death and wounds are represented with a vigorous realism.

Pliny gives a list of the sculptors who were employed by Attalus on the monuments in commemoration of his Gallic wars—Isigonus, Phyromachus, Stratonicus, Antigonus; and this list is checked and supplemented by the inscriptions that have been found on the bases at Pergamum. The only artist's name mentioned which is certainly contemporary with the dedication is that of a certain *-γονος*. This may be either Antigonus or Isigonus, they are both mentioned in Pliny's list; or it may be Epigonus, whose name is mentioned in other Pergamene inscriptions of the same period. Upon a somewhat later set of inscriptions, on the top of the basis, appear the names of a certain Praxiteles, who may belong to the family of the great Praxiteles, Xenocrates, and others of whom nothing further is known. Among these sculptors Antigonus and Xenocrates[2] were both of them writers on art as well as practical sculptors. Epigonus is of still more interest; for Pliny describes two works of his, a trumpeter and a child, whose caress of its slain mother was a sight to move pity.[3] When we know that Epigonus was employed at Pergamum, it is tempting to restore his name as that of the artist whose name occurs on the basis of the groups of Attalus. The mother and child might well have represented Galatians, and formed a counterpart to the group of the warrior slaying himself and his wife. Most tempting of all is the identification of the "Dying Gaul" himself, with his large trumpet, as the *tubicen* mentioned by Pliny. But such speculations must not be taken as serious evidence, though they may help us to classify and appreciate the work of an artist otherwise unknown.

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[1] See Baumeister, p. 1237, fig. 1410. The arm is wrongly restored; with the thumb down, such a thrust would have no force.

[2] See Introduction, p. 2. Xenocrates' career belongs to the earlier rather than the later part of the third century. But he may have been employed on the earliest dedications.

[3] By a singular coincidence, the dead Amazon at Naples was grouped with a child in an early restoration, and hence the suggestion to connect this with the

Another series of extant works has been brought into relation with a set of groups dedicated by Attalus on the Acropolis at Athens, probably on the occasion of his visit to that town in 200 B.C. They were seen by Pausanias close to the south wall of the Acropolis, and consisted of figures about three feet high. The purpose of this dedication was evidently to claim for the feats of Attalus against the Galatians a fame like that of the Persian wars, and a similar association with the mythical antitypes of the great struggle between Greek and barbarian. There was represented the battle of the Pergamenes against the Galatians, of the Athenians against the Persians, of the Athenians against the Amazons, and of the Gods against the Giants. The last of these groups shows us that the Pergamenes were already symbolising their victory over the Galatians in the same way in which the Athenians, on the Parthenon and elsewhere, had celebrated their victory over the Persians; and it must be admitted that, of the two adversaries, the Galatians had the more resemblance to the Greek conception of the wild Giants who fought against Zeus and the other Olympian Gods. We shall see in the Great Altar at Pergamum the magnificent expression which was given later to this same idea.

There exists, scattered over the museums of Europe, a whole series of statues of combatants, some fallen, but still fighting to the last, some already wounded to death or extended lifeless on the ground; these are about three feet high, and their character corresponds exactly to the description of Pausanias; there are some of the defeated antagonists of each group, Galatians, Persians, Amazons, and Giants (Figs. 129, 130). It is a singular fact

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work of Epigonus. But the restoration is improbable in itself, and seems to rest on no good authority. See Michaelis, *Jahrb.*, 1893, p. 119; Peterson, *Rom. Mitt.*, 1893, p. 261.

that no corresponding statues of the victorious combatants have been identified—indeed, we may say, that no such statues exist, for the small size and characteristic style of these works make their recognition easy, and they could hardly have escaped notice. The explanation of this fact is still to seek. We might have supposed that only the defeated and dying were represented in the trophy, the conquerors being sufficiently implied by the wounds they had inflicted; but we know that the gods, at least,

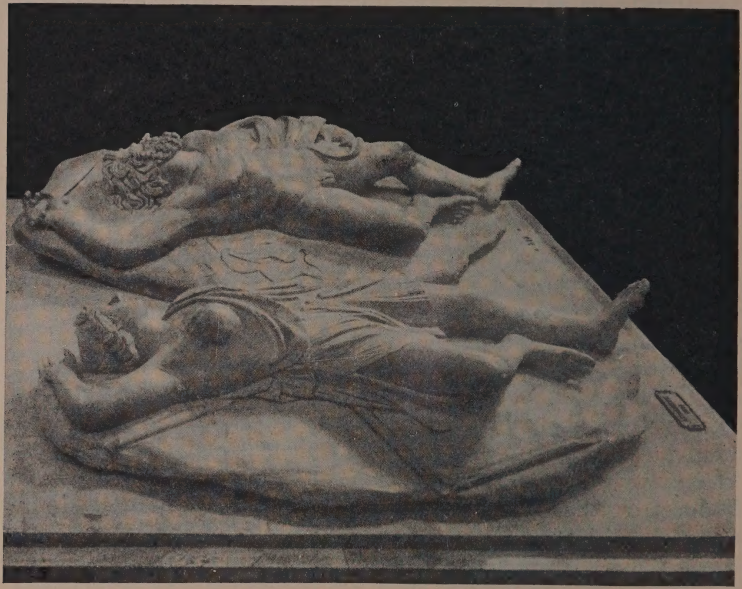

Fig. 130.—Dead Amazon and Giant, after Pergamene group on Acropolis at Athens (Naples).

were included, since a statue of Dionysus from this group was blown over into the theatre by a storm. This last fact also makes it probable, though hardly beyond doubt, that the originals were in bronze. All the extant statues of the series are in marble, but with a vigour and accuracy of modelling which place them above ordinary copies, and with a polish of the surface which is characteristic of Pergamene art and the schools dependent on Pergamum.[1] It is probably safest to suppose that the extant statues, or at least the majority of them, are contemporary replicas of those set up on the

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[1] This polish is regarded by some as an imitation of the surface of bronze. More probably it is a later substitute for the γάνωσις and *circumlitio* of earlier

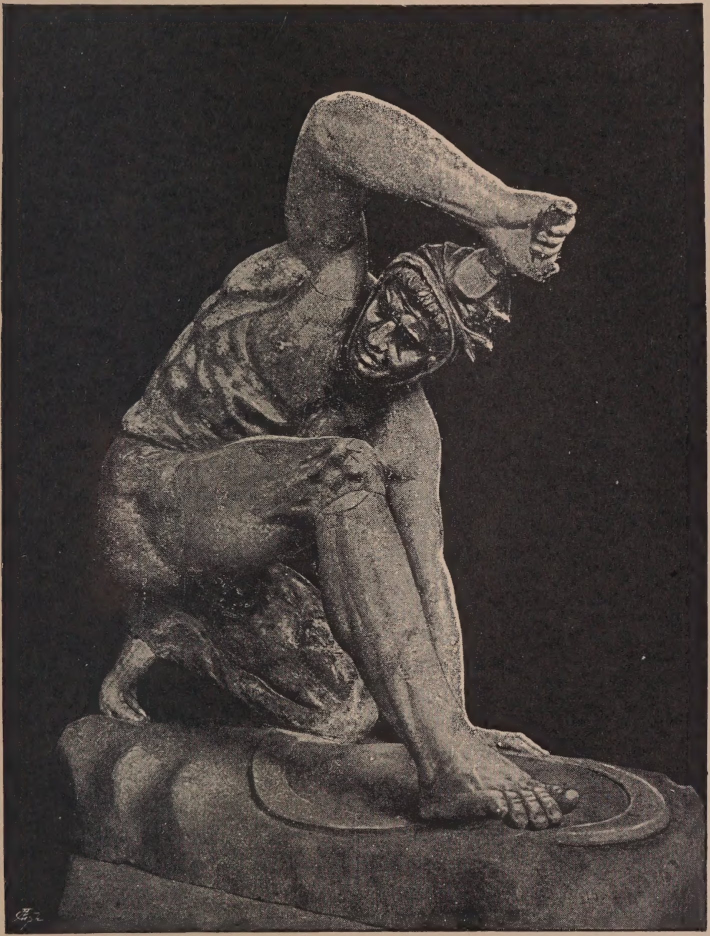

Fig. 131.—Fighting Persian, after Pergamene group on Acropolis at Athens (Rome, Vatican).

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times, and is due to the use of a marble which had a less beautiful texture than Parian or Pentelic, but would take a high polish. See p. 29.

Acropolis; though it is barely possible that they may be the originals.

These little statues have never been surpassed in dramatic vigour and power; they do not, of course, aim at the expression of any high ideal, or even at any great beauty of form; but they express with wonderful realism and truth to nature the way in which the various sets of combatants take their defeat. In one case we see a Galatian, fallen and wounded, but still fighting to the last and recklessly exposing himself; in another a Persian, who is also beaten down, but seems to shrink together for a last effort in his defence (Fig. 131). The way in which the dead combatants have fallen is no less characteristic than their manner of fighting. A Persian, lying on his side, seems to have sunk quietly to rest; a Giant, who has fallen without a wound before the thunderbolt, lies on his back with his limbs outspread, as wild and savage in death as in life; and a young Galatian lies in much the same attitude; an Amazon, pierced with a wound in her breast, also lies on her back, but her figure is graceful even in death, as she lies with one hand beneath her head and one knee slightly drawn up (Fig. 130). For all the dramatic power, there is nowhere any agony or contortion; whether death comes by sudden blow or by more gradual collapse from wounds, its pain is not emphasised with pathological detail, though the way in which the figures have fallen shows a correct study of the effect of various wounds; above all there is none of that exaggerated, almost sentimental development of pathos which we see in later Pergamene work. Here all is restrained and concise; and, the choice of subject once granted, there is in everything a moderation and dignity such as we see also in the "Dying Gaul." The hairy and uncouth form of the Giants, the hardly less violent nature of the Galatians, and the more graceful, but no less vigorous figure of the Amazon, are all characterised with equal skill. Only in the case of the Persians we find a strange deviation from fact; one warrior, though he wears a Persian cap, is otherwise completely nude, in violation of Persian custom. Perhaps the artist felt that, in order not to make the Persians, with whom the Athenians were matched, too effeminate adversaries in comparison with the Galatians, some such modification was justifiable. But perhaps it betrays an artistic convention such as must not surprise us even in the finest work of the Hellenistic age.

§ 66. *The Dedications of Eumenes II.*—Under Eumenes II., who succeeded his father Attalus in 197 B.C., the city of Pergamum was enriched with a series of buildings which made it rank among the most splendid and beautiful cities of the ancient world. The most famous of these monuments was the great altar of Zeus, which was among the chief wonders of the ancient world.[1] It consisted of a huge basis, more than 100 feet square, on the top of which stood a colonnade surrounding an open court in which the altar of sacrifice itself was placed. The court was approached by a broad staircase, cut into the square structure, which took up about three-fifths of its west side. Two sculptured friezes decorated this magnificent building; the chief one ran round the basis in a continuous composition; it was interrupted by the broad staircase, but turned round the wings of the building which bordered it, so that the sculptured design runs right up to the steps, which limit it at the extremity into a narrowing field. There was also a smaller frieze, probably on the inside of the colonnade above. These sculptures have been dug up by the Germans, and are now in Berlin.

The great frieze, which represents the battle of Gods and Giants, is the most extensive and characteristic example of Pergamene art, and perhaps the most imposing and overwhelming, at least at first glance, of all the monuments of Greek sculpture that have been preserved to our time. It is true that the restlessness of the composition, and the almost unlimited wealth of design scattered in profusion over the whole frieze, are fatiguing and unsatisfying on a more careful study; but the knowledge and skill of the sculptors, their extraordinary richness in resource, and their wonderful mastery over their material, must always command our admiration.

The great frieze is over seven feet high, so that its figures add the effect of colossal size to that of their dramatic vigour and violent action. The battle of the Gods and Giants, or individual scenes from it, had always been a favourite theme with Greek artists; but we have seen that it meant more to the Pergamenes than to any other Greeks since the age of the Persian wars, and that their own victories over the fierce and savage Galatians were really more suggestive of such a prototype than any earlier contest. When Eumenes undertook to commemorate his exploits and those of his father Attalus by a frieze which should represent the subject on a scale and with a completeness that had never before been approached, the artists whom he employed devoted themselves to the task in a manner characteristic of the age. They were not content to reproduce the familiar scenes of the great battle according to the old usage, with a new dramatic power added; but they, probably aided by the learned mythologists who frequented the Pergamene library, made a mythological study of the gods and their opponents the basis of their work; and as a result they have represented the whole Greek pantheon on this altar with a completeness, almost a superfluity, that savours of an age of criticism and electicism rather than of religious belief. We see not only the chief gods, each accompanied by his proper attendants and attributes and sacred animals, but all the minor divinities, each in his proper place; and many are included who perhaps would hardly find a place in a purely Hellenic system; many are merely variations of the same mythological personality. If so much confusion and multiplication of characters is to be seen in the extant fragments, which only amount to about half of the whole composition, we may imagine how much stronger the impression would be if we possessed the whole. It was no unnecessary help, even to a Greek, to add the name of each of the Gods on the cornice above, while each of the Giants has his name incised below him. While the combat is continued from end to end of the frieze in one writhing mass of Giants, with whom their divine antagonists are inextricably entangled, several groups at once stand out conspicuous; the two chief are those of Zeus and Athena, which probably were both upon the eastern face of the structure, opposite to the staircase, and balanced one another in the composition. This eastern face was evidently the principal one; it faced the open space which formed the religious and political agora of the city; and so the two chief deities here find their appropriate place—Zeus, to whom, as the deliverer, the altar was dedicated, and Athena, whose temple was the chief building on the Acropolis above. Zeus is engaged in combat with three Giants (Fig. 132); but although his weapons are the irresistible aegis and thunderbolt, even he is not exempt from the strain and violence of

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[1] An inscription of Attalus II. (169-138 B.C.) is by some authorities assigned to the Great Altar. See *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 339. If so, Attalus II. must be substituted here for Eumenes II.

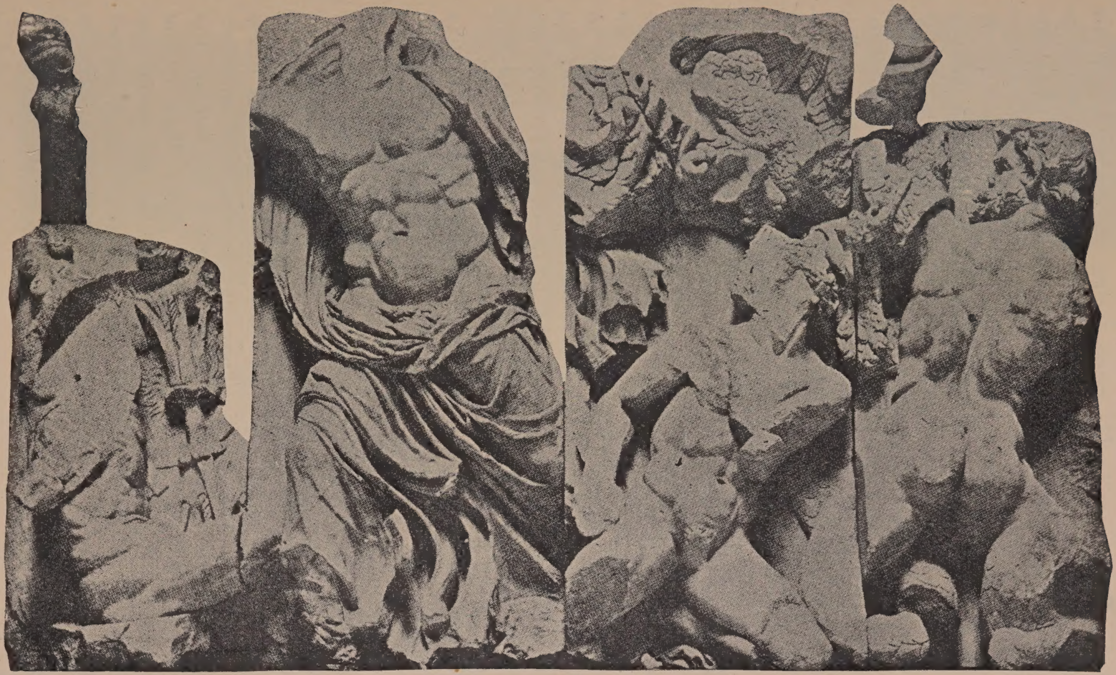

FIG. 132.—Group from Pergamene Altar : Zeus and Giants (Berlin).

combat. He strides to his right, facing the spectator; in his outstretched right arm is a thunderbolt which he is about to hurl, while with his left he shakes the snaky folds of the aegis in the face of one of his opponents; his long mantle hangs over his shoulders and round his legs, leaving his finely modelled torso bare. The figure is full of life and action; but the use made by Zeus of his weapons seems hardly adequate to their divine power; and there is something almost grotesque about the way in which a thunderbolt he has already thrown has pierced with its prongs the thigh of a fallen adversary, as if it were a mere common piece of metal.[1] And if Zeus has to fight hand-to-hand, the drapery which well becomes his majestic figure cannot but impede his movement. This group, in fact, shows both the strength and weakness of the sculptor. In power of composition, in dramatic force and action, in vigour and correctness of modelling, it cannot be surpassed; yet the artist has neither been content to follow the traditional manner of rendering the scene, nor has he ventured to throw over entirely all old conventions, and to create a new conception of the nature of the combat and of the combatants. It is this strange combination of study with imagination, of originality with eclecticism, which we shall find throughout the work.

The group in which Athena is the chief figure is the finest in design and in preservation of those that remain (Fig. 133). She advances to the right, and seizes by his hair the young Giant who is her opponent. His figure, human but for his outspread wings, and less savage in its strength than those of most of his fellows, slants right across in a direction opposite to her advance; and the balance and composition of the main lines of the group which result from this crossing of the opposing forces are admirable in their effect. Here, too, although the guardian snake of Athena attacks her adversary, there is less of the conventional weapons and their physical effect than in the opponents of Zeus. The vanquished Giant has no wound nor Athena any weapon of offence; and his agonising, upturned glance, as his head is drawn irresistibly back by the goddess, is most dramatic in effect. The helplessness of the Giant in the hand of his divine conqueror is expressed also by the vain grasp

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[1] This is really almost as absurd as if a savage killed in battle with a civilised enemy were represented with a Maxim gun stuck through his body.

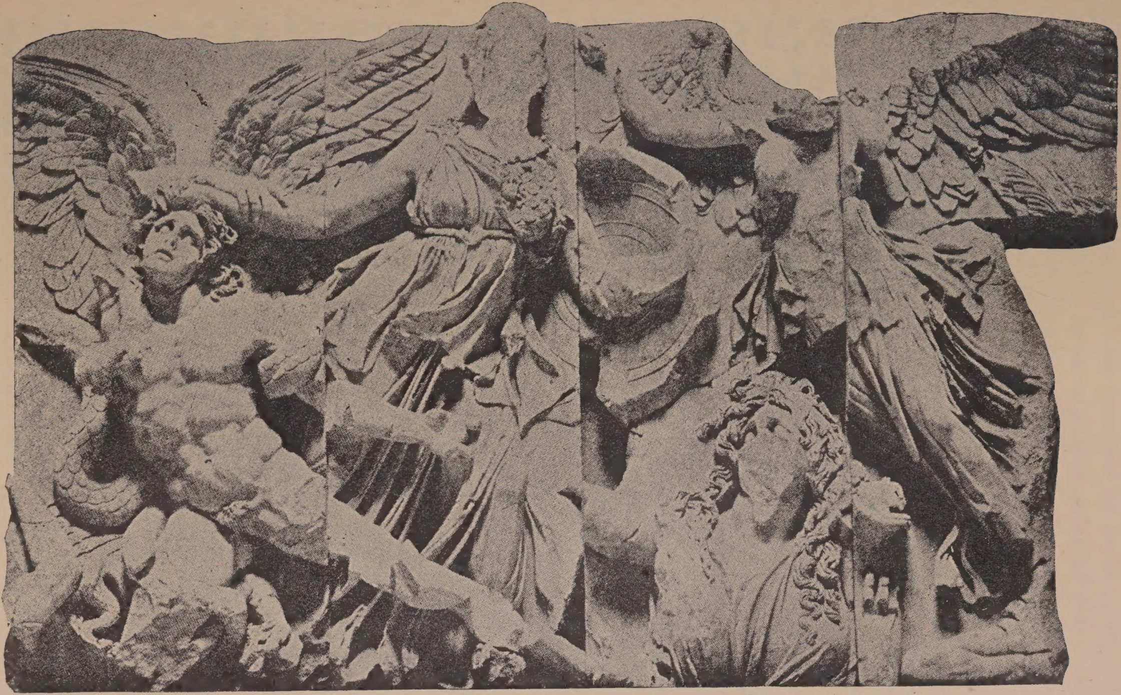

FIG. 133.—Group from Pergamene Altar : Athena, Giant, Earth (Berlin).

of his right hand at her arm over his head; and the attitude gives to his figure a certain grace even in its agony such as we do not often see in this frieze. Another wonderfully dramatic effect is gained by the appearance of the Earth herself, who rises to the waist above the ground in front of Athena, begging with a gesture of prayer and a despairing upward gaze for her children the Giants, while Victory floats over her head to crown Athena. Yet, in spite of all balance of composition and of dramatic action, the mind of the spectator is bewildered here, as everywhere else in the frieze, by a too restless variety of line. There is nowhere any fixed point on which the eye can rest, nor any surface free from the turbulent waves of hair and wings and drapery, unless it be a nude body, in which the strained muscles and contorted position give a similar impression. The struggle is continued in a succession of groups all varying in their motives and circumstances. One, which is preserved upon several continuous blocks, shows the deities of light—Helios (the sun) driving a pair of horses in the long, floating drapery of a charioteer, while before him rides a goddess on a horse, who probably symbolises the dawn (Eos). However suitable such a representation may be on a vase representing the sunrise, one cannot help feeling it rather out of place in the midst of a battle where every god is engaged with his own adversary. Selene (the moon), who is seated on a mule, with her back to the spectator, her head turned to the left, is among the most pleasing in the frieze, both for figure and drapery. Artemis appears in the guise of a huntress with her dogs; close to her is Hecate, who offers yet another example of the attempt of the artist to combine a traditional form with a new and almost incompatible motive. Her triple figure is represented, but what we see appears at first glance to be only a single figure, seen from the back and advancing into the ground of the relief; the extra heads and limbs that appear behind it have no apparent organic connection with it. Apollo stands almost facing the spectator as an archer, his chlamys hanging over his left arm, and his body entirely nude—a fine and effective piece of modelling, and quieter in its pose than most of the combatants, especially in contrast to the writhing Giants around. Dionysus appears with his panther and his satyrs. The deities of the sea, Poseidon, and Amphitrite, and Triton, and the rest, occupy a whole wing on one side of the staircase. A prominent position is found also for Cybele, with her lions and attendants. For the Giants it was impossible to find as much variety as for the Gods, but every device has been used to attain a similar impression. Some, as the Giants of earlier art, are like human warriors, only of wilder aspect and greater strength. This is the character under which we saw them portrayed in the dedication of Attalus at Athens. But the later Pergamene sculptors did not content themselves with this type. Whether they first gave to the Giants the snake-footed form in which many of them appear on the altar is a matter of dispute; but in any case they did not originate the combination; it was already familiar in the representation of Typhoeus and of the earth-born hero Cecrops. It appears in every variety on the frieze: sometimes the snaky legs begin at the thigh, sometimes not till below the knee; and many of the Giants have wings also like Typhoeus. Some are still more strange mixtures of different natures, such as a lion-headed monster, with lion's claws and human body and limbs, who is strangled by one of the Gods. But what are most characteristic throughout are the writhing serpent coils, which are seen almost everywhere in the frieze, and contribute in no little degree to the feeling of struggle and restless motion that pervades the whole.

The relief is high, many of the figures, or parts of them, being entirely detached from the background. The architectural frame in which the frieze is set is itself of peculiar construction; it projects to an exceptional extent both above and below, and thus the relief gains a depth of setting which enhances its effect. The chief technical peculiarity of the relief is that there is not here, as usually in Greek sculpture, a normal front plane which is never exceeded by the projecting portions; the limbs of the combatants seem to project almost at the artist's caprice as they advance or retreat in or out of the background; and this motion itself is not only along the direction of the frieze, but at right angles to it towards or away from the spectator. Thus we have a still further increase of the bewilderment and confusion which indeed challenge our admiration, but also offend a finer artistic sense. We see, indeed, a living and moving mass; but it is more like the phantasmagoria of a troubled dream than the calm dignity and breadth of the Greek sculpture of an earlier age. The drapery, too, adds to this impression; it is full of flow and life, with a wonderful sense of texture and motion; yet it has no single broad and intelligible scheme. Here we see a device studied from an earlier model, there a piece of direct and realistic observation from nature—but all confused with an eclectic yet indiscriminating desire to use every resource of art at once. When we come to the modelling of the nude, we must assign a higher merit to the Pergamene work, as was to be expected in a school directly dependent on the pupils of Lysippus. Nothing could surpass the mastery with which the heavy and muscular torsos of the Giants are rendered, whether they are strained in the combat or contorted in the agony of death; and we have noted in some of the torsos of the Gods, such as Zeus and Apollo, almost the only surfaces on which the eye could rest for a moment from the confused detail around. The expression, again, which we see in faces like that of Earth, or of the young Giant seized by Athena, are worthy of the successors of Scopas, and have all his dramatic power, though more distorted and less restrained in character. And the way in which the marble is worked to represent whatever the artist has in his mind has never been excelled in mere technical skill, though this very facility has sometimes led to a lack of true sculptural instinct in the choice of what ought to be represented.

The smaller frieze of the same altar was never finished, and in some parts was only blocked out in the rough; it represented scenes from the life of the local hero Telephus. The chief interest of the frieze lies in its resemblance in background and setting to the Hellenistic reliefs mentioned on p. 476; it is, indeed, a work of the same nature in a continuous composition instead of separate panels; the same landscape background occurs throughout. We may well see in this an influence of Alexandria on the art of Pergamum, such as was probable enough from their literary rivalry.

The Great Altar was probably built during the most prosperous and quiet time of the reign of Eumenes, between 180 and 170 B.C. The names of the artists employed were inscribed upon it, but have almost entirely disappeared. Only one name is of interest, which appears in the genitive, that of Menecrates, the adoptive father of the sculptors of the Farnese bull. This probably implies that his sons were among the sculptors of the great frieze.

§ 67. *The Rhodian School: the Laocoön.*—The activity of the Rhodian school of sculpture is attested by a large number of signatures of artists which have been found in the island, as well as by the statement of Pliny that there were a hundred colossal statues in the island which, though eclipsed by the huge work of Chares, would each have sufficed to make any other place famous. Apparently many sculptors were attracted from Asia Minor by the great prosperity of the island in the latter part of the Hellenistic age. The inscriptions of these Rhodian sculptors fall into two groups.[1] Of the earlier of these groups, which belongs to about 200 B.C., we have no extant works. One of the sculptors belonging to it was Aristonidas, who made a statue of Athamas, in the remorse which followed the fit of madness in which he slew his son. This statue is one of those, like the Jocasta of Silanion, in which we hear of strange admixtures of other metals with bronze to produce a certain tint. Here a mixture of iron is said to have rendered the blush of shame and contrition. The technical difficulties in the way of believing such a story are apparently insuperable.[2] To the later group of sculptors, who worked after the middle of the first century B.C., belong Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, the sculptors of the Laocoön (Fig. 134). Though this work may, in actual date, be assigned to the Roman rather than the Hellenistic period of art, it is better to treat the whole Rhodian school together in continuous succession, and not to separate from its antecedents a work which shows so clearly the influence of Pergamum.

The Laocoön has acquired an almost fictitious importance from the circumstances under which it was exhibited in the palace of Titus at Rome, from the essay on the principles of art, of which Lessing made it the theme, and from the controversy which has arisen about its date and affinities. Now that we have the Pergamene frieze for comparison, and are able from inscriptions to fix the date of Agesander and his colleagues within narrow limits, the Laocoön falls naturally into its place in the history of Greek sculpture, as the last and most extreme example of Pergamene art, which strives after exaggerated pathos by an actual representation of pain and agony, and refuses no device that may add to the dramatic, almost theatrical, effect, because such a device does not readily harmonise with the principles of sculpture. Yet Pliny speaks of the Laocoön as a work to be set above all others, whether in painting or sculpture, and Lessing, instead of quoting it as an example of what sculpture should not attempt, uses it, in comparison with Virgil's description, as an illustration of the difference between the principles of poetry and sculpture. If Lessing had been able to see all the examples of Greek sculpture which now fill our museums, from the Elgin marbles to the Pergamene altar, we can hardly doubt that he would have estimated the Laocoön in a different way. With this group, indeed, we enter upon the study of a series of works, such as the Apollo Belvedere and the Venus dei Medici, which we shall find ourselves compelled to judge by a different standard from that of Winckelmann and his associates. To them these late works were representative of Greek art, simply because they had never seen any monuments of better period, such as we now may study in any museum; and, instead of disparaging their criticism when we may find reason to modify it in the light of fuller evidence, we cannot but wonder at the intuition which led them to recognise, in the products of a decadent age, the trace of those virtues which had distinguished the highest period of Greek sculpture.

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[1] See Loewy, 159-205; Hiller von Gärtringen, *Jahrb.*, 1894, p. 23.

[2] See Introduction, p. 32.

Now that we know the group of Laocoön to have been made in all probability before Virgil's description of the same subject was published, our comparison of the literary and the sculptural treatment of the same theme is freed from a good deal of vain speculation. The group cannot be intended as an illustration of Virgil's description; and although both are doubtless derived from a common tradition, what we know of Virgil's method in other cases will warn us against assuming any very close imitation of the original from which he copied, especially in the pictorial realisation of the scene which must have been in his mind. On the other hand, the description of Virgil does not appear to be derived directly from the group made by Agesander and his colleagues. It is by the succession of the narrative, as Lessing points out, that the poet attains his effect, not by an elaborate description of the pose of his subjects at any one dramatic moment. The awful approach of the serpents across the sea, their first attack on the two children, and their turning on Laocoön himself, when he rushes to the aid of his sons, cannot find any expression in sculpture, though on these things the pathos and terror of the poetical description mainly depend. But when we turn to the group itself, we cannot help feeling that the object of the sculptor was not so much to express in marble the story of Laocoön as to make use of the theme as a pretext for a group of figures struggling in the agony of a cruel death; and, however much we may admire the skill with which he has rendered his repulsive subject, the choice of such a subject in itself suffices to show that he—or rather the age in which he lived—had lost the finer instinct for sculptural fitness. Death in itself, when met with a fortitude like that of the dying Galatian, may reveal the character as nothing else can, and show a quiet dignity, which affords an admirable subject for sculpture; but the case is different when such a subject leads to a mere pathological study of agony and contortion. There is not here even that grace of composition and bodily form which distinguishes the young Giant conquered by Athena upon the Pergamene altar—a figure which somewhat resembles the Laocoön in pose, if we remember that the upraised right hand of the Laocoön is a false restoration, and that his arm should be restored, as on ancient reproductions of the group, with his elbow bent back so as to bring his hand close to his head.

The technical excellence of the group, no less in composition than in execution, must be acknowledged. It is of a pyramidal form, and the contrast between the father and the two sons gives it variety. The one on the right seems as if about to escape, a version of the story in which the sculptors followed the early poet Arctinus. The expression of agony in the drawn brow and open mouth of the father, and in the despairing glance of the younger son, is borne out in every line of muscle and limb; we see throughout the strain of intense physical torture. Such pathological study, however far from the true domain of sculpture, would be justified in a sense, and even have a peculiar merit of its own, if its realism was equalled by its correctness. But one cannot help feeling that the motive of the whole is inadequately rendered. The snakes have no truth to nature, but are zoological monstrosities. They clearly are not of the poisonous order, but kill their victims by crushing them in their irresistible coils; yet for such a process they have not the girth or muscular development; the coils in which they are wound about Laocoön and his children give them no real grip, but are merely designed in a conventional and decorative manner to suit the artistic

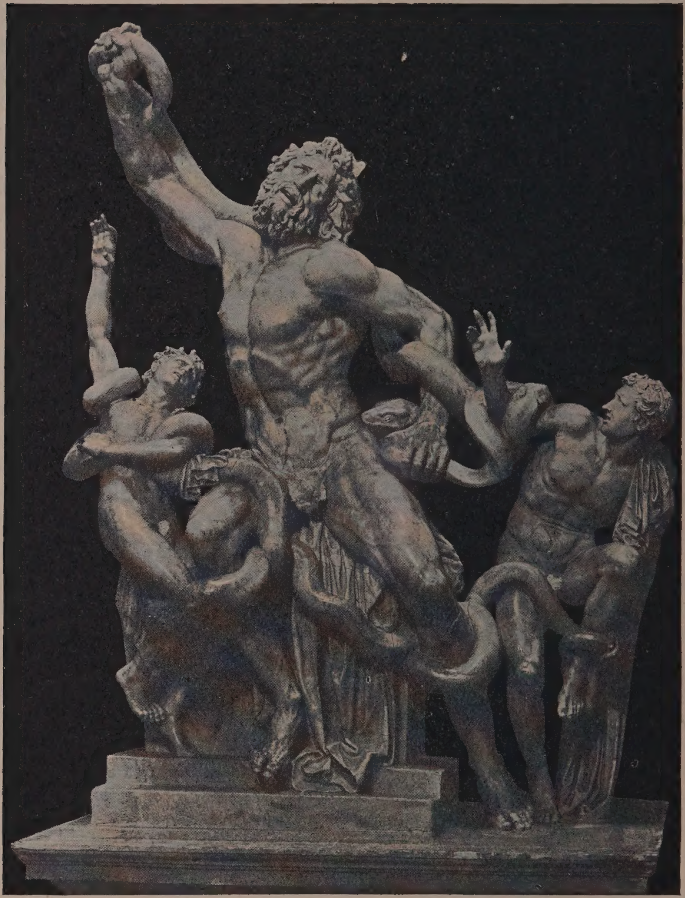

FIG. 134.—Laocoön (Rome, Vatican).

effect, and one of them is biting like a dog. It is the same mixture of realism and convention which we saw in the great frieze of the Pergamene altar; and although we cannot deny to the sculptors a wonderful power of design, of modelling, and of expression, their work lacks the truth to nature, which alone can justify so extreme a realism.

§ 68. *Tralles—the Farnese Bull.*—Another great group of sculpture, which, like the Laocoön, was originally set up in Rhodes and later transferred to Rome, has been preserved to our time. This is the group at Naples known as the Farnese Bull (Fig. 135). It represents the cruel punishment inflicted by Zethus and Amphion, the Theban heroes, upon their stepmother

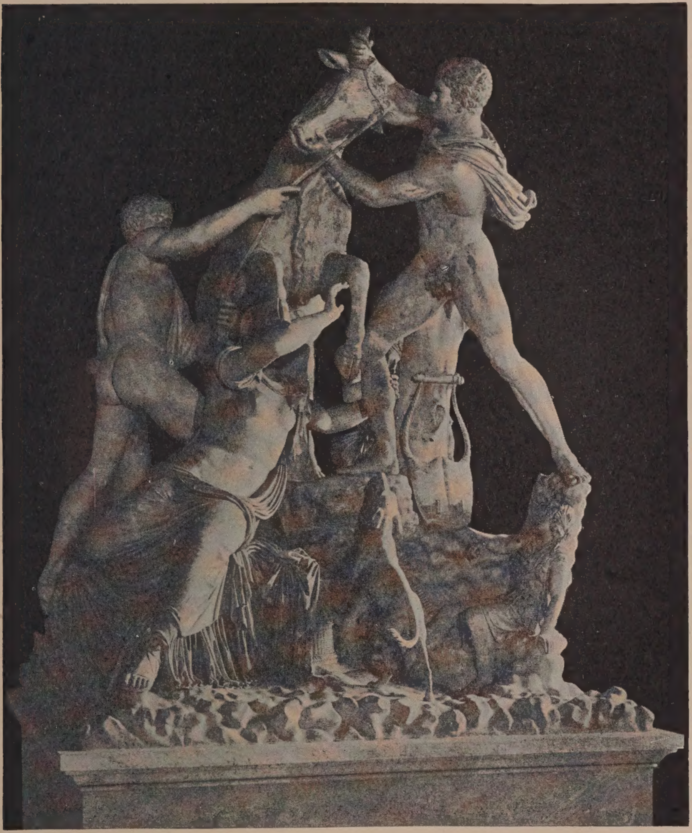

FIG. 135.—Farnese Bull (Naples).

Dirce, at the instigation of their mother Antiope, who looks on as an unmoved spectator. They have caught a young bull, to which they are in the act of tying their victim by a rope; she lies on the ground, and lifts her hand in vain supplication. The sculptors, Apollonius and Tauriscus, were brothers, and probably lived in the first century B.C. Thus, in date, this group also falls into the next period; but it belongs, like the Laocoön, to the works of the schools dependent on Pergamum, and it seems better not to separate it from this connection. In its pyramidal composition this group recalls the Laocoön, and it shows the same skill in dealing with a huge mass of marble;[1] but here the skill of the design is still greater, since the group produces a similar effect from whatever side it be seen, and is not intended only for a front view, like the Laocoön. The choice of subject is clearly due to a desire for an ostentatious display of the sculptor's skill, and so is characteristic of the school and period.

The setting of the group is of interest, as showing another influence which we have already noticed at work in another example of Pergamene art—the smaller frieze of the Great Altar; it is really a translation into the round of those pictorial accessories which we have first seen translated into relief in the Hellenistic panels mentioned above. So here we have a rocky field on which the scene takes place, and it is diversified not only by plants and animals, wild and tame, but also by a small seated figure, a personification of the mountain Cithaeron, on which the action takes place. But the minute size of these accessory figures, and their disproportion to the main group, offends us by its incongruity. It is yet another example of that excessive and undiscriminating use of convention which seems peculiarly unfitting in a work which claims our admiration for the skill of the sculptor and his realistic power. Another attribute which seems out of place, though in a different way, is the lyre of Amphion, which leans against a tree-trunk at his feet, while he is in the act of seizing and mastering the bull. Here we again see the same use of convention, which, though it does not seem incongruous in an archaic work, is here even less appropriate than on the Pergamene frieze.

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[1] Here, as in the case of the Laocoön, Pliny states, the work was made *ex uno lapide*. Either he is wrong, or he means merely "in one continuous piece of marble"; several blocks are joined together in the case of both works.

§ 69. *The Ephesian School—Agasias.*—We have already, in the case of Rhodes and Tralles, trangressed the limit which we assigned, on general grounds, to the Hellenistic period, in order to follow out the ultimate development in Asia Minor of those schools of sculpture which were, in their origin, dependent on the associates and pupils of Lysippus. At Ephesus we find yet

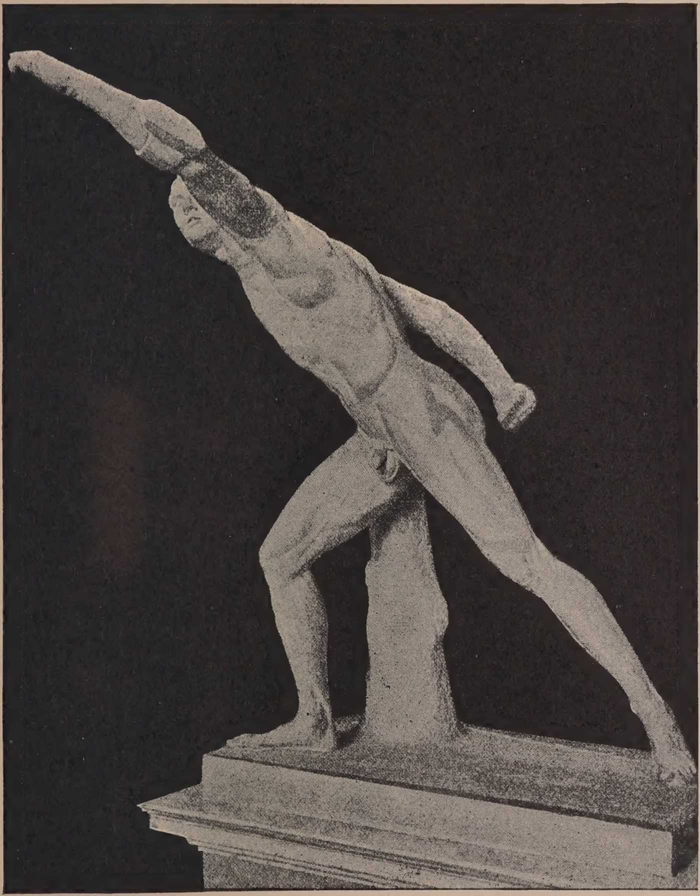

FIG. 136.—Borghese Warrior, by Agasias (Louvre).

another school, which shows clear traces of the influence of the great Sicyonian master, at a time separated by more than two centuries from the age of Alexander. This school is not mentioned by ancient authorities, but is known to us only from inscriptions;[1] its two chief names are Agasias and Menophilus; but Agasias is the name of more than one artist. Besides the Agasias, son of Dositheus, who made the famous statue of the Borghese warrior,[2] now in the Louvre, there is another Agasias, son of Menophilus, whose name occurs on a basis at Delos, though the statue that belongs to it is lost.[3]

The Borghese warrior stands with his feet planted far apart, and stretching out his shield to the utmost reach of his left arm, while his right arm holds his sword in reserve (Fig. 136). The attitude is that of a combatant on foot attacking a horseman; it is evidently chosen because it strains every muscle of the body, and so gives an opportunity for display of the sculptor's knowledge of anatomy; and in this display consists the main interest of the work. We see here the last development of the great school of Argos and Sicyon, which had devoted itself to the study of athletic forms. It is true that we have before us a combatant, not an athlete; and in this we may see the influence of Lysippus and his pupils who represented the battles of Alexander, and of the Pergamene artists who celebrated the Galatian wars; but the opportunity for rendering the nude male form in the utmost tension is hindered by no clothes or defensive armour, and so the subject suits the sculptor's purpose as well as if it had been athletic. The Borghese warrior is essentially an anatomical study; every muscle and sinew stands out clearly, and is rendered with great knowledge and accuracy; but the figure looks almost as if it had been skinned, and there is no covering of flesh, nor any attempt to render the actual texture of the surface of the body. We may compare this treatment with the almost equally dry and muscular rendering of the body and limbs in the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and we can at once recognise the difference between the early work and the late. Critius and Nesiotes are indeed carried away by their mastery of athletic form, which is too new and too hardly won by observation and diligence to be unconscious, like that of the great sculptors of the finest period; and as a natural result they emphasise unduly many details which in a living body are only to be seen by close study; but their object is to make a worthy monument to the slayers of the Tyrants, and in the splendid dash and vigour of the onset we can forget the too dry and hard treatment of the muscles. But in the work of Agasias we feel that the muscular exaggeration is the purpose of the statue, and that the attitude of attack is merely chosen as a pretext for its display. And, moreover, the work bears the impress of academical and anatomical study, such as the scientific schools of Alexandria and Asia Minor had encouraged, rather than of fresh and diligent observation of the living and moving body. For this reason the Borghese warrior is excellent as an anatomical model; but, as a work of art, it merely excites our admiration of the sculptor's knowledge and skill, but in no way interests us in his theme.

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[1] See Loewy, pp. 287-292.

[2] Usually called, in old books, the Borghese Gladiator. It has been asserted that because the Borghese statue was found at Antium it must date from Imperial times; but it is probable enough that it was transferred from elsewhere to the Imperial villa there. The inscription, according to Loewy, is about contemporary with those of the other Agasias.

[3] The wounded warrior who has been associated with this basis does not probably belong to it, but is one of a series of combatants showing Pergamene influence.

§ 70. *Later Ideals of the Gods: Damophon, Apollo Belvedere, Aphrodite of Melos, etc.*—*Damophon* of Messene[1] is a sculptor whose relation to Phidias has been generally recognised, though in his case it has never been supposed that he was a direct pupil of the great Attic master. He worked in the second century B.C., and his chief works were made for his own city of Messene and for Megalopolis. But his choice of subject, since all his works are representations of gods set up in temples, and his skill in gold and ivory work, which led to his employment in repairing the statue of the Olympian Zeus, show that he followed the traditions of Phidias in a later age. So long as only literary notices[2] of his work were preserved, it was natural to date his artistic activity by the foundation of the two cities to which he supplied so many temple statues, especially as there was no later time when so great an energy in this direction seemed probable among the Arcadians. But in addition to his work at Messene and Megalopolis, Damophon made a colossal group at

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[1] See G. Dickins in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xii. and xiii.; the results of his work are here summarised.

[2] It is curious that these are only found in Pausanias; probably because Damophon lived later than those compilers on whose work Pliny and others have drawn.

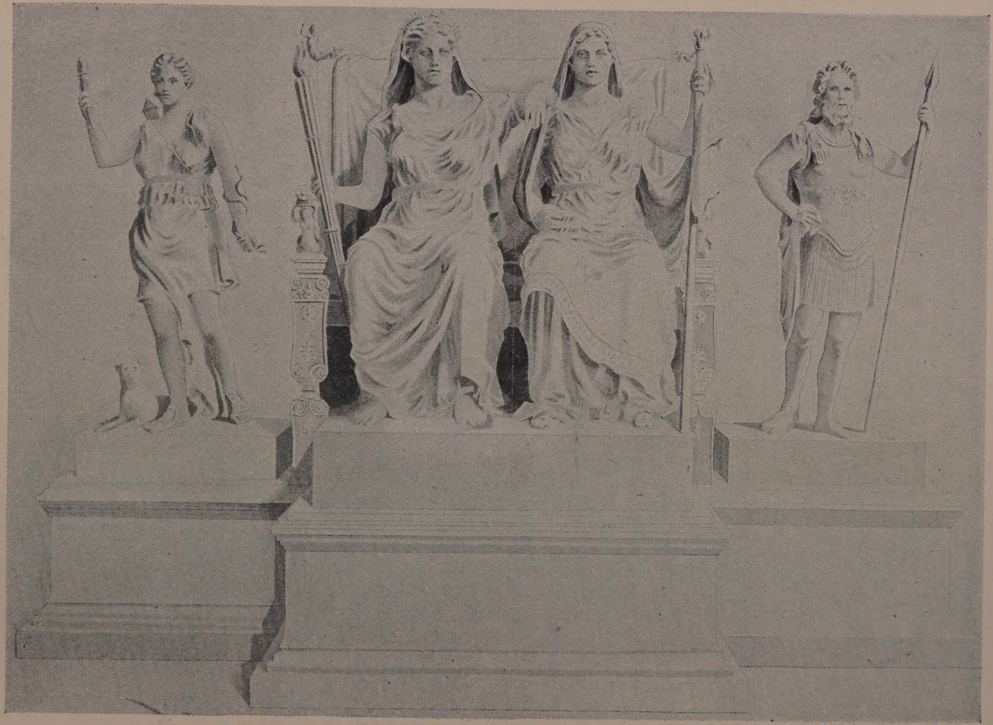

FIG. 137.—Group by Damophon at Lycosura.

Lycosura in Arcadia, representing the goddesses Demeter and Despoena (the local name of Persephone, "our Lady") seated, with Artemis and the Titan Anytus standing beside them. Recent excavations have not only laid bare the temple in which this great group was set up, but many fragments of the statues themselves have been recovered, including the heads of three of the figures and a very richly decorated piece of drapery. These fragments show more originality of work, and more deviation from the accepted types of fifth-century or even fourth-century art, than had been expected; and their discovery has necessitated a reconsideration of the evidence as to the date of Damophon, while it has at the same time placed him among the most interesting in artistic character of the sculptors whose works have survived. Though the architectural evidence has been disputed, its most probable interpretation implies that the temple was first built in the second century B.C., and repaired in Roman times. Inscriptions found at Lycosura and at Megalopolis also confirm the placing of Damophon in the early part of the second century B.C. Now that the group has been reconstructed from a careful study of all the extant fragments, the general character of its composition can be better appreciated. The two central figures are seated upon a richly decorated throne, ornamented on the arms and back with sea-creatures, Tritons and Tritonesses. The two figures themselves have a striking resemblance to the two seated figures—commonly called Demeter and Persephone—in the east pediment of the Parthenon; it is probably not too much to say that Damophon, in designing his group, consciously imitated these two figures,—a proceeding quite in accordance with his adherence to Phidian traditions, and probable enough in an eclectic age such as the second century. A somewhat artificial arrangement is to be seen in other details—above all in the way in which the drapery of Despoena is held high on her sceptre by her left hand, so as to display its rich ornamentation. The two subordinate figures, which stand on each side of the throne, are on a smaller scale; that of Artemis follows a familiar type, in rather strong motion, which is not very appropriate to its position in the group, and her wind-swept drapery is inconsistent with the quiet and heavy masses of the drapery of the enthroned figures. The proportions of the colossal group are also in some instances not very successfully worked out. There is a strong individual character about the heads

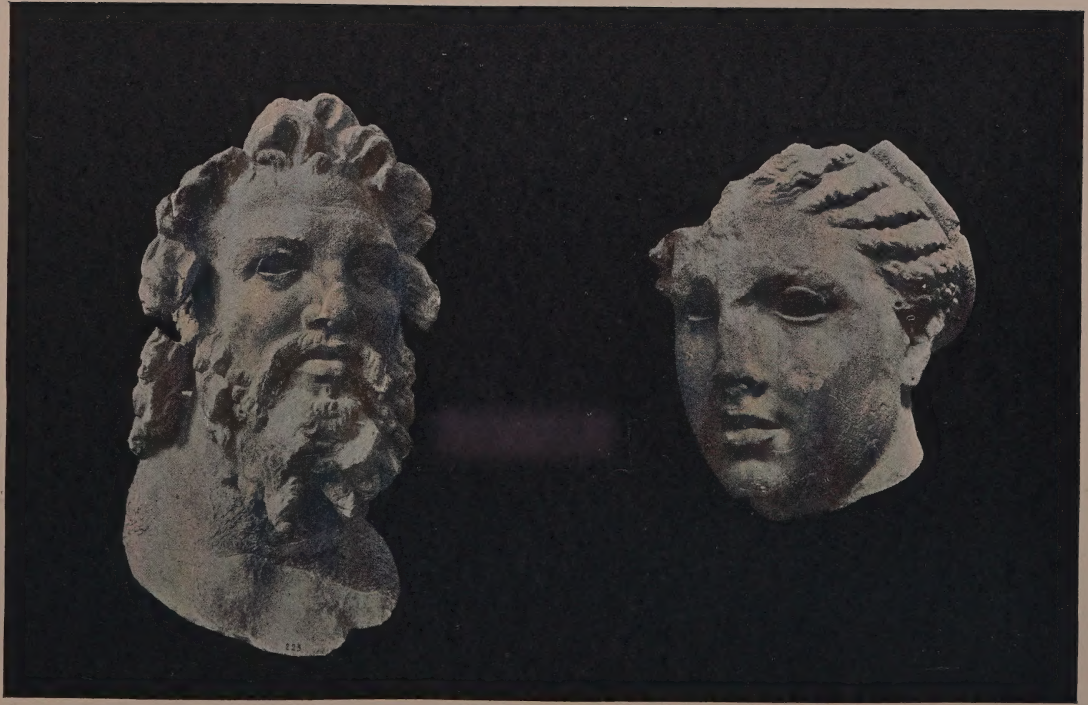

FIG. 138.—Heads of Anytus and Artemis, from group by Damophon at Lycosura (Athens, National Museum).

from Lycosura; the largest of the three, which belonged to one of the two seated figures, shows considerable breadth and dignity; the two smaller heads (Fig. 138), which belong to the two subordinate standing figures, are treated with more freedom; both have the eye-sockets hollowed, for filling with precious stones or enamel. The face of Artemis is remarkable for its lips, pouting in front and drawn in at the sides so as to be very short; the mouth, seen from the front, is hardly longer than the eye. This seems to be a matter of feature and temperament rather than of passing expression; it gives a remarkably life-like appearance to the head; and that of the Titan also, with its rough and dishevelled hair and beard, strongly impresses the imagination, and is not easily forgotten. The drapery (Fig. 139), with its translation into low marble relief of the rich decoration of a woven or embroidered garment, such as had sometimes been imitated in the great gold and ivory statues of the gods, is also unique in character; it consists partly of purely decorative patterns, partly of conventional figures and of quaint dances, in which the performers are beasts in human clothing;

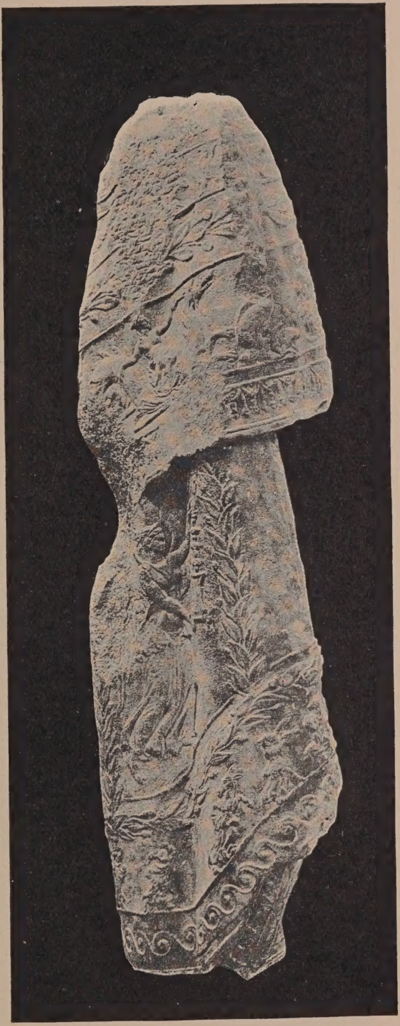

FIG. 139.—Drapery from group by Damophon at Lycosura (Athens, National Museum).

but all are combined into a rich and harmonious effect. Some of Damophon's other works were acrolithic; and we have seen that the custom of making the flesh parts of a statue in white marble and its drapery in gilded wood is to be regarded as a cheaper way of getting the same effect as Phidias and others had produced by their statues in gold and ivory. Damophon also made various decorative works at Megalopolis—among them a table, ornamented with figures and groups of gods that remind us of the table of Colotes at Olympia. We may recognise in his work a last outburst of originality in Greece, corresponding to the last days of Greek independence, and showing that the tradition of Phidias and Scopas had not entirely passed away to the new centres in the east. When Damophon was assigned to the fourth century, the character of his work could only be explained on the supposition that he lived apart from the general artistic tendencies of his time. His eclectic quality and his reversion to the ideals of an earlier age are better suited to the period in which he must now be placed.

In speaking of the Apollo Belvedere, it is needful for us to bear in mind the increase of our knowledge of Greek art since the end of the eighteenth century; the same caution was needed in the case of the Laocoön. Since the days of Winckelmann and his followers, the Apollo Belvedere has acquired a sort of prescriptive right to rank as a typical example of a Greek god as rendered by the finest Greek sculpture; and, as a natural consequence, many excellences have been attributed to this statue which it does, in some degree, actually possess, as a more or less direct product of the art of Greece. Now that we can see those same qualities exhibited in a less contaminated form by many other extant works of better period and more authentic character, we do not think of turning to the Apollo Belvedere for their illustration; but, in comparing the estimate of the Apollo Belvedere which is forced upon us by modern criticism with the enthusiastic admiration of earlier writers on Greek art, we must remember that he is now being judged by a different standard. If it is his defects rather than his perfection on which we have to dwell, this is because we now compare him with the genuine products of Hellenic art, instead of with the mass of Graeco-Roman works among which he stands out in conspicuous excellence.

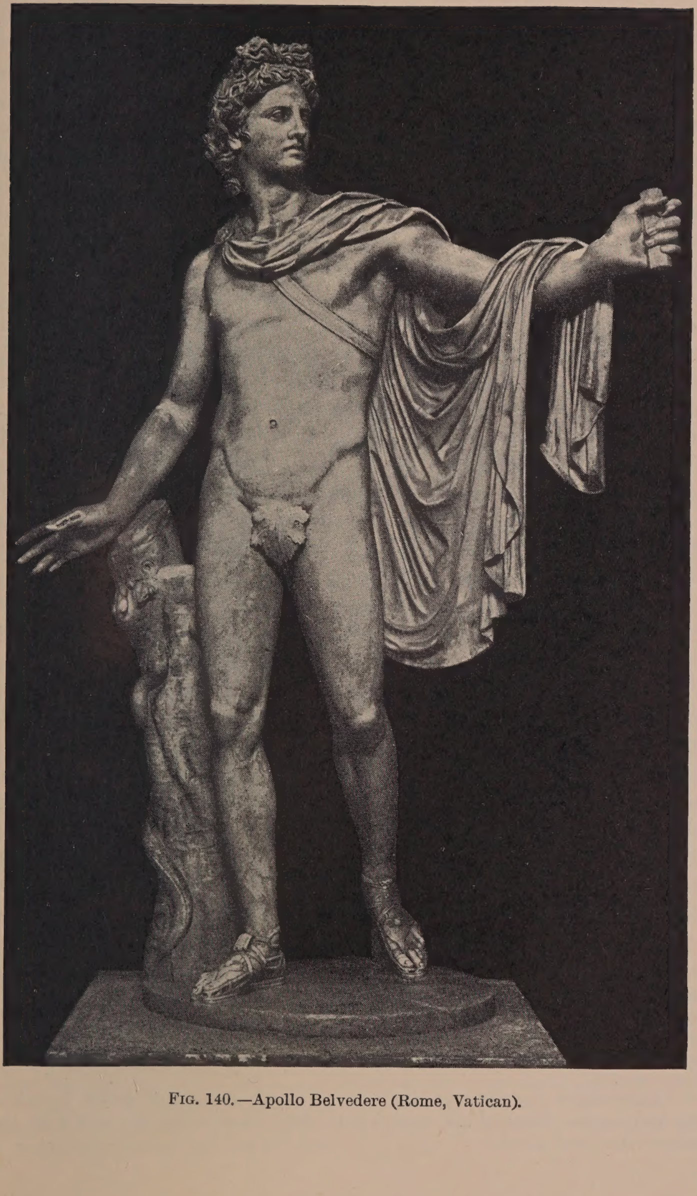

FIG. 140.—Apollo Belvedere (Rome, Vatican).

The statue (Fig. 140) stands in the Belvedere of the Vatican, from which it takes its name, and is a marble copy of a bronze original. This is evident both from the character of the modelling, especially in the hair, and from the design; a large thin expanse of garment, like the chlamys which hangs from the left arm of the god, is easily enough rendered by a sheet of bronze, but in marble is clearly unsuitable. The god stands with his left arm extended, his right lowered, and his feet rather widely apart; his glance follows the direction of his extended left arm, and the position suggests an archer, who has just shot an arrow and watches its flight.[1] Such is a common Greek conception of Apollo, and the correctness of the interpretation is confirmed by the Apollo of the Pergamene frieze, who stands in a similar position, and is certainly shooting with bow and arrow.[2] This Pergamene figure, however, also offers a contrast; he is standing firmly on his two feet as an archer should, and is full of life and vigour. The Apollo Belvedere, on the other hand, seems gracefully posing as an archer rather than actually shooting, and there is something theatrical about the disdainful smile of his parted lips. The eyeballs, though shadowed by the projecting brow, are in themselves remarkably prominent, and show a strongly convex curve; this is best visible when the face is seen from below. The modelling of the body is in many ways the very opposite to what we see in the Pergamene figures; there every muscle is emphasised and even exaggerated; here all strong modelling is refined away until we have a form which may, perhaps, be called ethereal, but is certainly lacking in human vigour. It is perhaps a reaction against the realistic tendency which was at the time so strong in Pergamum and elsewhere; but the Apollo Belvedere is certainly open to an objection which some critics make, unjustly, against the idealistic tendency in sculpture; in him generalisation and avoidance of individualistic traits have gone so far as to lose touch with nature. If we had not other works of better period to correct our impression, we might, when we look at this statue, be inclined to sympathise with the charge which has been brought against Greek art generally by those ignorant of its history and conditions—that it cares more for mere grace and beauty of form than for truth to nature and expression of character. How little such a general criticism is justified we can see from the whole study of Greek sculpture; but it nevertheless does apply in this instance. As to the precise school and period to which the Apollo Belvedere is to be assigned we have no certain evidence.[1] More than one copy from the same original exists, and therefore that original must have been a well-known work; the character of its style which we have already noticed, and above all the rather theatrical nature of the pose, seem to show that we must assign it to the Hellenistic age; but we have no clue to guide us to any more definite conclusion.[2]

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[1] A statue in Petrograd, evidently reproducing the same original, known as the Apollo Stroganoff, holds in the left hand the folds of some object like an aegis or goat-skin—not, it seems, the end of the chlamys. Accordingly some have asserted that the Apollo Belvedere also held the aegis, not a bow. The matter is one of endless and not very profitable controversy. Furtwängler cuts the knot by declaring the Apollo Stroganoff a modern forgery (*Meisterwerke*, p. 660; Eng. trans. p. 406).

[2] Furtwängler (*loc. cit.*) says that the Belvedere statue held also a branch of bay and woollen fillets in the right hand. This would make the motive of the outstretched bow absurd.

The Artemis of Versailles (or *Diane à la biche*), now in the Louvre (Fig. 141), has been universally recognised as the counterpart of the Apollo Belvedere, and by a correct instinct; the modelling and conception are similar in character, and most of what has been said about the Apollo applies to the Artemis also. The figure of the virgin huntress, tall and slim, rushing through the woods in pursuit of her quarry, and reaching an arrow from her quiver with her right hand, is one with which we are familiar in Greek art, from the time of Strongylion down; it is finely embodied in this statue, with a successful striving for the desired effect; but all is marred by an addition like so many we have already noted in Hellenistic art; the stag which she holds by the horn with her left hand is merely a conventional attribute, such as we find often enough on early vases and statues; but it is remarkably out of place in a work like this, which depends for its effect on the reality and truth of the impression conveyed. The way in which the drapery is turned back above the left

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[1] Winter, *Jahrb.*, 1892, p. 164, assigns the Apollo Belvedere to Leochares, on the ground of its resemblance to that artist's Ganymede, and Furtwängler agrees with him. I must confess myself unable to see the least resemblance in style between the two works; also, on more general grounds, we cannot regard the Apollo Belvedere as even in origin a possible creation of the fourth century.

[2] There is no evidence for the theory that this Apollo, the Artemis of Versailles, and a certain Athena should be grouped together as an offering set up at Delphi after the repulse of the Gauls in 279 B.C.

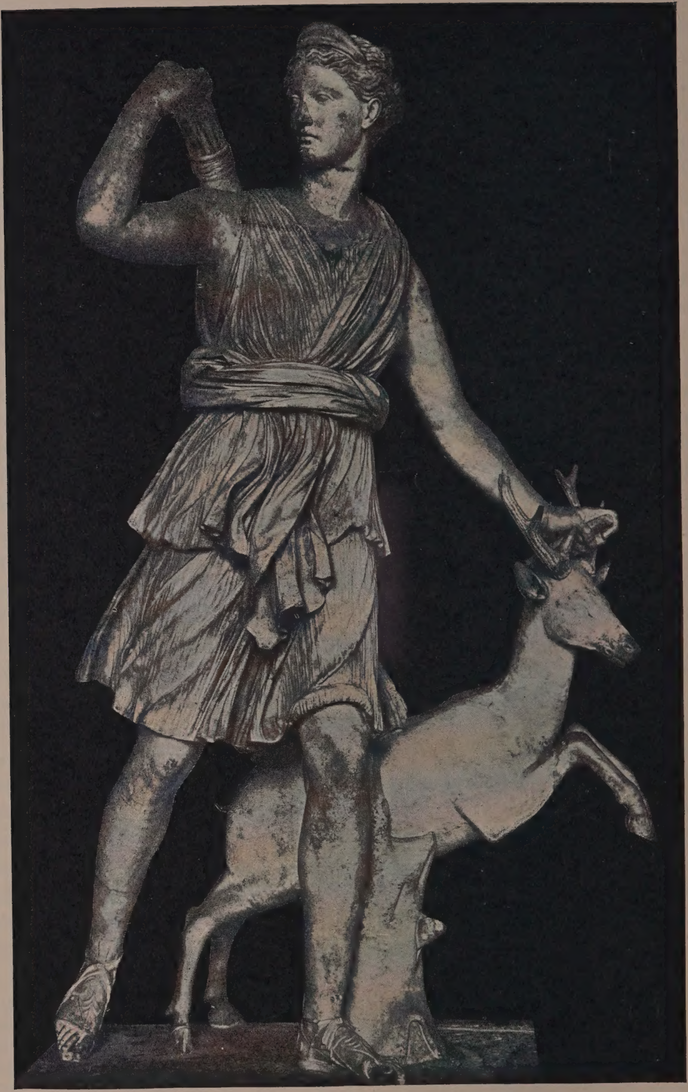

FIG. 141.—Artemis of Versailles (Louvre).

knee, merely in order to display the beauty of the thigh, is another touch that betrays a master of the decadence.

We must now turn to a work which, though it must be assigned to the same period, is of an entirely different character. This is the famous statue known as the Venus of Melos (Fig. 142), which is the chief treasure of the Louvre, and is considered by many, not without reason, to be the most beautiful of all the statues that have survived from antiquity. There is a breadth and simplicity about the modelling of this statue which recall at first glance the character of the fifth century, and its attribution to so late a period always excites a conscious or unconscious protest. Yet we shall see good reason for the place to which it is assigned in the history of sculpture. The statue was found at Melos, in a grotto, together with some other antiquities, among them a portion of a plinth, which had on it an inscription recording that the statue it bore was made by a sculptor whose name ended either in -xander or -sander, of Antioch on the Meander.[1] The name is otherwise unknown; but the character of the writing suffices to show that he probably lived about 100 B.C. This plinth is said to have joined on to the plinth of the Venus of Melos at the place where that plinth is cut away under her left foot; but it has now disappeared, and some have even suggested that its disappearance was not accidental, but was contrived by those who wished to claim a more distinguished authorship for the statue. There has been much controversy about this question. On the whole it is probably safest to follow the verdict of Loewy, who, after a careful summing up of the evidence, decides that the connection of plinth and statue must be regarded as "not proven."[2]

The goddess stands, her left foot raised on a slight inequality of the ground, and her drapery wrapped about her lower limbs, the upper part of her body being bare. The motive of her position cannot be ascertained, unless we can discover the correct restoration of her arms—a problem which, in spite of endless discussion, has hitherto found no final solution. The pose of the figure is almost identical with that which we see in a type of Aphrodite grouped with Ares, of which we have several copies. In another type she rests her left foot on a helmet, and holds in her hands the shield of Ares, which she uses as a mirror; and a later modification of the same type is seen in the Victory of Brescia, who is engraving on a shield the names of those

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[1] See Loewy, p. 298.

[2] Furtwängler, in his *Masterpieces*, accepts the plinth as belonging, and even restores the statue on its authority as resting the left arm on a pillar, for which the basis has a socket. But his restoration is not convincing, and he himself acknowledges it to be awkward in pose.

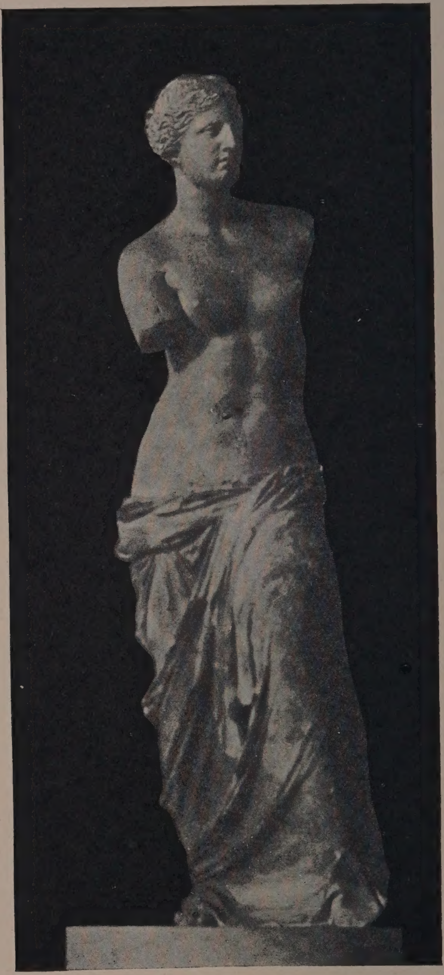

FIG. 142.—Aphrodite from Melos (Louvre).

whose exploits she celebrates. But it does not seem probable that the pose of the Aphrodite found in Melos—for her identification as Aphrodite follows an instinct that cannot be gainsaid—was due to her holding a shield. She may have been holding up her drapery with her right hand; for without such assistance it could not stay where it is for any length of time; but this, too, is not a satisfactory explanation, and it is probably wiser to acknowledge that we are at fault.

In the arrangement of the drapery we see the stamp of the Hellenistic age. The artist wishes to represent the bodily beauty of the goddess unveiled, but he also has a feeling that nudity is inconsistent with her majesty and dignity; and, halting between the two opinions, he adopts a compromise which once more brings us back to the strange relapse into convention so common in Hellenistic art. The drapery, like that of Zeus in the Pergamene frieze, is so designed as to allow of an effective display of the figure while lending its dignity to the deity; but, in order to attain this end, it is placed in a position where it would be almost impossible to arrange it, and whence it certainly must fall at the slightest movement. A sculptor of the fifth century would not, probably, have ventured to represent Aphrodite except in complete drapery: a sculptor of the fourth century represented her completely nude without hesitation. It remained for the eclectic art of the Hellenistic age to attempt to combine two irreconcilable conceptions, and to be forced by the attempt into an unnatural convention.

But, in spite of this defect, we must acknowledge that the artist has caught much of the spirit and the dignity of the best period of Greek art. For a conception of the female figure at once so dignified and so beautiful we have to go back to the sculpture of the Parthenon; and we see the same breadth and simplicity of modelling in the drapery as in the nude. The expression of the face, too, has the grace and charm which we admire in the work of Praxiteles, without a hint of the too soft and sensual tendency which we may trace in his followers, if not in himself. The sculptor who made this Aphrodite of Melos must have lived, in spirit, in the age of Phidias, even although he could not entirely escape the contaminating influences of his own day, and he has given us a work which, now that we have lost the originals from which he drew his inspiration, is not unworthy to transmit something of the beauty and majesty of the great works of the fifth century.

§ 71. *Other Works of the Hellenistic Age.*—Amongst the works made to glorify the victories of Alexander and his successors, those that we have hitherto noticed have either portrayed the actual scenes of combat or the portrait of the monarch in whose honour they were made, and some combined the two. But the custom of setting up a statue of the goddess Victory (Νίκη) in celebration of a successful battle or campaign was usual in Hellenistic times as it had been in earlier Greece; and the Louvre possesses a statue, found on Samothrace, which is a magnificent example of the custom (Fig. 143). This Victory was set up by Demetrius Poliorcetes to celebrate a naval victory in 306 B.C. We do not know who was the sculptor of the statue, but it is reproduced upon the coins of Demetrius, and has been identified with their help,[1] hence we may infer that it was greatly admired at the time, and it ranks as a typical work of the beginning of the Hellenistic age.

The goddess is represented as standing on the prow of a ship. With her right hand she holds a trumpet to her lips, with her left she carries a cross-tree, the framework of a trophy. Her wings are outspread behind her, and her drapery is swept by the wind so as to cling close to her body in front, and to stream in heavy masses away from her limbs; her knees are hardly bent, and so the figure, in spite of its rush of forward motion, does not seem to advance by its own speed, but by that of the ship on which it stands. The effect of the statue is most powerful, and, like that of the Pergamene frieze, overwhelming at first glance; but it must be admitted to be sensational in character. In order to realise this we may compare it with the Victory of Paeonius, or even with the figures in rapid motion from the Nereid monument, which are intermediate between it and the earlier work. There is a realistic vigour and dramatic force about the Victory of Samothrace which carry us away at the first impulse; but from it the eye turns with relief to rest on the simpler conception and execution of the fifth century.

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[1] The identification has been disputed; but not, I think, on sufficient grounds. There is nothing in the style of the work inconsistent with an early Hellenistic date; the effective treatment of the drapery is a development of what we see in the work of Scopas and at Ephesus, and is totally different from the mannerisms of Pergamene work.

This is chiefly the effect of the treatment of the drapery, with its wonderful and restless sweep, now to one side, now to another ; the goddess seems to rush straight from the stress of combat, and to show its violence and glory rather than the Olympian serenity that characterises the earlier Victory.

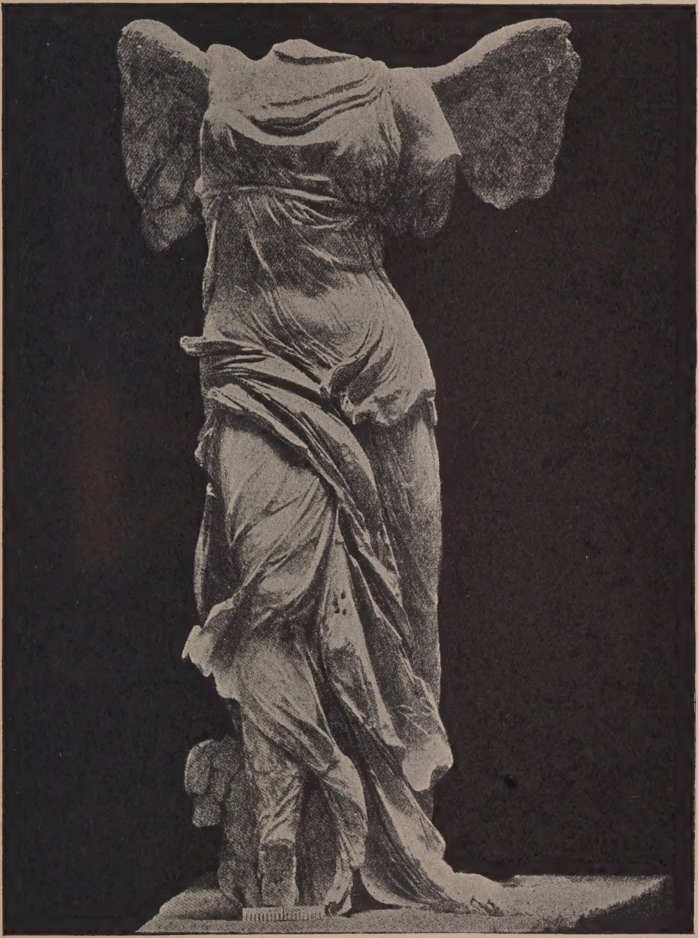

Fig. 143.—Victory from Samothrace (Louvre).

Theatrical power and mastery of technique are there; and there is something pictorial about the design which must have been peculiarly effective in the surroundings amidst which the statue was erected, in the open air and in the open country. Then it must have been almost startling to come upon this effective Victory, sweeping through the air on her ship to announce her tidings; and if there is too conscious a straining after effect on the part of the artist, we must also recognise that he has been successful in his effort.

Another work which cannot be placed far from the beginning of the Hellenistic age is a head found at Eleusis of remarkable workmanship (Fig. 144). Owing to a certain theory as to its identity it has come to be known by the name of the "Eubuleus," which it seems likely to retain, even when spoken of by writers who deny the correctness of the identification. This is unfortunate, though not unnatural, since any name is better than none by which to refer to an extant work.[1] It consists of the head and shoulders of a young and beardless man, more than life size. It was never part of a complete statue, nor, on the other hand, is it either cut away below the neck into a square pillar, as is usual with herms both in earlier and later times, or finished off as the conventional bust which has been common since Hellenistic times. It is, in fact, transitional in form between the two; and this is consistent with a position in the history of sculpture at the beginning of the Hellenistic age. Such a position we may assign to it also on the ground of its artistic character. The full and wonderfully soft modelling of the flesh, the deeply undercut and overhanging masses of the hair, are such as are unlikely at an earlier date; and, above all, the distinctly Alexandroid type of the head shows its approximate date. It is not a portrait of Alexander, but it has a strong resemblance to his features, such a resemblance as reminds us of other works of about the same age that have been brought into relation with him; for example, the Inopus of the Louvre. The small eyes and sensual mouth suggest Alexander with the stronger and better parts of his character omitted; and, moreover, the head seems to have much of the nature of a portrait, and has more than once been identified as a portrait, though without convincing success. It is either some mythical person represented under the features of a man, or a man posing as a hero or god; and the man either had or affected to have a close resemblance to Alexander, and cannot have lived long after his time. We cannot say more than this with any confidence; but the extraordinary delicacy and softness of the modelling, which is such as we see only in the finest Attic treatment of marble,

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[1] It was found in the sanctuary of Pluto at Eleusis, and was called Eubuleus because that god, or hero (he is both in myth), was there associated with Hades in worship. And further, on the authority of a headless herm at Rome with the inscription Εὐβουλεὺς Πραξιτέλους, it was claimed by both Benndorf and Furtwängler as an original work by Praxiteles. Kern, in *Mitth. Ath.*, 1891, p. 1, showed that the identification was mythologically improbable. There is certainly no such resemblance to the Hermes or other attested works of Praxiteles as to incline us to the artistic inference; and the meaning of the Roman inscription and its applicability are extremely doubtful. A more recent, and, so far as subject is concerned, more probable suggestion is the identification of the head as the Iacchus of Praxiteles; but the difficulties of style still remain. See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1911 (Svoronos).

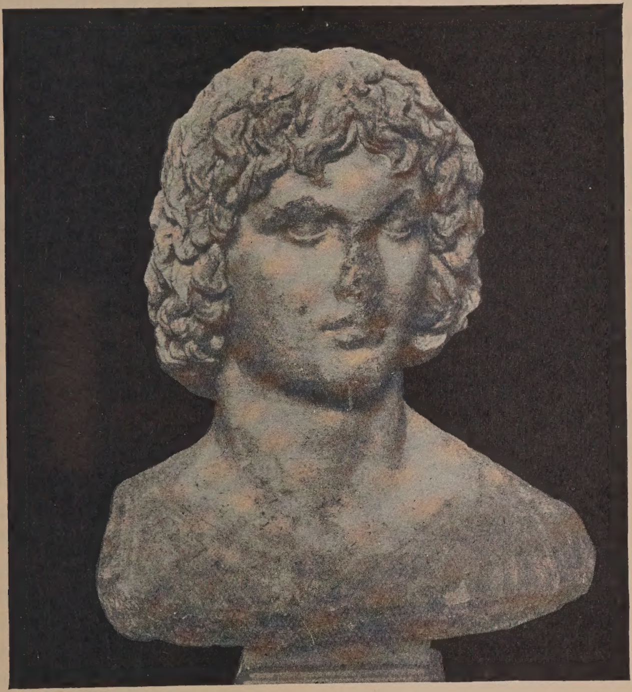

Fig. 144.—Head from Eleusis, known as "Eubuleus" (Athens, National Museum).

cannot blind us to the unpleasing and unworthy nature of the subject represented. In spite of this drawback, however, the head is a most characteristic example of the idealising portraiture, or of the assimilation of an ideal subject to the features of an individual—we can hardly say which it is; but both alike are typical of the beginning of the Hellenistic age, when the decline of the religious conception of the gods was matched by a corresponding exaltation of men who seemed to have acquired almost divine power and attributes.

Another recent discovery serves as an excellent example of the bronze work of the Hellenistic age; for it is marked by the absence of those characteristics which we have noted in the work of Lysippus and of other fourth-century masters. This discovery consists of a life-size bronze statue, which was found, together with several others, in the remains of a wreck, dating from early in the first century B.C., off the island of Cerigotto[1] (Fig. 145). The circumstances of the discovery give little clue as to the date, for the cargo was a miscellaneous collection of works of various periods from the fifth century down to Hellenistic times, in all probability a consignment to a Roman dealer rather than a collection of captured spoil. The bronze statue, which is the chief treasure of the collection, was broken into a great many pieces, but it has now been put together and mounted; only a few small portions are missing.[2] The very great amount of divergence which we find among modern critics as to the period or authorship of this statue is in itself instructive; it has been attributed to any time from the fifth century to the Hellenistic age, and to the influence, or even the hand, of several of the best known masters. The subject also has caused much discussion; the statue represents a young man—whether god or hero or mortal athlete is uncertain—standing lightly poised on his left foot, while his right arm is extended; in its fingers are traces of some round object that has now been lost. This object may be a ball, and some game of catching or throwing may be alluded to; others have interpreted it as an oil-flask, though in that case the position

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[1] Sometimes called by its official modern Greek name of Antikythera.

[2] The way in which the statue has been restored, so as to conceal the losses, is open to criticism. But there is no ground for the assertion that the restoration has obscured or confused the style; the extant fragments suffice to indicate the form throughout.

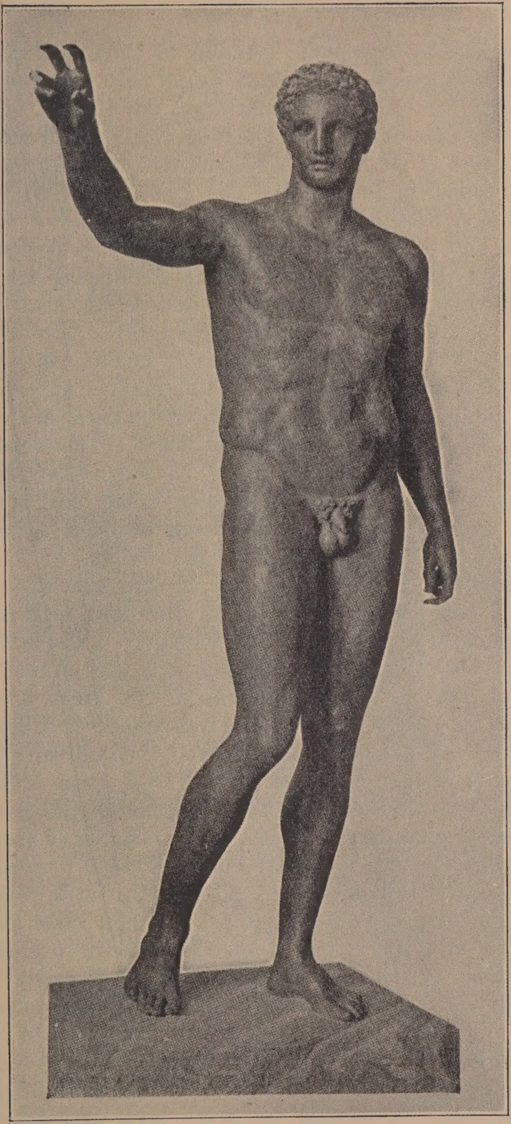

Fig. 145.—Bronze statue found off Cerigotto (reproduced from *J.H.S.* XXIII. ix.) (Athens, National Museum).

would not be easy to explain. Among mythological explanations the most ingenious is that which would interpret the statue as Perseus with the head of Medusa; but the right arm does not seem to carry a heavy weight. The identification as Hermes Logios, in the position of an orator, is inconsistent with the presence of the round object in the hand. The fact is, that the motive is not obvious or necessary, it is rather an excuse for the pose of the statue, and so, the accessories being lost, it is useless to guess its meaning. Here we have a desire for display and a lack of simplicity which at once stamp the work as later than the fourth century. A study of the modelling confirms this impression; in the torso, which is disproportionately heavy, the muscles are treated in the laboured and anatomical manner of an academic age; the limbs, which are slender in comparison, are realistic in parts and lacking in consistency of form. The head is of a character that fits the same period. Its superficial resemblance to the Hermes of Praxiteles has been noted, and some critics have seen in it a likeness to the work of other artists of the fourth or even the fifth century. But when we compare it with originals of this time, we see at once that it has lost all distinction, and has blunted down the fine features of the Praxitelean head to a commonplace triviality. There is certainly much beauty of type in the face, but it is just of that academic kind which reflects the attainments of the great masters, but loses most of their power and individuality. The statue, however, as a life-size bronze original, undoubtedly of Greek workmanship, though of later period, is of great value to us; and this not because it gives us a new original of the greatest age, but because it gives us a representative example of the ordinary kind of bronze statues that were made in great numbers in the early part of the Hellenistic age, no less than at an earlier date. Looked at in this light, it shows us the high level attained by such works, and the strength of the artistic traditions that survived from earlier times, though we can easily see in it the eclectic and academic methods by which such results were attained.

The works which we have just considered must be assigned to the beginning of the Hellenistic age. One of them, indeed, the "Eubuleus," is claimed by some high authorities for the fourth century. We must conclude by a brief mention of some works which give us a notion of the versatile activity of the Pergamene school, of which we have already seen the chief monuments. One of them is a representation of the flaying of Marsyas, in which one of the more morbid of the Pergamene masters found a congenial subject. It had been represented before by the painter Zeuxis among others, and we possess reproductions of the group on sarcophagi and on other minor works of art, which show that the satyr was represented tied up to a tree, suspended by his arms, which are secured above his head. In front of him crouched a barbarian slave, sharpening the knife with which the cruel punishment was to be performed; and Apollo was probably represented as a spectator. We have already noticed scenes from the same myth in earlier sculpture among the works of Myron and Praxiteles. But the representation of its painful conclusion was reserved, at least in sculpture, for a Hellenistic artist. The actual flaying is not indeed portrayed; but its agony seems to be anticipated in the expression of the face and the whole body of the satyr Marsyas. His muscles seem not only horribly strained by his suspension, but also shrinking from the pain of the operation for which the slave is preparing his knife. The Marsyas exists in several copies, more than one in Florence; but in execution they are all surpassed by the statue of the crouching slave which is in the Tribuna of the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. This statue is of the same marble as the replicas of the dedications of Attalus,[1] and has the same polished surface. It also shows the same skilful rendering of the barbarian figure which we saw in the Dying Gaul. It is these characteristics that make it most probable that we must assign the group to a Pergamene sculptor.

A characteristic example of the athletic art of the Hellenistic age, as well as of later portraiture, is the bronze statue of a boxer now in the Museo delle Terme in Rome. If we compare this with the athlete statues of the fifth or the fourth century, we see what a change has come over the athletic type with the growth of professionalism. The boxer is seated in an easy position, his head turned over his right shoulder as if he were speaking to a standing companion. His hands and lower arms are enclosed in the heavy cestus of later pugilists. His broken nose and swollen ears testify to the stress of former combats, while a recent fight has left open scars on his face and limbs. His

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[1] See p. 492.

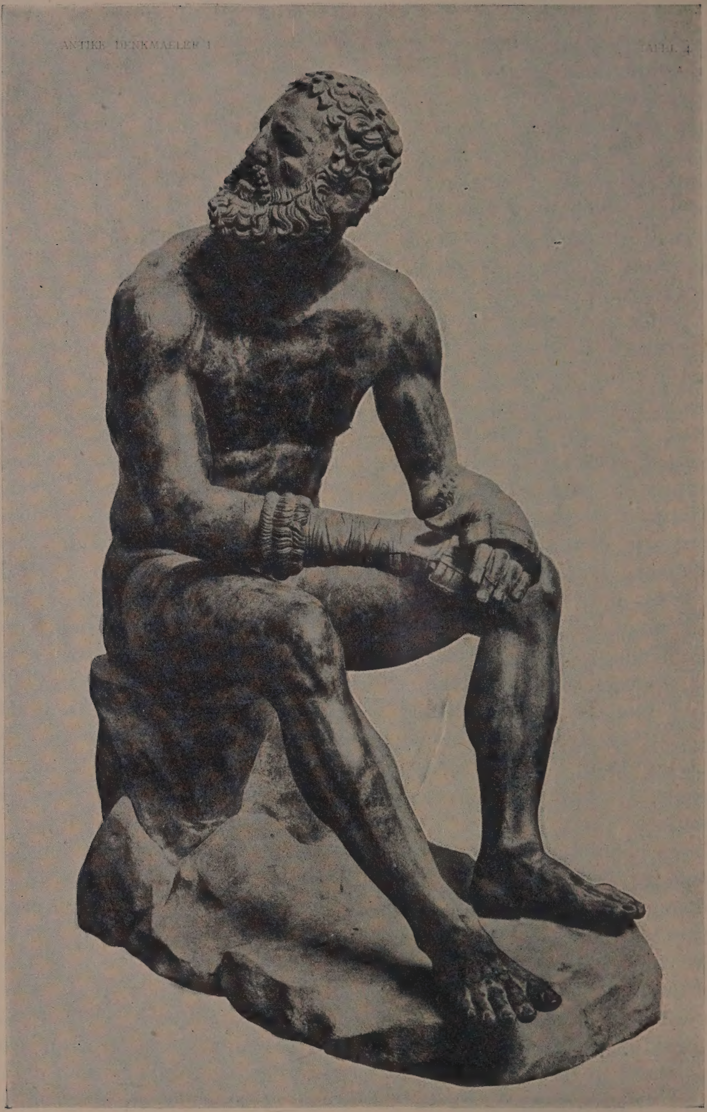

FIG. 146.—The Boxer of the Terme (Museo delle Terme, Rome).

proportions are of massive and brutal strength; but his splendid physical development suggests no corresponding intellectual or moral qualities. We may compare him with the bronze head of a boxer, of somewhat similar style, found at Olympia.[1] Alike in face and figure we see the realistic tendencies of the age; and there is also a certain dramatic touch in the position which contrasts with the simplicity of earlier work, though it is full of life and vigour. A recently deciphered inscription on the cestus gives the sculptor's name as Apollonius, son of Nestor.[2]

There is another set of works of playful and realistic *genre* which we may also assign to the Pergamene school. One of these is a bronze found at Pergamum, and now at Berlin. It represents a young satyr, who is hardly to be distinguished from a shepherd boy, who springs back and defends himself with his short club from the attack of some animal. The figure is full of life and action; alike in face and body we see that fulness, almost excess of expression, that the Pergamene artists affect. The choice of such a subject, which in its character reminds us of the idylls of Theocritus, once more shows us that love for wild and country life which we have already noticed as characteristic of the age. Another similar work is a statuette in marble, in the British Museum, of a boy drawing a thorn from his foot[3]—another touch of country life such as was dear to the art of such cities as Alexandria and Pergamum. In these works, as in the pastoral, we see an affectation of rustic simplicity which is a sure symptom of the artificiality of a decadent age.

§ 72. *Summary.*—The leading characteristics of the art of the Hellenistic age have shown themselves clearly in the various works of the period which have come before us. One of the chief influences at its beginning was the dominant personality of Alexander, which not only gave a new impulse to portrait sculpture in celebrating him and his successors, but actually affected the artistic type of the period, so that even gods were created after his image. The sculptor who was mainly employed by Alexander was Lysippus, and therefore it is not surprising to find him looked upon by many of the Hellenistic schools as their master, and to find his pupils directing the activity of

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[1] *B.D.* 247.

[2] See p. 550.

[3] It is a matter of dispute whether the famous bronze boy of the Capitol, the Spinario, is an early version of this same subject, or a late archaistic modification of a theme invented in the Hellenistic period.

Greek art in the new centres it had found in the East. But Scopas had been before him in Asia Minor, and his power of expression and of pathos was likely to impress the sculptors of later time, and to excite their emulation. We have seen in the art of Pergamum, and of the later schools dependent upon Pergamum, the dramatic and sensational development of which Hellenistic sculpture was capable.

We have noticed the craving for an artificial simplicity which was the natural result of the crowding of the population into great cities like Alexandria, and the expression which that craving found in art as well as in literature. Following the bent of pastoral poetry, sculpture also represented the scenes and the characters of country life, sometimes actual fishermen and shepherds, sometimes satyrs, who are no longer the personal attendants of Dionysus, but mere personifications of country life, sharing the character of the rude and simple peasants among whom they are imagined to live. Children, too, are represented with truth to nature, and even the gods are sometimes represented in childish form.

It is above all in the conception of the function of art that the Hellenistic age differs from the earlier periods. Sculpture is no longer mainly concerned, as in the fifth century, with the embodiment of the sublimest ideals of the gods, nor even with their more human and personal characterisations as in the fourth century. The types of the chief deities have, so to speak, become stereotyped and conventional, and the artist can only add colossal size or brilliancy of execution to the attainments of his predecessors. It is partly due to this fact, partly to the employment of art almost exclusively in the service of the kings of those regions into which the empire of Alexander was divided, that a desire for what was magnificent and imposing almost superseded the need for artistic expression of the ideas of the sculptor or of the people. Great works like the Colossus of Rhodes and the Pergamene altar ranked among the wonders of the world, and by that very fact satisfied to a great extent the aim of those who had erected them.

An age of decadence is often an age of study and criticism, and the Hellenistic period is perhaps the most conspicuous example of this tendency. The study of nature in detail, of botany and zoology and anatomy, has left many traces in Hellenistic sculpture. The great libraries of Alexandria and

Pergamum were the chief centres of intellectual activity; and a study and criticism of earlier sculpture came to have an excessive influence on the art of the day. Of course in earlier times each school had had its tradition, and its succession of masters and pupils; and the chief schools had also acted and reacted upon one another, especially during the times of the greatest activity. But we now for the first time find the details and mannerisms of earlier artists studied and imitated; and this, combined with the academic study of anatomy and of the model, gives a lack of spontaneity and freshness to most of the chief monumental works of the time, in spite of their dramatic power and imposing effect. In smaller works, on the other hand, we often find a freshness and humour that remind us of the poems of Theocritus. But throughout we feel that the sculptor chooses the subject for the sake of its effect, and its scope for exhibiting his own skill or fancy. He is rarely inspired with a great idea, which it is his aim to embody; and even when the result is a work so beautiful as the Aphrodite of Melos, it is not the spontaneous growth of the sculptor's own period and personality, but is due to his devotion to the types and ideals of a greater age.

Nevertheless, the great works of the Hellenistic age, and especially those which belong to the Pergamene school, are the products of a living art, full of vigour and force. We hear but little of Greece itself during this period; and when the sculptors of Athens again become prominent, they but confirm the impression that all the strength and originality of the Greek genius had followed Alexander in the spread of Hellenism over the Eastern world.

CHAPTER VI

GRAECO-ROMAN AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

§ 73. *Historical and Social Changes.*—So far we have been concerned with the history of sculpture, if not in Greece itself, at least among people of Greek nationality and civilisation. When Hellenic art, as well as Hellenic language and literature, followed the conquests of Alexander to the East, it did not change its essential nature; and it was the pride alike of patron and of sculptor to claim Greek birth and nationality, and to trace a direct succession from the highest period of Hellenic art. There are indeed some apparent exceptions—notably in the case of the sarcophagi found at Sidon, where Greek artists must have been employed by princes of a foreign dynasty; but those princes appear to have left the sculptors a free hand, and to have been the better pleased the more closely the work resembled what was made among the Greeks themselves.

It is true that Hellenism spread to the West as well as to the East, but it was under different conditions. Alexander was of Greek race, and posed as the champion of Hellenism; so that the influence of Greece upon the East came with all the prestige of a system imposed by a conqueror upon his subjects; and although it found a ready acceptance, and was assimilated with enthusiasm by its new devotees, it did not forget the pride of its origin. But Greek influence on Rome was the reaction of a conquered people upon its conquerors, and was never free from the tinge of dependence and contempt to which such a relation naturally gave rise. It is a trite saying—

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit;

but neither conqueror nor conquered forgot their political and social position. Of course there were men of finer taste and higher culture in Rome, by whom the literature and art of Greece were estimated at their true value. But, in the main, the Roman regarded the artistic and intellectual attainments of Greece as things either to be despised or at most to be patronised as an ornamental addition to the luxuries of life. The tone of even so refined and cultured a poet as Virgil is not to be mistaken :—

Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore voltus ;
Orabunt caussas melius, caelique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent :
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento ;
Hae tibi erunt artes ; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos.

Macaulay's cruder expression of the same sentiment—

Leave to the Greek his marble nymphs
And scrolls of wordy lore—

probably represents fairly enough the feelings of the average Roman upon the matter. But the Roman populace demanded that the arts of Greece should be made a show in its triumphs, just as it demanded wild beasts from Africa, or gold and silver treasures from Asia. And Roman amateurs also came to affect a taste for Greek statues and other works of art, such as was sure to create a supply to meet the demand. The record of Greek art under such conditions cannot but be painful and humiliating, and here we will be content with the merest sketch of its later activity.

Rome, indeed, is not without sculpture of its own, which, though dependent upon Greece for its technical expression, is national in character; partly decorative, partly historical, the latter of two kinds—the portraits of men whose features are worth recording because of the personality they represent, and reliefs which record the exploits of Roman emperors, their campaigns, and the people against whom they fought, with an accuracy that makes them invaluable to the historian and the ethnologist. But here it is the subject rather than its artistic treatment that interests us. Reliefs like those of Trajan's column rank, from the point of view of sculpture, with the wall reliefs of Assyrian palaces; and both alike are outside the domain of Greek sculpture, which is our present theme. Graeco-Roman sculpture, in the stricter sense of the word, is interesting to us mainly because it was the medium through which much of the art of Greece was transmitted to the Renaissance, and also because we ourselves, though to a less degree than our predecessors, are dependent upon it for our knowledge of the originals which it imitates or reproduces.

§ 74. *The Carrying off of Masterpieces.*—The first material result of the conquest of Greece by Rome, so far as sculpture is concerned, affected the great works of the artists of earlier periods rather than the art of the day, and those who were employed in its practice. The first Greek cities to suffer the loss of their artistic treasures, carried off as plunder to decorate the triumph of a victorious Roman general and then to be set up by him at Rome, were those of Southern Italy and Sicily. When Syracuse and Capua and Tarentum fell into the hands of Rome, though Hannibal was still in Italy, the terror of his victories was waning; and, in the confidence of ultimate success, the Romans began to decorate their city with the spoils of the Greek colonies. The great Roman victories that soon followed in Macedonia and in Asia Minor each added to the artistic plunder, and a whole day in the triumph of the general was given to the mere procession of captured statues. It is said that M. Fulvius Nobilior carried off from Ambracia no less than 785 statues in bronze and 230 in marble; and these had doubtless been already accumulated there by Pyrrhus. The triumphs of Flamininus, of Scipio Asiaticus, and of Aemilius Paulus were as rich in sculpture. But so far Greece itself was, at least by a political fiction, regarded as independent, and its central shrines were spared. A new epoch begins with the sack of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C., and the reduction of Greece to a Roman province. From this time forward even the most sacred centres of Greek religion—Athens and Olympia and Delphi—were not only open to plunder by generals like Sulla, who respected no place or person, but also to the more quiet and gradual robbery of Roman proconsuls, who carried off the most famous works of Greek masters, either to enrich their own private collections, or to set up in public buildings at Rome, and so to win the favour of the people. The extent to which this practice was carried is sufficiently attested by Cicero's Verrine orations. In Imperial times the shrines of Greece were again and again denuded of their choicest treasures: no statue was spared for its sanctity or for the difficulty of its transport.

Caligula is said to have attempted to move even the colossal Olympian Zeus of Phidias, though portents prevented the completion of the work. It is true that occasionally a statue was sent back to its own place by the compunction of an emperor for the rapacity of his predecessors; but these few exceptions made no appreciable difference to the steady influx of masterpieces from Greece to Rome. Nero is said to have carried off 500 bronze statues from Delphi alone. In the great fire at Rome countless works of art must have perished; and he sent envoys to ransack Greece in order to fill up the gaps. After all these depredations, it is astonishing to find how much was still left for the traveller to see in the days of Pausanias.

With the foundation of Constantinople there was a yet further drain on the apparently inexhaustible resources of Greece. Not only were numerous statues transferred from Rome to the new capital of the world, but works like the great bronze Athena of Phidias at Athens, and, according to some accounts, his Olympian Zeus, were carried off to Constantinople, there to await their final destruction at the hands of ignorant mobs or barbarian conquerors.

§ 75. *Centres of Art and Migration of Artists.*—We have already followed the developments of the local schools of Asia Minor, mainly dependent upon Pergamum, even beyond the strict chronological limits of the period to which we assigned them upon artistic grounds. The sculptors of these schools, however, were mainly devoted to working for those among whom they lived; and if their works found their way to Rome, it was mostly as a result of the same system of plunder that carried away the statues made by earlier masters. They did not lay themselves out to meet the demands of the Roman market. In Greece, and especially in Athens, it was otherwise. We have already noticed the scarcity of original work of merit or interest in Greece during the Hellenistic age, and so we are prepared to find the artists of Athens ready to turn their skill to the service of their new masters, and to supply either copies of well-known works of art, or new statues of a more or less conventional and imitative character. Such statues were required to furnish the galleries and villas and gardens which were considered necessary by a rich Roman who had any pretension to taste or culture. And it was natural that sculptors working under such conditions should also transfer themselves and their studios to the place where they found the best market for their wares. We accordingly find many Greek sculptors, especially of Attic origin, working in Italy and in Rome. Their signatures are found upon works of sculpture which, in some cases, we can identify as copies of earlier works by known masters; and to their name is usually added the adjective Ἀθηναῖος, which suffices to show that they were working away from their home.[1] And the only schools of sculpture in which we notice any coherence of growth of tradition are those which flourished in Rome itself, to supply, both for public dedications and for the collections of amateurs, the examples of Greek art which were indispensable.

Though the extant statues of Roman period are for the most part signed by Attic artists, they are not to be taken as representing exclusively a continuation of the Attic school of sculpture. The fact is that in art, as in dialect, there was by this time established a κοινή—a stock of types and traditions which were regarded as the common property of all sculptors, irrespective of their origin; and if an Athenian received a commission from a Roman amateur, he was just as ready to reproduce a work of Lysippus as of Praxiteles. And we may expect him, if a faithful copyist, to introduce less of his own Attic training into his work than we should expect to find at an earlier period. Of course every case must be judged separately, and we must allow for the modifications introduced by the copyist in the original. But the mere assertion of nationality in a sculptor's inscription need not in itself count for very much, and certainly does not imply that he regards the statue on which it occurs as a specimen of Attic workmanship.

§ 76. *Statues of the Gods.*—The galleries of all the museums of Europe are full of statues of the gods, of the most various degrees of excellence in execution; and the great majority of these were made by late Greek sculptors to meet the Roman demand. Most of them are merely variations upon a limited number of well-known and conventional types. Some are doubtless direct copies from earlier originals; such copies can in some cases be recognised, but more often we have no data to help us in their identification. Many are not so much copies from any one well-known original as reproductions of the established type of some deity; and though this type may have been originated by one of the great sculptors of the fifth or fourth century, it has been repeated so frequently and with such freedom of modification that it is hard to say exactly what belongs to the original conception. The type, in fact, has become common property; and when a sculptor of Graeco-Roman period made a Zeus or an Aphrodite, we cannot consider him as copying the work of Phidias or Praxiteles, although those masters had contributed in the highest degree to the formation of the type on which their successors worked with more or less ingenuity of variation.

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[1] The artist's signature in these cases is usually on some part of the statue itself, not on the basis. This implies that the artist merely supplied the work, and did not superintend its erection.

Now that most of the original masterpieces of Greek sculpture are lost, and cannot even be identified with certainty in direct copies, the work of Graeco-Roman artists is chiefly of value to us because it reflects, however indirectly, the conceptions of an earlier age. Inferences from later works as to the earlier from which they were derived, where there is no direct external evidence to serve as a clue, offer a fascinating scope for study and conjecture; but with such we are not here concerned. To wander through a gallery of statues, and to gather from a number of later productions and variations the character of the original from which they are derived, requires a memory and a faculty for generalisation such as few possess, and even those few cannot exercise without long and patient study. All that we can do now is to notice one or two of the more conspicuous examples which preserve to us the form recognised in later art as appropriate to one or another deity.

The bust, or rather mask,[1] found at Otricoli, is the finest example we possess of the normal Greek conception of the head of Zeus. It is of Carrara marble, and so is doubtless the work of a Greek sculptor resident in Italy; and even if it be a direct copy from an earlier original, that original cannot be earlier than the Hellenistic age. Though it is most impressive in its majesty and dignity, it lacks the breadth and simplicity of the great age of Greece; the modelling is emphasised in all details, and, above all, the heavy overhanging mass of the mane-like hair is not such as we should find before the days of Lysippus. It gives to the god a certain leonine aspect which reminds us of Alexander, and is, indeed, derived from him. We can see the transformation from the earlier and simpler type actually in process on the coins of the beginning of the Hellenistic age. When we turn to the Zeus of Otricoli, we can recognise in it every feature that we expect in the King and Father of gods and men, the expression of energy and benignity; and the skill of the artist in rendering them compels our admiration. Yet there is a certain restlessness and lack of repose about the face; it shows energy rather than power; and when we compare it even with the inadequate representations on coins of the Olympian Zeus, we can see how far it is from the ideal of Phidias, with its severe and divine calm.

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[1] The back of the head is cut away, and it is intended to be seen from the front only.

Another conception which, though it does not start upon so high a level, has sunk much lower in Graeco-Roman art, is that of Aphrodite. The Zeus of Otricoli, whatever be its defects, has preserved the majesty and grandeur that befit a god. But we can hardly say as much of the numerous statues of Aphrodite that reflect with more or less variation the great Cnidian statue of Praxiteles. The best known, and perhaps the most typical, is the "Venus dei Medici" at Florence (Fig. 147).[1] The motive of the Cnidian statue, which is but delicately hinted in the work of Praxiteles, is differently treated in these later modifications. Praxiteles had represented the goddess as preparing for the bath, with a gesture of almost unconscious modesty at the unveiling of her beauty. There is nothing unconscious about the gesture of the Venus dei Medici; it is an affected coquetry, and gives us the impression that it is assumed rather to attract the gaze of the spectator than in any modest desire to veil her charms. And it is in accordance with this effect that while the eyes of the Praxitelean goddess are dreamy and vague, as those of one who is alone and is lost in a soft reverie, the eyes of the Medicean figure are directed upon a certain spot, doubtless upon the spectator, of whose gaze she is conscious. Nevertheless we must not ignore the high merit of the work in its own sphere. The modelling is exquisitely soft; the form is one of great physical beauty; and if it has not the breadth and grandeur that we might expect in a goddess, it certainly represents a woman of the most perfect proportions and the most graceful contour. It is neither a mere study from a beautiful model, nor

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[1] The artist's signature on this statue, Cleomenes son of Cleomenes of Athens, is now generally admitted to be a forgery of the seventeenth century.

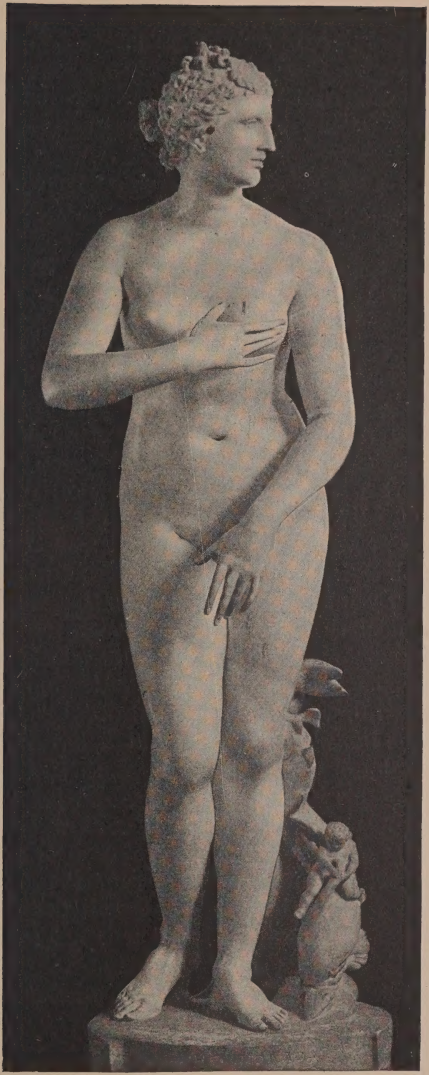

FIG. 147.—Venus dei Medici (Florence, Uffizi).

a conventional and academic reproduction of a normal type, but shows us what a Greek sculptor could do, even at so late a period, to rise above the individual to the creation of an ideal type, without losing touch with nature in a lifeless conventionality. His ideal was not a high one; but he is successful in its attainment.

§ 77. *Works of the Neo-Attic School.*—We have already noticed the preponderance of Attic artists among those who worked, whether in Greece or Italy, for Roman patrons. A description of some of the sculpture which is certainly to be assigned to such artists, on the authority of inscriptions or other clear evidence, will show the varied nature of the work they undertook. They are usually classed together by the convenient name of the Neo-Attic school; and their activity is sometimes described as "the Attic renaissance," a title hardly deserved by a movement so limited in its aims and so imitative in its character.

The first work with which we have to deal may surprise us for the moment. The Farnese Heracles (Fig. 148) is obviously a copy of a Lysippean original,[1] though full of the exaggeration which is the chief fault of the later schools which are derived from the art of Lysippus. We have seen that the conception of Heracles as a man tired of his superhuman task, and resting a little from his labours as if in weariness, almost in depression, was due to Lysippus. Here we see a variation on the theme: the hero is not seated, but standing; he leans heavily on his club, covered with the lion-skin; in his right hand[2] he holds behind his back the apples of the Hesperides, which testify to the completion of one of his labours. But the sculptor, in his attempt to portray the superhuman strength of the hero, has simply given to all his muscles of body and limbs a heaviness and clumsiness that are little short of grotesque; they suggest the "strong man" of a show rather than the chief of Greek heroes. Although the pathos of the Lysippean conception is not entirely lost, the execution goes far towards destroying its effect.

On the rock below the club is an inscription, recording as the

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[1] Another copy of the same work has the inscription Λυσίππου ἔργον, by some thought to be a modern forgery. The type appears in the Telephos group on the smaller frieze of the altar at Pergamum; but that also is borrowed from an earlier statue, which is reproduced on coins as early as 300 B.C. See Friederichs-Wolters, No. 1265, where further references are given.

[2] The right arm is a restoration, but probably a correct one.

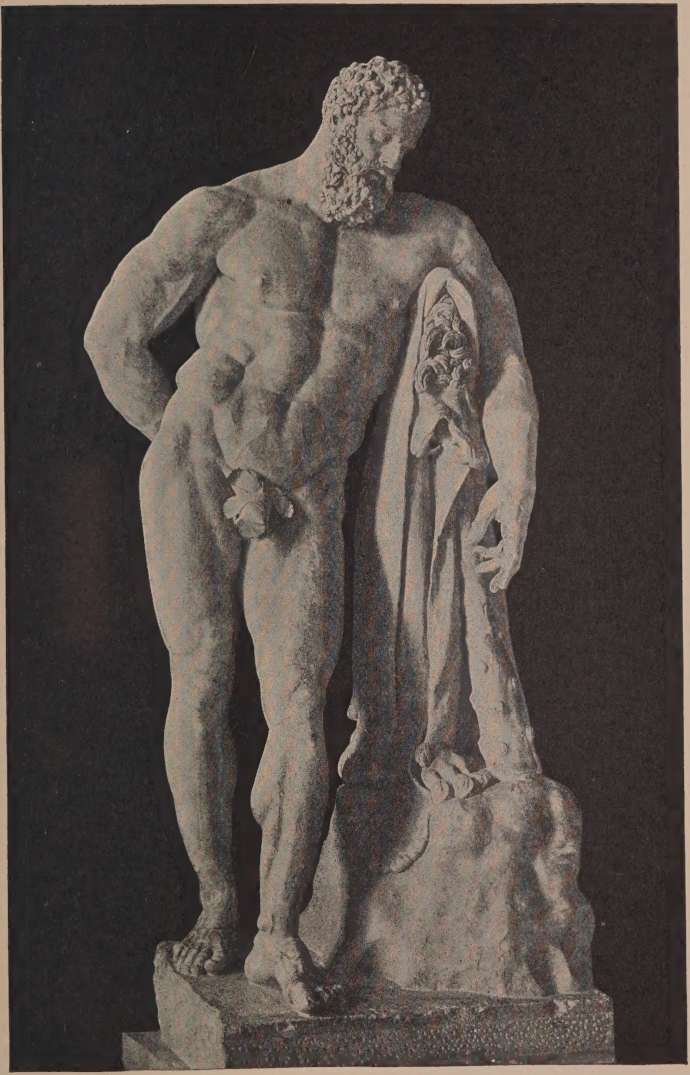

Fig. 148.—Farnese Heracles, by Glycon (Naples).

sculptor Glycon the Athenian: it is in characters which probably belong to an early date in the Imperial epoch. Thus we have an indication of the weight we must attach to such signatures, of which we shall come across other examples. We have seen that the type of the statue is a well-known one, and that it did not originate in Athens; the signature of the Attic sculptor simply means that he is responsible for this particular copy, in which he has emphasised the external signs of bodily strength, probably to suit the demand of his patrons for what they could at once recognise as a typical Heracles. The result is creditable neither to them nor to the artist.

Another work which will serve as an example of the same school of sculpture is the famous Torso Belvedere of the Vatican, signed by Apollonius son of Nestor, an Athenian. Here again modern criticism is at variance with the admiration with which the statue was regarded by Winckelmann and his followers, because we now judge such works by a different standard. It represents a man whose powerful build and finely developed muscles are rendered with wonderful skill; he is seated upon a rock, and turns the upper part of his body to his left in a way that affords excellent scope for the sculptor to show his knowledge of the human form. Various restorations of the statue have been proposed. It was usually supposed to represent Heracles resting from his labours, and either holding out a wine-cup or playing the lyre; recently it has been maintained with much probability that the statue should be restored as the Cyclops Polyphemus,[1] with one hand raised to shade his eyes as he looks out across the sea, perhaps to look for his beloved Galatea. If so, we have a subject characteristic of Hellenistic art; in any case the original from which the statue is derived is probably later than the time of Lysippus. Of the actual workmanship of Apollonius it may well seem presumptuous to say anything in disparagement, when we remember that the torso is said to have excited the admiration of Michael Angelo, and that Winckelmann saw in its absence of veins an intention to represent the deified Heracles, with body etherealised. We shall rather see here a conventional and academic representation of the human form, for which the copyist alone is responsible; of the original we may get some notion from the Pergamene treatment of kindred subjects. Yet Apollonius has preserved enough of the merit of his original to make his statue seem filled with life and vigour, when compared with the more ordinary specimens of Graeco-Roman art. The statue of a boxer, Fig. 146, is also the work of Apollonius.

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[1] Sauer, *Torso von Belvedere.*

There is a whole class of imitative reliefs proceeding from the same Neo-Attic school; one of them, which is signed by Sosibius of Athens, will suffice to show us the character of all.[1]

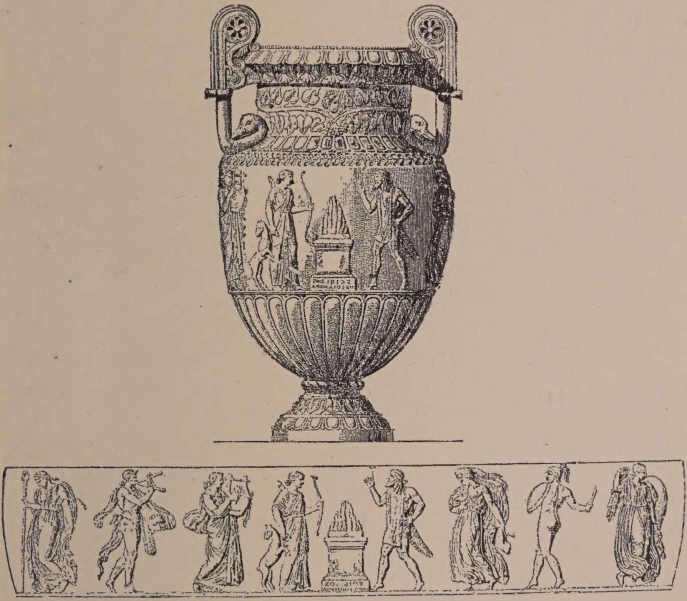

Fig. 149.—Marble Vase with relief by Sosibius (Louvre). After Bouillon III. *Vases et Urnes*, Pl. 8.

It is a marble vase, now in the Louvre, with a rich and delicate decoration that reminds us of the sarcophagi from Sidon, partly of architectural ornaments, partly of carved wreaths. Round the vase is a row of figures which show the strangest medley of types collected from the most various periods and styles of art. It appears to be useless to seek any explanation of the subject, which merely represents a series of figures advancing from either side towards an altar, some walking, some in dancing step. The first figure on the left is Artemis, with bow and stag as conventional attributes; the stiffness and zigzag folds of her drapery betray archaistic imitation; but she has both feet planted firmly on the ground, the left advanced, and so looks like a copy from a really early statue. She is followed by Apollo playing the lyre, in a tolerably free style, with only one or two touches of convention; and behind him is a satyr dancing and playing the flute, and poised on tiptoe—a figure impossible before the fourth century. On the other side of the altar the front figure is Hermes—the most stiff and conventional of all, with the usual archaistic tricks of the walk on tiptoe, the curved zigzag ends of drapery, and a short caduceus held up between finger and thumb. Behind him, in strange contrast, comes a raving maenad, with a sword and half of a kid she has slain, an ecstatic dancing figure, with rich folds of drapery which remind us of those of the Victories on the famous Balustrade (Fig. 83). She is followed by a Pyrrhic dancer, nude, with sword and shield, like those on Attic votive reliefs. On the side opposite the altar are two more dancing figures in rich drapery, of a familiar type. Though so great a mixture as this is exceptional, the character of the work of Sosibius is that of all these Neo-Attic reliefs. They have a certain limited repertoire of figures which are repeated again and again on different reliefs, in various permutations and combinations, sometimes appropriate, sometimes inappropriate. The skill of the artist consists merely in the use he makes of this stereotyped material, and the decorative effect he produces by its arrangement. However graceful the result may sometimes be, it is of little interest for the history of sculpture except to show how mechanical the repetition of the well-worn types had become. When such was the case in relief, we need not be surprised to find something of the same wearisome monotony in free sculpture also.

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[1] A complete and thorough study of these reliefs has been made by Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs.*

§ 78. *Arcesilaus.*—Among the Greek sculptors working in Rome about the middle of the first century B.C., Arcesilaus is the most conspicuous. He was much admired by the antiquarian Varro, to whom we probably owe a good deal of our information about Greek art. Our chief interest in Arcesilaus lies in the fact that he made a statue of Venus Genetrix for the Forum of Julius Caesar. This statue was adopted as the embodiment of Venus, as patron goddess of Rome, and ancestress of the Julian family—Aeneadum genetrix, as Lucretius calls her. A statue of Venus, with the superscription Veneri Genetrici, occurs upon more than one series of Imperial coins, and it is natural

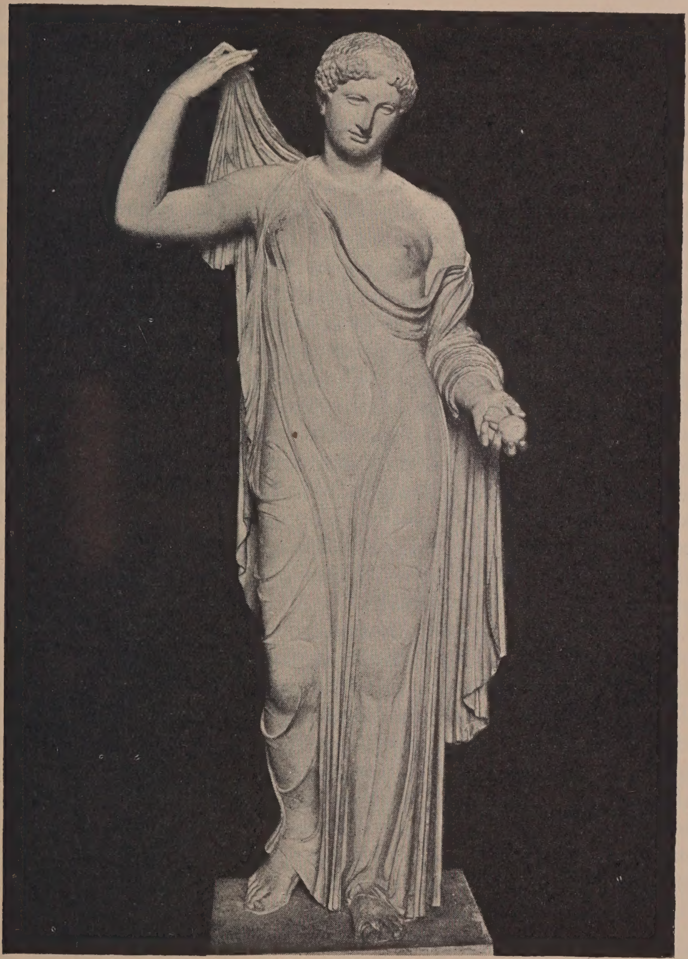

FIG. 150.—Venus Genetrix, probably after Arcesilaus (Louvre).

to recognise upon these coins a copy of the work of Arcesilaus The difficulty is that the figure varies upon different coins; but upon some of them is a statue similar to one of which several copies exist in our museums (Fig. 150). The goddess is clad in a long transparent chiton, on her left shoulder it has slipped down, leaving the breast bare; a short mantle hangs over her left arm, and with her right she holds the other end of it over her right shoulder; in her left hand she holds the apple awarded to her when she was victorious at the contest of beauty decided by the judgment of Paris. The statue is a remarkable study of the forms of the body and limbs as seen through clinging, transparent drapery. Everything is in favour of the attribution of this statue to Arcesilaus. His fame among Roman amateurs, and the popularity of the subject in Imperial Rome, suffice to explain the number of the copies that have been discovered. And the work itself, with its affected pose, and its elaborate study of clinging drapery, is just what we should expect from a sculptor like Arcesilaus, who was renowned for his technical skill and his delicate fancy. The attribution is confirmed when we notice the resemblance of the figure to the Electra grouped with Orestes (Fig. 151), especially in the pose of the legs and the arrangement of the transparent drapery over them and on the left arm, and the straight folds falling between the knees and outside the left hip. For this group of Electra and Orestes comes from the school of Pasiteles, a sculptor who was, as we shall see, a contemporary of Arcesilaus, and the representative of the same artistic tendencies.

This brings us to the question whether the Venus Genetrix of Arcesilaus was, like several of the works of the school of Pasiteles, a reproduction of some statue by an earlier master. There seems to be little doubt that the type, in its general character, dates from an earlier age, though we cannot identify with certainty the original from which it is derived.[1] However this may be, the execution of the work may be taken as characteristic of Greek sculpture in Rome, with its imitation of earlier models, and the delicate affectation with which it transforms them to suit the taste of the day.

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[1] The Aphrodite in the Gardens by Alcamenes has been suggested, but there is not sufficient evidence for the identification. Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Mythologie*, p. 414, accepts it, and also admits the probability that Arcesilaus adopted the type originated by Alcamenes. There is a resemblance to the figures of the Nike Balustrade, and an attribution of both alike to Callimachus has been suggested. A much finer example of the type, but without a head, exists in the Terme Museum at Rome.

Arcesilaus also made a fanciful group, representing a lioness in marble, with whom winged cupids were playing, some holding her captive, while others made her drink from a horn, and others put boots on her feet. Such themes of playful *genre* are common enough in Pompeian paintings and mosaics. In sculpture they seem less appropriate, and their translation into marble is probably to be regarded as a *tour de force* on the part of the sculptor. He also made groups of nymphs riding on Centaurs, another subject familiar from Pompeian paintings; we shall meet with a repetition of a similar subject in the time of Hadrian, but we have no evidence as to how it was treated by Arcesilaus. The only other fact we know about him is that he made models in clay or plaster (*proplasmata*), which were bought by artists at a higher price than the finished works of others, and that he supplied a plaster model for a vase for which he charged a talent. This shows, in the first place, that he undertook the design of decorative work, like Sosibius; but it also shows that the art of sculpture had sunk to a low ebb, since one of its chief masters contented himself with making a model, and took no further care about its execution whether in marble or in bronze. When we contrast this with the care with which the surface of the statue, in its final form, was finished by earlier sculptors, we realise that Greek sculpture in Rome had degenerated into a mere commercial pursuit.

§ 79. *Pasiteles and his School.*—Pasiteles was a contemporary of Arcesilaus. He was an Italian Greek, and obtained Roman citizenship when it was given to the other inhabitants of Italy after the Social War, in 87 B.C. He was a most versatile artist: we hear of works from his hand in silver and in gold and ivory, as well as more ordinary materials; and he is said to have possessed consummate skill in all these branches of sculpture. It is clear, therefore, that he was not content simply to make a clay model for others to execute, although he declared the art of modelling in clay to be the mother of all kinds of sculpture, whether in the precious metals, in bronze, or in marble; and he is said never to have worked free-hand without a complete model before him. He is also one of the writers whom Pliny quotes as his authorities for the history of art. Though he was prolific as well as versatile, Pliny cannot tell the names of many of his works; one of those recorded is an ivory statue of Jupiter, which stood in a temple erected by

Metellus. We must probably recognise in this an attempt on the part of Pasiteles to imitate the materials as well as the style of the great chryselephantine statues of the fifth century. Another of his works was in silver, and represented Roscius, the great actor, as a young child, with a snake coiled about him. This representation of an early incident in the actor's life reminds us of the skill in silver work and in the representation of children that characterised Boethus.

We are, however, mainly dependent upon the works of his pupils for our knowledge of the artistic character of Pasiteles. He founded a school which lasted through at least two generations, since we have works signed both by Stephanus, who calls himself in the inscription a pupil of Pasiteles, and by Menelaus, who calls himself the pupil of Stephanus. Such forms of signature imply an organised and well-known school; but even without them the uniformity in style and character of a certain class of works which dates from the early Imperial period would suffice to show that such a school existed. Its products consist chiefly of a set of statues which reproduce, in all probability, certain works of the fifth century that are now lost; but they are not ordinary copies, for they all show a certain mannerism and affectation in style, and a certain system of proportion, which must be attributed to the sculptors who actually made them rather than to the originals in imitation of which they were made. They have a squareness of shoulders which recalls Polyclitus, joined to a slimness of body and limbs which resembles the canon of Lysippus; and, in general, they give us an impression of eclectic art. The sculptor has neither worked directly from nature nor followed the tradition of any one earlier school, but has combined such features as pleased him in various early works to form a new convention for himself. The face, too, with its eyes set in too shallow sockets, and the meaningless imitation of an archaic smile, is a recollection of various specimens of transitional works rather than a close imitation of any one style. But apart from these mannerisms we may recognise a more direct imitation of a particular school in a male figure like that signed by Stephanus, which reappears combined with a similar female figure in a group of Pasitelean style (Fig. 151). When we compare this figure with the bronze found at Ligourio (Fig. 49, p. 221), the resemblance of the two, both in pose and in general character, is striking, in spite of

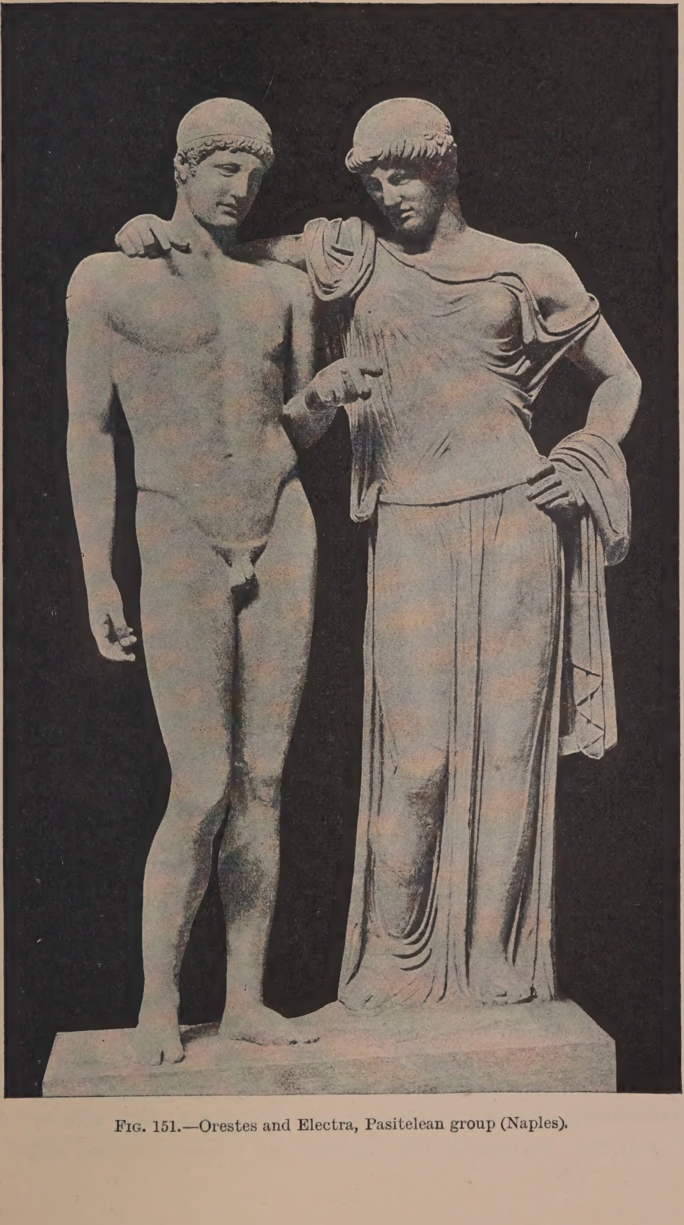

Fig. 151.—Orestes and Electra, Pasitelean group (Naples).

the affected mannerisms which we have already noticed as characteristic of the school of Pasiteles. When these mannerisms are, so far as possible, eliminated in our imagination, we realise that the figure which supplied the type of which Stephanus has given us a Pasitelean version must have been very like this small bronze. Since the bronze is, as we have seen,[1] a characteristic product of the Argive school of the earlier part of the fifth century, the time of Ageladas, it seems a fair inference that the Pasitelean sculptors who made these works were consciously imitating the statues of Ageladas and his associates, though they introduced into them much that was foreign to the severe simplicity and strength of the early Argive school.

The figure above quoted as closely resembling that made by Stephanus is repeated in conjunction with a female figure to form the group now at Naples, and commonly known as Orestes and Electra (Fig. 151). The interpretation is probably correct. The relation of the two figures is clearly that of affection such as that of an elder sister and a younger brother; and the raggedness of Electra's garment fits her neglect and poverty as described by the dramatists. But it is clear that, whatever was the meaning of the sculptor in this group, it cannot be regarded as an original work, except in the same sense in which a decorative composition like that of Sosibius is original; for one of the figures at least is a mere repetition of a type already familiar. The female figure may or may not be an original conception. Its resemblance to the Venus Genetrix, probably made by Arcesilaus, has already been noticed, but it is less graceful and less skilful in design; it has the same mannerisms as the nude figure of which it is a feminine counterpart; and the way in which the left breast is seen through a hole in her garment contrasts with the same effect, as attained by a simpler and more natural treatment, in the Venus Genetrix; there is a contrast, too, between the naturalistic touches in the drapery on the upper part of the body and the conventional treatment of its lower portion. There is no spontaneity about the work, whether in design or in execution. All that it can claim is a certain skill in the adaptation and combination of certain given types. It is interesting to compare this group with another, representing the same subject, by Menelaus, the scholar of

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[1] Page 221. Furtwängler, *50es Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin.

Stephanus.[1] His work is translated from Greek into Roman surroundings, both in figures and in drapery, and so has much more claim to originality of work; yet it is merely a variation on the same theme, and testifies again, though in a different way, to poverty of invention.

It would be easy to multiply examples of Pasitelean figures. Some have been found even in Greece itself, and the influence and fame of Pasiteles were evidently very great. But what we have already noticed will suffice to give us a notion of the character of his school, and of the strict limits within which its work was confined. Pasiteles himself may have been a master of more originality, but it is hardly to be supposed that his own work differed in its essential nature from that of his pupils.

§ 80. *Portraiture.*—The study of Roman portraiture is interesting, both for its own sake and for the light which it throws upon history by its vivid portrayal of the features and the characters of those it represents. Iconography, however, is a subject for separate treatment, and it would be impossible here even to consider its more general aspects. But even in a history of Greek art it cannot be entirely omitted; for Roman portraiture is in many ways only a continuation of the portraiture of the Hellenistic age in Greece, though there are certain elements of realism in it which may claim a more or less independent origin. The continuity is most obvious when we compare the coins made by Greek die-cutters of the Hellenistic age[2] for Eastern princes with the portraits which appear on Roman Republican and Imperial coins.[3] In both classes we see the same skill in catching the individual likeness, which sometimes almost approaches caricature in its life-like expression. And what is true of coins is doubtless, in the main, true of sculpture also. But we must not ignore another factor which counts for something in Roman portraiture. It was the custom in all Roman families of rank to preserve a series of waxen masks representing the ancestors of the house; these were made as life-like as possible, being coloured in imitation of nature; and at the funeral of any member of the family the masks were actually worn by men who personated the ancestors of the deceased. We do not know whether these wax masks were actually moulded from the faces of those they represented; but they cannot have been mere death-masks. Such things would have been too ghastly for the purpose; we may, however, suppose that the custom attributed to Lysistratus, of taking a wax impression from a mould made on the face of his subject, and then working on the wax, would commend itself to the Romans, whose chief object was to have as exact a presentment as possible of the features of their ancestors. Every house of any pretension to nobility and fame had a whole gallery of these masks, which were kept in shrines like frames; and such collections cannot have failed to influence portraiture when it began to be practised in more durable materials. The close study of individual characteristics and the realistic style of some Hellenistic sculptors would recommend itself to people accustomed to the life-like masks.

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[1] Baumeister, Fig. 1393.

[2] See P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. xiii. 33-35; xiv. 29, 32.

[3] These may be found under the various names in Baumeister. For a collection see Imhoof-Blumer, *Portraitköpfe auf römischen Munzen.*

Honorary statues appear to have been set up in Rome from early times. Varro[1] quotes, in corroboration of his statement that barbers were first introduced into Rome in 300 B.C., the fact that statues earlier than that date are bearded and have long hair. It is a significant fact that perhaps the first historical record of an honorary statue refers to the Greek Hermodorus, who helped the Decemvirs in their legislation. From the fifth century B.C., honorary statues to distinguished Romans are not uncommon; but this is no proof of an indigenous art, since in the Greek colonies of Italy there was no dearth of sculptors who could supply the Roman demand, and to them we must probably attribute all statues of distinguished Romans which have come down to us from Republican times. The portrait of Julius Caesar in the British Museum (Fig. 152) will serve as a specimen of the portraiture of Rome at the end of the Republic. It shows us the man as he lived, his features and expression rendered with the most unsparing realism, no detail softened, if it could add to the individuality of the portrait, and it shows in its lean and expressive features the wear and waste due to a restless and fiery genius. If we contrast this face with that of Pericles and with that of Alexander, we see the difference not only between the men, but also between the art that portrayed them. Pericles is almost an ideal abstraction, representing the calm and moderation of the statesman and leader. In Alexander there is more individuality, but it is tempered with an idealism which raised him above mortality, and gives to his face the character of one whose career was too astonishing to be due to mere human aims or means. But in Caesar the sculptor has portrayed the conqueror who owed his success to his own consummate genius, which was too strong for the human frame

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[1] *R.R.* ii. 11. 10.

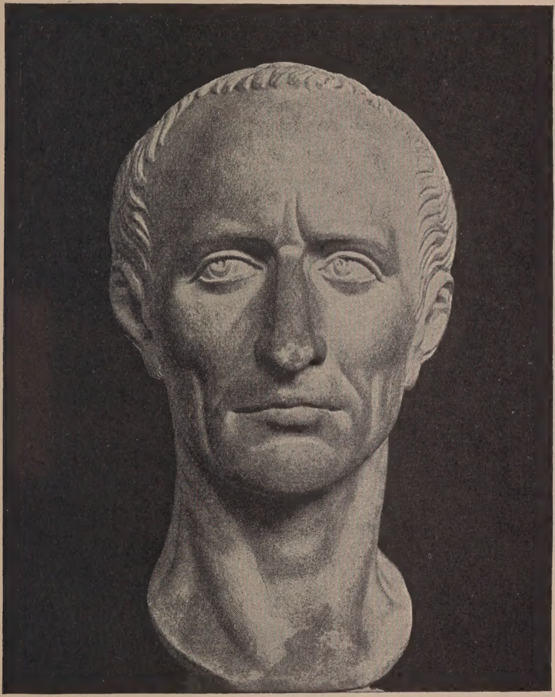

FIG. 152.—Portrait of Julius Caesar (British Museum).

that it wasted and consumed in its service. It is the man himself that the sculptor brings before us. This criticism implies that, viewed merely as portraiture, the work of the Roman sculptor—or rather of the Greek sculptor working for Romans—fulfils its object the most completely. But, for that very reason, it is of the less importance for the history of sculpture. Though it is a more valuable document for the character of the man it represents, it does not show in the same way the impression he produced upon his contemporaries. The portraits of Pericles and of Alexander embody a conception of wider and more lasting influence than the individual traits of the man they represent; and there are other portraits of Caesar himself which seem more adequate to represent a name that has become synonymous with empire.

At the end of the Republican period, and in Imperial times, portrait statues usually belonged to one of two classes: they were either *effigies togatae*—that is to say, they represented men in the usual garb of civil life; or *statuae Achilleae*—fancy portraits in a conventional heroic pose, usually nude, and holding a spear.[1] Examples of both kinds are to be seen in our museums. The heroic convention was sometimes carried even further, and Roman men or matrons were represented in the character of gods. This practice was especially common in the case of members of the Imperial family. An example is the statue known as Germanicus, which represents a Roman, probably an ambassador, in the act of speaking, with his right arm raised. He is nude, and has the attributes of Hermes, the god of ambassadors. This statue is also valuable for its signature by Cleomenes of Athens, and shows the nationality of at least one of the artists employed upon this kind of sculpture. The convention of the nudity is the more remarkable, as the statue is a very fine portrait. In Imperial times it was usual to represent the emperors in gorgeously ornamented breastplates, which offered considerable scope for decoration and allegorical design. Most statues, especially those of women, follow the fashion of the day in hair and other details, and some even have movable wigs, of the same material as the statue. The character and even the features of the reigning emperor and empress are often reflected in contemporary portraits of other persons, so that it is often possible to date them by this resemblance. Such a change as the custom of allowing the beard to grow, under the Antonine emperors, is one of the most obvious criteria.

The freaks of emperors like Nero or Domitian, who caused their own heads to be set upon statues of the gods, colossal and others, are but an extreme example of the common practice of making use of old statues with a new application. Sometimes the statues were left as they were, sometimes they were altered to suit the new conditions. Many works of Greek sculpture owed their destruction to this practice.

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[1] Overbeck, *S.Q.* 2350.

§ 81. *Historical Monuments.*—The magnificent series of historical reliefs in Rome, which record the exploits and the administration of various emperors, from Augustus to Constantine, are in the first place of the highest value as historical documents. They also teach us much about the life and institutions not only of the Romans themselves, but also of the various peoples with whom they come in contact during this period. We depend on Roman reliefs for our knowledge alike of an object like the Golden Candlestick of Jerusalem, and of the dress, houses, and customs of the people of Dacia. Here, however, we are concerned only with the artistic side of these representations, and even that to a limited degree. For these historical monuments have considerable claim to be regarded as the products of a national Roman art, and although Greek influence must count for something in their execution, their subjects and designs are really outside the sphere of a study of Greek sculpture.

Roman historical monuments fall also under the class of architectural sculpture; but there is a difference from most of the examples of architectural sculpture which we have noticed in Greece. Most of those were intended to decorate the exterior or interior of some temple or other building, and were subservient to its architectural purpose and design. But in the Roman monuments, which were set up to record great events, whether of peace or war, the sculpture was at least as important as its architectural frame. They were not designed for any purpose of use or worship, but were merely set up in Rome or elsewhere as memorials of those by whom they were erected. Their most conspicuous forms were the triumphal arch and the huge single column, surrounded with a spiral band of sculpture and surmounted by a statue. The finest of all is the column of Trajan, which records all the details of his campaigns against the Dacians. It is an invaluable document for the historian, the student of Roman antiquities, and the ethnologist. The sculptors employed shrink from nothing in their representation, whether it be the building and crossing of a bridge, the construction of fortified posts, the attack and defence of towns and stockades, or any other incident of the campaign. But there is no artistic composition; scene succeeds scene without a break in the continuous sculptured chronicle. It is evident that the desire of the artist and his employer is merely to record facts, not to translate the impression they give into sculptured form. The technical skill with which everything is rendered is due to the influence of Greece; but the selection—or rather want of selection—of the subjects, and the way in which scene after scene, objects possible and impossible to represent, follow one another on the long winding band of relief, remind us of the reliefs of Egyptian tombs or Assyrian palaces rather than of the compositions of a Greek artist. We saw the essential distinction in this matter between Greek sculpture and what had preceded it. In Rome, again, we find the same conditions and requirements leading to a similar result as soon as the controlling genius of Greece ceased to guide the hand of the artist.

There is a continuous development in style to be seen in the historical reliefs of Rome. In the time of Augustus they are of a more conventional and dignified character. The sculpture of the Flavian age has a character of its own, more vigorous and individual, and less dependent upon Greek models, both in portraiture and in relief. We have already noticed the variety and vigour that mark the monuments of Trajan. After the Antonine age we can see a rapid decline, until the sense for sculptural composition and execution is almost entirely lost. The contrast is clearest on the arch of Constantine, where the pieces of sculpture taken from the demolished arch of Trajan stand out in marked superiority to the scenes added at the time when the arch was built. The wearisome iteration of type and gesture, and the absence of life or reality in the figures make one realise that the power of classical sculpture had passed away, and that its lifeless forms alone remained to offer material for the new inspiration of Byzantine and Mediaeval art.

§ 82. *Antinous and the Hadrianic Revival.*—The gradual and steady decadence of ancient art was relieved by a brief revival, due chiefly to the personal influence of the Emperor Hadrian. He not only travelled throughout the civilised world, and made his visits the occasion for erecting the most sumptuous buildings and monuments, but showed a real devotion to art, and did his utmost to encourage its practice. It is true that a considerable proportion of the sculpture set up during his reign consisted of statues of the emperor himself; but we may quote as a specimen of his munificence the temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens, which he not only completed after it had remained unfinished since the time of Pisistratus, but provided with a colossal gold and ivory statue, which must have rivalled in its cost the great chryselephantine works of the fifth century. Of course he could not make a new Phidias arise at his bidding; but his encouragement appears to have really raised the tone of sculpture. To this period we owe many of the finest copies of Greek masterpieces that exist, and also many original works which, if slighter and more fanciful in their subjects, are not devoid of artistic skill and merit.

Examples of this class are the Centaurs, one fettered by a Cupid, another snapping his fingers at the little god, made by Aristeas and Papias of Aphrodisias.[1] The theme, indeed, is not a new one, and is probably imitated more or less closely from originals of the Hellenistic age. But the execution in hard black marble shows high technical skill, and the figures are full of life and humour. The statues were set up in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, which has been the richest of mines for the recovery of the treasures of ancient art accumulated there by the emperor.

There is another figure, beside that of the emperor himself, which exercises an influence on the art of the time similar in nature and in degree to that of Alexander upon his own age. Antinous was a Bithynian youth, famous for his beauty, and was a favourite of the emperor. It is said that while Hadrian was travelling in Egypt some mystic rite required the sacrifice of a life on the emperor's behalf, and Antinous voluntarily offered himself as the victim, and drowned himself in the Nile. Hadrian, in his grief for his loss and appreciation of the devotion of Antinous, ordered that divine honours should be paid to him. Statues were set up in his honour throughout the empire, and his features influenced contemporary sculpture so strongly, that many works have been called Antinous from their resemblance to him, though there is no direct intention to represent him on the part of the sculptor. A relief in the Villa Albani (Fig. 153) is among the finest of the portraits of Antinous. It shows him to have possessed features of great beauty and regularity, though of a somewhat heavy type. The same heaviness, almost clumsiness, of proportions may be seen in the limbs and body, which are, however, well formed and symmetrical. The expression is melancholy, almost morose in character; but we can readily believe that the man to whom it belonged was capable of true, if fanatical, devotion in giving up his life for his friend. The fact that such a type, which has little of intellectual character about it, could influence the whole course of art, suffices to indicate the poverty of ideas and the lack of originality which mark the sculpture of the time, although it still retained a considerable amount of technical skill.

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[1] See Baumeister, fig. 132.

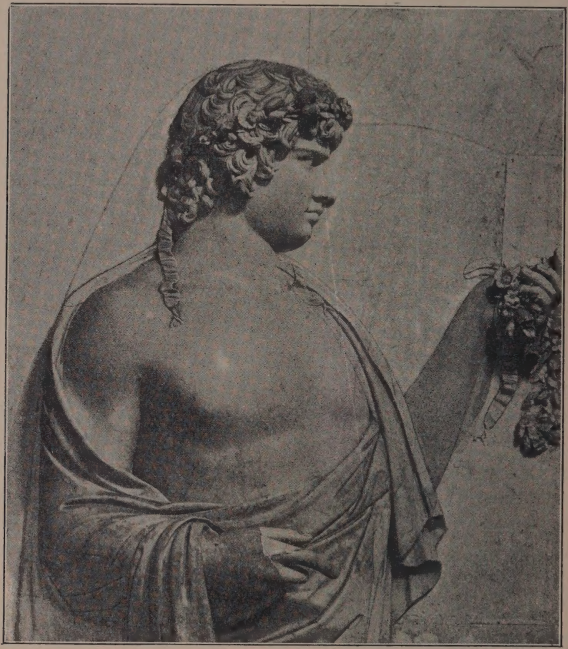

Fig. 153.—Relief: portrait of Antinous (Rome, Villa Albani).

§ 83. *Sarcophagi.*[1]—The monuments erected over the dead have furnished us with material for the history of sculpture in every period of Greek art. These, however, are usually erected above the ground, over the spot where the deceased was buried. The practice of decorating with sculpture the actual receptacle in which the body of the deceased was placed is foreign to the Greeks. It was, of course, usual among the Egyptians, who often gave to the stone coffin the form of a house, since it was the dwelling of the dead, and this form survives even in the Roman sarcophagus. We have already noticed how the sarcophagi found at Sidon were made in the form of temples. These sarcophagi from Sidon are also an example of the imitation, common enough in Phoenicia, of the Egyptian custom. Though the art which decorated them is Greek, the burial customs that they represent are foreign to Greece. In Lycia it appears to have been usual to combine the functions of coffin and of monument by erecting the receptacle in which the body was placed upon a lofty pedestal, and giving it an architectural form. We do not find sarcophagi commonly employed in Greece itself until the Hellenistic age. Then they are mere empty monuments, set up over the grave, and their coffin-like shape is purely conventional. Such sarcophagi usually have a distinctly architectural form. The design is often only decorative; when it consists of figures, they are not usually allowed to interfere with the structural lines; and often the subject is subordinated to the decorative effect. Thus groups of children are preferred, because their short and chubby forms adapt themselves easily to the available fields on the sides of the sarcophagus.

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[1] The name sarcophagus as applied to a stone coffin is so well established that it is useless to protest against it. Even St. Augustine says that the use of the word had come in at his time. The flesh-eating stone of Assos, λίθος σαρκοφάγος, was not, as far as we know, extensively used for coffins. It is hard to find how the confusion arose.

The Roman sarcophagus is intended for a different purpose. Like the boxes to hold ashes commonly found in Etruria, they were intended to contain the remains of the deceased, and were buried in a subterranean chamber, usually with one side set against its wall. It was a natural result of this arrangement that only the front and sides of the sarcophagus came to be decorated with sculpture, while the back was left plain. At the same time its architectural design was obscured, and the sculptured scenes covered all the available space, the figures often projecting beyond the limits of the field, and standing out at the corners.

Such sarcophagi were made in enormous numbers after the second century of our era, and afforded the chief scope for such sculpture as existed outside public monuments. Even now they are counted by the thousand in museums and collections. The subjects are usually mythological, and they offer a whole gallery of illustration for ancient myths.[1] Their artistic value lies mainly in the fact that they repeat conventional notions which are often derived from original Greek treatments of the same themes. Sometimes the subjects are appropriate to the tomb, as when we find scenes symbolical of the course of human life, or myths, like that of Prometheus or of Cupid and Psyche, which are connected with the origin and destiny of humanity, and a belief in the immortality of the soul. But almost all classes of myth are represented, including even such as seem to us offensive to nature and to morality. It is not probable that in these cases we have to look for any occult or mystic significance to justify the selection; but when once the custom of carving mythological scenes upon sarcophagi had become prevalent, the whole stock of mythical types was open to the choice of the sculptor, and the less refined of his patrons probably looked no farther if they got something showy for their money.

The execution of the Roman sarcophagi varies from a fairly high level of excellence to the rudest and most careless workmanship. But their value for the history of art lies mainly in the fact that they preserve much of what would otherwise have been entirely lost to us; and that they were instrumental in transmitting to the Italian sculptors of the Renaissance some faint reflection of the art of Greece.

§ 84. *Summary.*—The story of the decadence of Greek art under Roman patronage forms but a sorry sequel to the tale of its origin and development; yet it is a necessary part of our study, partly for the sake of the warnings which it offers, partly because we should hardly be in a position without it to estimate the true value of the contents of our museums. We have but few originals of Greek workmanship, and consequently we are dependent to a great extent upon copies or imitations made for the Roman market. When we realise the conditions under which those copies were made, we are better able to appreciate their relation to their originals, to eliminate what the copyist has himself contributed to the work, and so to carry back our imagination to the originals themselves. This is the most difficult, as it is the most fascinating branch of the study of sculpture. No better training for the eye and for the mind can be thought of ; but the greatest care and circumspection must be used in its pursuit. Above all, no conclusion attained by this method can be made the basis for further inference until it has been subjected to the most searching tests.

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[1] For illustrations of sarcophagi, see Robert, *Die antiken Sarcophagreliefs.* See also Baumeister, *passim*, in illustration of various myths.

The archaistic and conventional character of all the work of this period that is not crudely realistic or historical shows how completely the originality of Greek art had become extinct. The limits of our subject have compelled us to notice only the decline and final extinction of sculpture. There is no need to recapitulate its phases, as they have been traced in the various sections of this chapter. There were, indeed, some characteristic survivals of Greek art in Asia Minor, which had considerable influence on later art ; but the rise of Byzantine art in the East was precluded by the tenets of the Greek Church from a renewal of religious sculpture ; and so it was reserved for Italy to renew with a fresh inspiration the art which her patronage had previously corrupted. It is beyond our scope to follow here the revival of sculpture either on mediaeval cathedrals or in the work of the Tuscan sculptors, or to notice how even in the last degradation of the sculpture of Greece these could find material aid, such as the early sculptors of Greece had themselves borrowed from the decadence of their predecessors.

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